

JOURNAL
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

Vol. XVII.
1939.

SINGAPORE:
PRINTERS LIMITED.

1939.

ENTS VOL. XVII.

Part I—October, 1939.

	Page.
Council for 1939	iii
Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting	iv
Annual Report	v
Receipts and Payments, 1938	vii
Rules	viii
List of Members for 1939	xii
The Malay Coins of Malacca, by <i>C. H. Dakers, M.C.S.</i>	1
The Flora of the Limestone Hills of the Malay Peninsula, by <i>M. R. Henderson, F.L.S.</i>	13
Gold Coins of the North-Eastern Malay States, by <i>Anker Rentse</i>	88
Ceremonial Opening of a new Chinese Temple at Kandang, Malacca, in December, 1938, by <i>S. M. Middlebrook, M.C.S.</i>	98
Notes on the Meaning of Some Malay Words. Part III (Kedah Words), by <i>J. A. Baker</i>	107
Malayan Sponges, by <i>Stanley G. Willimott, B.Sc., Ph.D. (Liv.), A.I.C., Ph.D. (Cantab.)</i>	121
Some Sakai Problems, by <i>R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G.</i> ..	131
The Bernam Slab-Graves, by <i>R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G.</i>	134
The Penarikan and Bernam Land-Routes, by <i>H. D. Noone, M.A. (Cantab.)</i>	144
An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the The Straits of Malacca, by <i>Roland Braddell, M.A. (Oxon.) ; F.R.G.S.</i> ..	146

Part II—January, 1940.

SRĪVIJAYA, YĀVA EN KATĀHA, by <i>Ir. J. L. Moens</i> An abridged translation, by <i>R. J. de Touche</i> ..	1
---	---

Part III.

A HISTORY OF MALAY LITERATURE, by <i>R. O. Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt. (Oxon.)</i> ..	1
---	---

LIST OF PLATES.

VOL. XVII.

Part I.

	Page.
I. Ancient Malay tin coinage from Malacca ..	10
II. Ancient Malay tin coinage from Malacca ..	10
III. A limestone hill in Perlis	18
A limestone hill in Kodiang, Kedah	18
IV. Coastal limestone, Pulau Dayang Bunting, Langkawi	18
V. The southern slopes of Gunong Baling, Kedah.	22
Gunong Baling, Kedah, from the north ..	22
VI. The summit ridge of Gunong Baling, Kedah.	22
VII. The precipitous face of Gua Panjang, Kelantan	26
The upper slopes of Gua Panjang, Kelantan..	26
VIII. Gua Teja, Kelantan, undercut by Sungai Betis	26
Bukit Chupeng, Perlis	26
IX. Cymbopogon sp. near the summit of Gunong Baling, Kedah	30
A gully in Gua Tipus, Penang.. .. .	30
X. Undercut base of Gua Panjang, Kelantan ..	30
Impatiens Foxworthyi <i>Henderson</i> at base of limestone cliff in Kelantan	30
XI. Vegetation on summit of a dry hill	34
Boea sp. on summit of a dry hill	34
XII. Lasia spinosa <i>Thw.</i> and Homalomena sp. at base of Gunong Keriang, Kedah	34
Chirita sp. in a cave, Gunong Keriang, Kedah.	34
XIII. Gold Coins from Kelantan	88
XIV. Gold Coins from Kelantan	88
XV. A New Chinese Temple	98

Part II.
CHARTS.

	Page.
I. Kaart No. I	108
II. Kaart No. II	108
III. Kaart No. III	108
IV. Kaart No. IV	108

AUTHOR'S NAMES—VOL. XVII (1939).

	Part	Page.
<i>Baker, J. A.</i> —Notes on the Meaning of Some Malay Words, Part III. (Kedah Words)	I,	107
<i>Braddell, Roland, M.A., (Oxon.), F.R.G.S.</i> —An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca	I,	146
<i>Dakers, C. H., M.C.S.</i> —The Malay Coins of Malacca	I,	1
<i>Henderson, M. R., F.L.S.</i> —The Flora of the Limestone Hills of the Malay Peninsula	I,	13
<i>Middlebrook, S. M., M.C.S.</i> —Ceremonial Opening of a New Chinese Temple at Kadang, Malacca in December, 1938	I,	98
<i>Moens, Ir, J. L.</i> — <i>Srivijaya, Yava en Kataha.</i> (An abridged translation by R. J. de Touche)	II,	1
<i>Noone, H. D., M.A., (Cantab.)</i> —The Penarikan and Bernam Land-Routes	II,	144
<i>Rentse, Anker</i> —Gold Coins of the North-Eastern Malay States	I,	88
<i>Wilkinson, R. J., C.M.G.</i> —Some " Sakai " Problems	I,	131
<i>Wilkinson, R. J., C.M.G.</i> —The Bernam Slab-Graves	I,	134
<i>Willimott, Stanley G., B.Sc., Ph.D. (Liv.), A.I.C., Ph.D. (Cantab.)</i> Malayian Sponges	I,	121
<i>Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt. (Oxon.)</i> A History of Malay Literature	III,	1

Vol. XVII.

Part I.

JOURNAL
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

October, 1939.

SINGAPORE
PRINTERS LIMITED

1939

CONTENTS.

	Page.
Title Page	i
Contents	iii
Council for 1939	iv
Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting	v
Annual Report	vi
Rules	ix
List of Members for 1939	xiii

The Malay Coins of Malacca by <i>C. H. Dakers</i>	1
The Flora of the Limestone Hills of the Malay Peninsula by <i>M. R. Henderson</i>	13
Gold Coins of the North-Eastern Malay States by <i>Anker Rentse</i>	88
Ceremonial opening of a new Chinese Temple at Kandang, Malacca, in December, 1938 by <i>S. M. Middlebrook</i> ..	98
Notes on the Meaning of some Malay Words, Part III (Kedah Words) by <i>J. A. Baker</i>	107
Malayan Sponges by <i>Stanley G. Willimott</i>	121
Some "Sakai" Problems by <i>R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G.</i> ..	131
The Bernam Slab-Graves by <i>R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G.</i> ..	134
The Penarikan and Bernam Land-Routes by <i>H. D. Noone</i> .	144
An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca by <i>Roland Braddell</i>	146

The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

Patron :

H. E. Sir Thomas Shenton W. Thomas, G.C.M.G., O.B.E.,
Governor of the Straits Settlements, High Commissioner for
the Malay States, British Agent for Sarawak and North Borneo.

Council for 1939.

Sir Alexander Small, <i>K.B.E., C.M.G.,</i> <i>M.C.S.</i>	<i>President.</i>
The Rev. Fr. Cardon	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the S.S.</i>
The Hon'ble Dato R. St. J. Braddell ..	
The Hon'ble Dr. W. Linehan, <i>M.C.S.</i> ..	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the F.M.S.</i>
The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Brown, <i>M.C.S.</i> ..	
The Hon'ble Engku Aziz, <i>D.K., C.M.G.</i> ..	} <i>Vice-Presidents for the U.M.S.</i>
The Hon'ble Mr. A. C. Baker, <i>M.C.,</i> <i>M.C.S.</i>	
The Hon'ble Capt. N. H. Hashim, <i>M.L.C.,</i> <i>I.S.O.</i>	} <i>Councillors.</i>
Mr. E. J. H. Corner	
Mr. E. N. Taylor, <i>M.C.S.</i>	
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. V. Mills, <i>M.C.S.</i>	
Mr. B. Harrison	
Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie	<i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>
Mr. F. N. Chasen	<i>Hon. Secretary.</i>

PROCEEDINGS
of the
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Raffles Museum on Friday 24th February, 1939 at 4.45 p.m.

Sir Alexander Small, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.C.S., in the Chair.

1. The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.
2. The Annual Report and Accounts as submitted by the Council were adopted.
3. The Officers and Council for 1939 were elected.

Annual Report

of the

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society for 1938.

Membership. The number of members at the end of the year was 522 compared with 524 at the end of 1937. The roll consisted of 18 Honorary Members, 4 Corresponding Members and 500 Ordinary Members. Six Ordinary Members resigned during the year. Death claimed 6 including Honorary Member Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, O.B.E. Rigid enforcement of Rule 6 ("Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership"), resulted in the lapse of a number of memberships, some of which it is hoped will be revived. The following 33 members were elected during the year :—

Alexander, N. L.
Anderson School, Ipoh.
Badry, C. M. P.
Barrowman, Dr. Barclay
Bliss, Miss M.
Clive, L. T.
Cooray, F. F.
Creer, J. K.
Cross, A. J. G.
Daniel, G. D.
David, E. B.
Hockenhull, A. J. W.
Hough, G. G.
Le' Mare, D. W.
Lewis, I. L.
Mahmood bin Haji Mohd. Said,
Dato Adika Raja.
Noone, H. D.

Noorgaard, O. S.
Ong, T. W.
Persekutuan Guru-guru Melayu,
Negri Sembilan.
Pillay, Sandy Gurunathan
Raja Zainal Abidin bin Raja
Tachik.
Robb, L. T. A.
Rogers, Dr. G.
Thomas, F.
Traeger, Miss G. L.
Vaux, F. G.
Vinen, G. H.
Voorhoeve, Dr. P.
Wales, C. A.
Webb, G. W.
White, T. L.
Wolters, O. W.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held at Raffles Museum on 25th February.

Journals. The Journal for the year (Vol. XVI) consists of three parts.

The first part contains a long paper by Mr. C. N. Maxwell on language affinities. The author's purpose was to show that a simple technique which explains the fabric of Malay speech supplies the key to a real understanding of the secrets of the Sanskrit speech of India, the Bantu dialects of Africa and the modern languages of Europe. Other short papers by various authors, were historical and ethnographical in character.

The second part contains two papers dealing with Malay traditional literature by our Honorary Member Sir Richard Winstedt; some notes on the Keris by Mr. G. C. Woolley and a short contribution to Malay lexicography by Mr. J. A. Baker.

The third part for the year, which is not yet published, is devoted to the earliest recension of the well-known Malay Annals ("Sejarah Melayu"). Sir Richard Winstedt has prepared this from MS. 18 of the Raffles Collection in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Finance. The Society benefitted by the continued generosity of the Malayan Governments.

Subscriptions for the year amounted to \$2,229.04. The bank balance at the close of the year was \$3,343.20.

Assistance Required. Members continue to forward helpful suggestions of ways in which the Society could extend its scope and usefulness, but it must be repeated that nothing can be done to act on these suggestions until an enthusiastic member of the Society, resident in Singapore, comes forward to help as Assistant Hon. Secretary ("Special Purposes"). The present honorary officials of the Society cannot undertake to do more than the routine work of the Society, and the editing of the "Journal."

Social Event. On the evening of 26th January the Society entertained the delegates of the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East. A dinner, followed by dancing, was held at the Sea View Hotel. It is many years since the Society held a social function. There was a very large attendance.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary.

Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st December, 1938.

RECEIPTS.

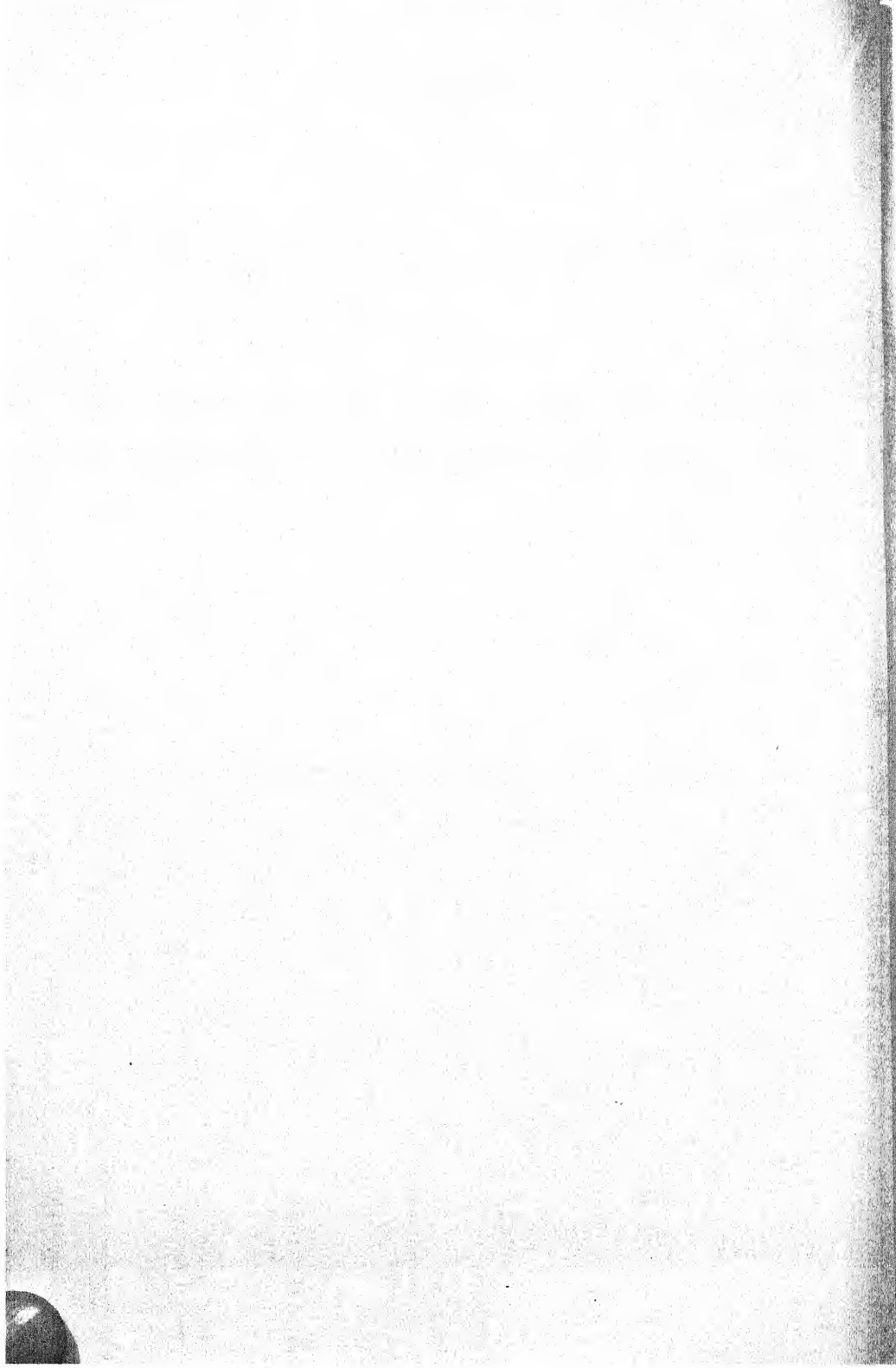
Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1937	\$2,406.25			
City Cash in hand, 31st December, 1937	50.00			\$2,456.25
Donations.				
For the year 1936	\$ 18.00			
" " 1937	96.00			
" " 1938	1,828.50			
" " 1939	146.00			
" " 1940	13.54			
" " 1941	6.00			
" " 1942	6.00			
Life Members	115.00			
		2,229.04		
Journals		1,225.34		
Members' Subscriptions to Prehistoric Press Dinner		257.75		
Donations.				
S. Government	\$ 500.00			
Shore Government	250.00			
Manitau Government	50.00			
Utah Government	50.00			
		850.00		
Investments				
Current Account	\$ 367.00			
	23.23			
		390.23		
		<u>\$7,408.61</u>		

PAYMENTS.

Post Office Box 493	..	..	\$ 10.00
Dinner to delegates of Congress	..	..	379.80
Printing.			
Journal Vol. XV, Part III	..	..	\$ 989.00
Blocks	..	..	43.31
Author's Reprints	..	..	123.00
			<u>1,155.31</u>
Annual Report and Meeting Notices.			
Journal Vol. XVI, Part I	..	..	\$1,081.00
15 Plates	..	..	80.00
Author's Reprints	..	..	126.00
Blocks	..	..	70.29
			<u>1,357.29</u>
Miscellaneous.			
Mr. R. J. de Touche (Translation)	..	..	150.00
Miss Marie Chow	..	..	45.00
Salaries	..	..	600.00
Postage	..	..	138.34
Stationery	..	..	79.03
Sundries	..	..	69.74
Bank Exchanges and Commissions	..	..	13.25
Balance at Mercantile Bank 31st December, 1938	..	..	\$3,343.20
Petty Cash in hand 31st December, 1938	..	..	50.00
			<u>3,393.20</u>
			<u>\$7,408.61</u>

More, January, 1939.

M. W. F. TWEEDIE,
Hon. Treasurer.



RULES
of
The Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'
2. The objects of the Society shall be :—
 - (a) The increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.
 - (b) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.
 - (c) the acquisition of books, maps and manuscripts.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary.
4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.
5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of \$6 *payable in advance on the first of January in each year.*

No member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until his subscription for the current year has been paid.

Newly elected members shall be allowed to compound for life-membership for \$100 ; other members may compound by paying \$50, or \$100 less the amount already paid by them as ordinary members in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions are eligible for ordinary membership.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid. Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership

until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership.*

7. Distinguished persons, and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary Members by a majority at a General meeting. Corresponding Members may, on the recommendation of two members of the Council, be elected by a majority of the Council, in recognition of services rendered to any scientific institution in British Malaya. They shall pay no subscription; they shall enjoy the privileges of members (except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office) and free receipt of the Society's publications.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be :—

A President.

Vice-Presidents not exceeding six, ordinarily two each from (i) the Straits Settlements, (ii) the Federated Malay States and (iii) the Unfederated or other Protected States, although this allocation shall in no way be binding on the electors.

An Honorary Treasurer.
Five Councillors.

An Honorary Secretary.
An Assistant Honorary Secretary.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be :—

- (a) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.
- (b) to elect Ordinary and Corresponding Members and to recommend candidates for election as Honorary Members of the Society.
- (c) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.
- (d) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

*Bye-Law, 1922. "Under Rule 6 Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership until their subscriptions are paid. The issue of Journals published during that period of suspension cannot be guaranteed to members who have been so suspended".

- (e) to select and purchase books, maps and manuscripts for the Library.
- (f) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.
- (g) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.
- (h) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such bye-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a quarter and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number of each volume shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and the Rules.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

Affiliation Privileges of Members.

Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W., where it has a large library and collection of MSS. relating to oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled when on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within Great Britain and Ireland, to use of the Library as Non-Resident Members and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of the Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in Great Britain or Ireland to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Society so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental Research, of original articles, short notes, etc., on matters connected with the languages, archæology, history, beliefs and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the aforementioned Rule 105 all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/- per annum. They receive the quarterly journal post free.

Asiatic Society of Bengal. Members of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by a letter received in 1903, are accorded the privileges of admission to the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which are held usually at the Society's house, 1 Park Street, Calcutta.

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR 1939.

(As at 1st January, 1939.)

*Life Members.

Year of
Election.

PATRON.

1935. Thomas, H. E. Sir Thomas Shenton W., G.C.M.G.,
O.B.E.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- 1890, *1918. Blagden, Dr. C. O., 40, Wychwood Avenue,
Whitchurch Lane, Edgware (Middlesex).
1935. Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., Rubenslaan 54, Bilthoven,
Holland.
1921. Brandstetter, Prof. Dr. R., Luzern, Switzerland.
- 1927, *1930. Clifford, Sir Hugh, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., 53, Evelyn
Gardens, London, S.W. 7. (Patron 1927).
1935. Côtès, Prof. Dr. George, Directeur de l'Ecole
Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China.
- 1930, *1934. Crosby, Sir Josiah, K.B.E., C.I.E., c/o H. B. M.
Ministry Bangkok, Siam.
- 1903, *1917. Galloway, The Hon'ble Sir D. J., Johore Bahru,
Johore. (Vice-Pres., 1906-7; Pres., 1908-13).
- 1895, *1920. Hanitsch, Dr. R., M.A., 99, Woodstock Road,
Oxford, England. (Council, 1897-1919; Hon. Tr.,
1898-1906, 1910-11, 1914-19; Hon. Sec., 1912-13).
1922. Johore, H. H. The Sultan of, D.K., G.C.M.G.,
K.B.E., Johore Bahru, Johore.
- 1900, *1932. Kloss, C. Boden, c/o Royal Societies Club, 63,
St. James Street, London, S.W. 1. (Council
1904-8, 1923, 1927-28; Vice-Pres., 1920-1,
1927; Hon. Sec., 1923-6; Pres., 1930).
1935. Krom, Dr. N. J., 18, Witte Singel, Leiden,
Holland.
- 1903, *1927. Maxwell, Sir W. G., K.B.E., C.M.G., Chindle, High
Salvington, Worthing, Sussex, England. (Coun-
cil, 1905, 1915; Vice-Pres., 1911-12, 1916,
1918, 1920; Pres. 1919, 1922-3, 1925-6)...
- 1890, *1912. Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7, Cumberland Road,
Kew Gardens, Surrey, England. (Council 1890-4,
1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-3, 1896-1911).
1916. Sarawak, H. H. The Rajah of, G.C.M.G., Kuching,
Sarawak.
- 1894, *1921. Shellabear, The Rev. Dr. W. G., 195, Girard
Avenue, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. (Council, 1896-
1901, 1904; Vice-Pres., 1913; Pres., 1914-18).
1921. Van Ronkel, Dr. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 44,
Leiden, Holland.
- 1904, *1935. Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt.,
95, Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2. (Vice-
Pres., 1914-15, 1920-21, 1923-25, 1928; Pres.,
1927, 1929-1933-35).

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1935. Hamilton, A. W., c/o Hongkong & Shanghai
Bank, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 3.
1920. Laidlaw, Dr. F. F., M.A., Eastfield, Uffculme,
Devon, England.
1920. Merrill, Dr. E. D., Gray Herbarium, Cambridge,
Mass, U.S.A.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- *1921. Abdul Aziz, The Hon. Y. M. Ungku, D.K., C.M.G.,
Johore Bahru, Johore. (Vice-Pres., 1933-193).
1935. Abdul Aziz bin Khamis, Sanitary Board, Seremban.
1932. Abdul Hamid bin Ungku Abdul Majid, The Hon.
Y. M. Ungku, c/o The State Secretariat, Johore
Bahru, Johore.
1926. Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, M.C.S., Magis-
trates Court, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1933. Abdul Rahman bin Mat, District Office, Lenggong,
Upper Perak, F.M.S.
*1926. Abdul Rahman bin Yassim, Dato, 3, Jalan Chat,
Johore Bahru, Johore.
1936. Abdullah bin Muhammad Ali, Sultan Idris Train-
ing College, Tanjong Malim Perak, F.M.S.
1935. Abdullah bin Noordin, A. D. O., Sebat Bernam,
Selangor.
1923. Abdullah bin Yahya, The Hon. Capt. Shaikh,
S.M.J., P.I.S., Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
1937. Abu Bakar, H. H. Tunku, D.K., P.I.S., Johore
Bahru, Johore.
*1909. Adams, The Hon. Mr. T. S., C.M.G., Chief Com-
missioner, Nigeria.
1936. Addison, J. S., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
*1919. Adelborg, F., 40, Artillengatan, Stockholm,
Sweden.
1935. Ahmad bin Haji Tahir, Che., Asst. Commissioner of
Police, Muar, Johore.
1934. Ahmad bin Sheikh Mustapha, Sheikh, Seremban,
Negri Sembilan.
1926. Ahmad bin Osman, M.C.S., District Office, Din-
dings, F.M.S.
1935. Ahmed Zainul-Abidin, Tengku, Sri Akar Raja,
Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1936. Aikin, The Rev. Hamilton, The Manse, Golf Club
Road, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Alexander, N.L., M.C.S. Asst. Protector of Chinese,
Ipoh.
1927. Allen, B. W., Police Depot, Singapore.
1935. Amstutz, The Rev. H. B., R.F.D., 1, Amberst,
Ohio, U.S.A.
1938. Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.

1936. Anderson, W. Graeme, Tanjong Batu Estate,
Manek Urai, Kelantan.
1933. Annamalai University Library, Annamalainagar,
Chidambaram, S. India.
1934. Archer, The Rev. R. L., Ph.D., Methodist Mission,
Singapore.
1926. Ariff, Dr. R. M., The New Dispensary, Penang.
1926. Atkin-Berry, H. C., Swan and Maclaren, Singapore.
- *1908. Ayre, C. F. C., c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall,
London, S.W. 1. (Hon. Tr., 1910-11).
1933. Azman bin Abdul Hamid, Govt. English School,
Muar, Johore.
1938. Badry, C. M. P., Eastern Smelting Co., Ltd.,
Penang.
- *1926. Bagnall, The Hon'ble Sir John, K.B.E., The
Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1919. Bailey, A. E., "Keecha", Park Road, Leamington
Spa, England.
- *1926. Bailey, John, C.M.G., 197, Latymer Court, W. 6.
1936. Bailey, L. C., Rengam Estate, Rengam, Johore.
1915. Bain, Norman, K., 74, Bryanston Court, George
Street, London, W. 1.
1926. Bain, V. L., Forestry Dept., Kuala Lumpur,
F.M.S.
- *1912. Baker, The Hon'ble Mr. A. C., M.C., M.C.S.,
British Adviser, Kelantan.
1932. Baker, J. A., Dept., of Agriculture, Alor Star,
Kedah.
1935. Baker, V. B. C., c/o Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd.,
Sungai Lembing, Pahang, F.M.S.
1937. Bancroft, K., H. M.C.S., Federal Secretariat,
Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1935. Bangs, T. W. T., Kuala Pergau Estate, Ulu
Kelantan, Kelantan.
- *1899. Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.
1920. Barbour, Dr. T., Museum of Comparative Zoology,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1932. Barrett, E. C. G., M.C.S., Kuala Belait, Brunei.
1936. Barron, G. D., M.C., Superintendent of Surveys,
Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Barrowman, Dr. Barclay, Dato, Federal Dispen-
sary, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1937. Barton, J. E., The Asiatic Petroleum Co., St.
Helen's Court, Singapore.
1914. Bazell, C., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
(Hon. Libr., 1916-20; Hon. Tr., 1921-22).
1925. Bee, R. J., Public Works Dept., Kuala Kangsar,
Perak, F.M.S.
- *1910. Berkeley, Capt. H., I.S.O., Clink Gate, Droitwich,
England.
1937. Beuzekom, J. C. van, Tanjong Balai, Karimon
Island, N.E.I.

- *1912. Bicknell, J. W., Bykenhulle, Hopewell Junction,
Dutchess County, New York, U.S.A.
1884. Bicknell, W. A., 2, Phillips Avenue, Exmouth,
Devon, England.
1936. Bingham, R. P., M.C.S., Chinese Secretariat,
Singapore.
1931. Birse, A. L., M.C.S., District Officer, Kinta, Perak,
F.M.S.
- *1908. Bishop, Major C. E.
1935. Bishop, H., A.M.I.S.E., M.A.A.E., Public Works
Dept., Jesselton, British North Borneo.
- *1923. Black, J. G., M.C.S., British Resident, Brunei.
1937. Black, R. B., M.C.S.
1884. Bland, R. N., C.M.G., Brown Gable, Crawley Down,
Crawley, Sussex. (Council, 1898-1900; Vice-
Pres., 1907-9).
1921. Blasdell, The Rev. R. A., Methodist Mission,
Malacca.
1938. Bliss, Miss Mary, Raffles Girls' School, Singapore.
1925. Blythe, W. L., M.C.S., Chinese Secretariat,
Singapore.
1933. Booth, I. C., Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1926. Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Dept., Taiping, Perak,
F.M.S.
- *1912. Bourne, F. G., "Little Dawbourne", St. Michaels,
Tenterden, Kent, England.
1921. Boyd, R., M.C.S., Co-operative Dept., Kuala
Lumpur, F.M.S.
1928. Boyd, T. Stirling, Chief Justice of Sarawak,
Kuching, Sarawak.
1919. Boyd, W. R., Aram, Hollywood, Co. Down, N.
Ireland.
- *1913. Braddell, The Hon'ble Dato R. St. J., M.A.,
Braddell Brothers, Singapore. (Council, 1936-
1937, Vice-Pres., 1938-39).
1936. Braine, Dr. G. I. H., Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu.
1932. Brant, R. V., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Kukub,
Johore.
1935. Brooke, A. W. D., Lawas, Sarawak.
1915. Brown, The Hon'ble. Mr. C. C., M.C.S., British
Resident, The Residency, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
(Vice-Pres., 1925, 1932-36, 1939., Pres., 1938).
1933. Brown, F. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong,
Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1913. Bryan, J. M., Borneo Co., Ltd., 28, Fenchurch
Street, London.
1887. Bryant, A. T., 101, Seymore Place, Bryanston
Square, London, W. 1. (Council, 1907-10;
Vice-Pres., 1912, 1914-16).
1932. Bryson, H. P., M.C.S., Colonial Secretariat,
Singapore.

- *1936. Burton, W., 1, Court Lane Gardens, Dulwich, England.
- 1934. Busfield, H. H., 8, Nab Wood Mount, Shipley, Yorks, England.
- *1921. Butterfield, H. M., Kedak Peak, Excelsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, England.
- *1913. Caldecott, H. E. Sir Andrew, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., The Govt. House, Colombo, Ceylon. (Vice-Pres., 1931-22, 1934-35).
- 1926. Cardon, The Rev. Fr. R., Bishop's House, 31, Victoria Street, Singapore. (Council., 1934-37; Vice-Pres., 1938-9).
- 1925. *1937. Carey, H. R., The Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1921. Cavendish, A., 3, Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, London, S.W. 10.
- 1921. Chasen, F. N., Director, Raffles Museum, Singapore, Council, 1925; Hon. Secretary, 1927-1939.
- *1924. Cheeseman, H. R. Education Dept., Singapore.
- 1936. Chew Lian Seng, 17, North Canal Road, Singapore.
- *1913. Choo Kia Peng, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1927. Clark, B. F., Pontianak, Dutch West Borneo, N.E.I.
- *1926. Clarke, G. C., Asiatic Petroleum Co., Singapore.
- *1911. Clayton, T. W.
- 1929. Cobden-Ramsay, A. B., M.C.S., District Officer, Kuala Selangor, Selangor, F.M.S.
- 1922. Coe, Capt. T. P., M.C., M.C.S., Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1936. Coldham, J. C., Raub Australian Gold Mine, Raub, Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1936. Cole, W., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Kemaman, Trengganu.
- *1920. Collenette, C. L., 107, Church Road, Richmond, England.
- 1926. Collins, G. E. P., Nederlandsh indische Handelsbank Makassar, Celebes, N.E.I.
- 1935. Coolhas, Dr. W. Ph., Tosariweg, 37, Batavia-Centrum, Java.
- 1926. Coope, The Hon. Mr. A. E., M.C.S., British Adviser, Trengganu.
- 1936. Cooper, G. C., Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Malacca.
- 1929. Corner, E. J. H., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1934-1938, 1939).
- 1925. Corry, W. C. S., M.C.S., District Office, Kinta, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1921. Coulson, N., M.C.S., District Officer, Seremban, F.M.S.
- 1921. Cowap, J. C., Springfield, Lower Pennington Lane, Lymington, Hants, England.
- *1923. Cowgill, The Hon'ble Mr. J. V., M.C.S., Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.

1938. Greer, J. K., M.C.S., State Secretariat, Taiping,
Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Crosse, A. J. G., M.C., Kukub Rubber Estate,
Pontian Kechil, Johore.
- *1921. Cullen, W. G., Bartolome Mitre 559, Buenos
Aires, S. America.
1925. Cullin, E. G., c/o Post Office, Penang.
1927. Cumming, C. E., Floral Ville, Lahat Road, Ipoh,
Perak, F.M.S.
1923. Curtis, R. J. F., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Kota
Bahru, Kelantan.
- *1910. Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Irish Free State.
1937. Damais, L. C., French Consulate-General, Batavia
Centrum, Java, N. I.
1938. Daniel, Geo. O., c/o "Bishop bourne", Singapore.
1938. David, E. B., M.C.S., District Office, Pekan,
Pahang, F.M.S.
- *1918. David, P. A. F., c/o Sports Club, London.
1928. Davidson, W. W., Public Works Dept., Seremban,
Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1927. Davies, E. R., The High School, Klang, Selangor,
F.M.S.
- *1927. Dawson, C. W., M.C.S.
1923. Day, E. V. G., M.C.S., British Adviser, Perlis.
1930. De Vos, A. E. E., P.O. Box 13, Taiping, Perak.
- *1926. del Tufo, M. V., M.C.S.
1922. Denny, A., Sungai Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor,
F.M.S.
1934. Devonshire, G. E., Police Office, Tapah, Perak.
1897. Dickson, E. A., 18, Dunkel Road, Bournemouth,
England.
- *1921. Dickson, The Rev. P. L., Western House, The Park,
Nottingham, England.
1926. Director of Forestry, S.S. and Adviser on Forestry,
Malay States, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1926. Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Kangsar,
Perak, F.M.S.
- *1923. Doscas, A. E. C., Department of Agriculture,
Johore Bahru, Johore.
1936. Douglas, Dato F. W., Private Secretary to H. H.
the Sultan of Selangor, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Duff, Dr. W. R., Taiping, Perak.
- *1915. Dussek, O. T., Sultan Idris Training College,
Tanjong Malim, Perak, (V.P., 1935).
1934. Dyer, Prof. W. E., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.
1931. Earl, L. R. F., M.C.S.,
- *1922. Ebdon, The Hon'ble Mr. W. S., M.C.S., Land
Office, Singapore.
1922. Eckhardt, H. C., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.S.
1922. Edgar, A. T., M.B.E., Suffolk Estate, Sitiawan,
Perak, F.M.S.

1934. Edmonds, A., J.P., C.H., Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1927. Education Department, The, Alor Star, Kedah.
1885. Egerton, Sir Walter, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow, Mayfield, Sussex, England.
1921. Elder, Dr. E. A., British Dispensary, Singapore.
1932. English School Union, The, Muar, Johore.
1913. Ermen, C. E. A., St. Christopher, Combe Down, Bath, Somerset, England.
- *1923. Eu Tong Seng, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.
1924. Evans, I. H. N. (Vice-Pres., 1926-7; 1928-30).
1936. Evans, Dr. L. W., General Hospital, Singapore.
1927. Farrelly, G. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
1909. Farrer, R. J., C.M.G., c/o Mr. Winckel, Groote Postweg, 439, Bandoeng, Java. (Council, 1925-27).
- *1911. Ferguson-Davie, The Rt. Rev. C. J., Fort Hare University, Alice, Cape Province, S. Africa. (Council., 1912-3).
1937. Ferguson, D. S., Drainage and Irrigation Department, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1917. Finlayson, Dr. G. A., "Changi", West Moors, Dorset, England.
- *1919. Finnie, W., 73, Forest Road, Aberdeen, Scotland.
1925. Fitzgerald, The Hon'ble Dr. R. D., M.C., The Director of Health and Medical Services, Singapore.
- *1897. Flower, Major S. S., Hold House, Park Road, Tring, Herts, England.
1928. Foenander, E. C., 293, Fort Road, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1923. Forest Botanist, The, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.
1921. Forrer, H. A., M.C.S., District Judge and First Magistrate, Singapore.
- *1918. Foxworthy, Dr. F. W., 762, Arlington Avenue, Bekerley, California, U.S.A. (Council, 1923; 1926-27).
1935. Francois, The Rev. Fr. J. P., Church of St. Michael, Ipoh, Perak.
- *1908. Freeman, D., 96, Priory Road, West Hampstead, London, N.W. 6, England.
- *1910. Frost, M.
- *1912. Gallagher, W. J., 72, Courtfield Gardens, London, S.W., 5, England.
1931. Gardiner, E. A., c/o Public Works Dept., Ipoh, Perak.
1923. Gater, Prof. B. A. R., M.A., College of Medicine, Singapore.
1934. Gates, R. C., M.C.S.
1928. Geake, F. H., Govt. Analyst's Office, Singapore.
1920. Geale, Dr. W. J., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.

- *1926. George, J. R., c/o Chartered Bank, London, England.
- 1923. Gilmour, A., M.C.S., Registrar-General of Statistics, S.S. and F.M.S., Singapore
- 1926. Gibson, L. D., M.C.S., Attorney-General's Office, Singapore.
- *1922. Glass, Dr. G. S., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Whithall, London, S. W. A., England.
- 1937. Goode, A. N., M.C.S., Assistant District Officer, Cameron Highlands, F.M.S.
- 1922. Gordon, T. I. M., Aintree, Denton Road, Eastbourne, Sussex, England.
- 1920. Gordon-Hall, Capt. W. A., M.C.S., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- 1926. Goss, P. H., Survey Department, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1926. Green, R. T. B., Institute for Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1929. Gregg, J. F. F., M.C.S., District Office, Lipis, Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1931. Gregory, C. P., Kerilla Estate, Kelantan.
- 1926. Grice, N., M.C.S., Chinese Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1922. Gubbins, W. H. W., 7, Wise Road, Seremban, Negeri Sembilan.
- 1935. Gunji, K., Japanese Consulate-General, New Zealand.
- *1923. Hacker, Dr. H. P., Zoological Department, University College, London, W.C. 1. England.
- 1923. Haines, Major O.B., S.O.S. Estate, Selama, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1924. Hamzah bin Abdulah, M.C.S., District Officer, Ulu Selangor, Selangor, F.M.S.
- 1933. Hannay, H. C., P.O. Box 64, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1936. Harpur, W. A., c/o Pinang Gazette Press, Penang.
- 1937. Harrison, B., Raffles College, Singapore. (Council, 1938-1939).
- 1921. Hashim, The Hon'ble Capt. N. M., M.L.C., I.S.O., 14, St. Michael's Road, Singapore. (Council, 1938-1939).
- *1926. Hastings, W. G. W., 56, Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1925. Hay, A. W., M.C.S.
- 1919. Hay, M. C., M.C.S., Land Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1904. Haynes, A. S., C.M.G., Brooklands, 11, Warwich New Road, Leamington Spa, England.
- 1932. Hayward, M. J., M.C.S., Secretary to Resident, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
- 1936. Headly, D., M.C.S.
- 1930. Heath, R. G., Agricultural Department, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.

1921. Henderson, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
(Council, 1928 ; Hon. Tr. 1928-1934).
- *1923. Hicks, E. C., Education Office, Kuala Lipis,
Pahang, F.M.S.
1922. Hill, W. C., Singapore Oil Mills, Ltd., Havelock
Road, Singapore.
1927. His Majesty's Stationery Office, Princes Street,
Westminster, S.W. 1, London, England.
1935. Ho Seng Ong, Anglo Chinese School, Malacca.
1938. Hockenhull, A. J. W., Police Officer, Port Dickson,
Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
- *1923. Hodgson, D. H., Forest Department, Seremban,
F.M.S.
1921. Holgate, M. R., Education Office, Singapore.
1922. Holtum, R. E., M.A., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
(Hon. Tr., 1923-26, 1928 ; Vice-Pres., 1929, 1936,
1937. Council 1933, 1935).
1933. Hooakaas, Dr. S., Djetis, 12, Djogjakarta, Java.
- *1921. Hoops, Dr. A. L., C.B.E., Malacca. (Vice-Pres.,
1930, 1936-37 ; Council, 1933-34).
1897. Hose, E. S., C.M.G., The Manor House, Normandy
Guilford, England. (Vice-Pres., 1923, 1925
Pres., 1924).
1938. Hough, G. C., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.
1932. Hughes, T. D., M.C.S., Magistrate's Court, Penang.
1936. Hughes-Hallet, M.C.S., District Office, Ipoh,
Perak, F.M.S.
1935. Humphrey, A. H. P., M.C.S.
1922. Hunt, Capt. H. North, M.C.S.
1921. Hunter, Dr. P. S., Municipal Offices, Singapore.
1923. Idris bin Ibrahim, Wan, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1926. Ince, H. M., Kencot Lodge, Nr. Lechlade, Glos.,
England.
1930. Ince, R. E., Segamat English School, Segamat,
Johore.
1922. Irvine, Capt. R., M.C.S., Secretary to High Com-
missioner, c/o Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1926. Irving, Mrs. G. C., Survey Office, Kuala Trengganu.
- *1921. Ivery, F. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
1936. Jackson, W. B., J.P., Christmas Island, S.S.
1927. Jamieson, M., Government Analyst, Singapore.
- *1921. Jermyn, L. A. S., Education Office, Malacca.
1932. Joachim, E. J., Kapoewas Rubber Estate, Soengei
Dekan, Pontianak, Borneo.
1910. Johnson, B. G. H., Crossways, Littlehampton,
Sussex, England.
1918. Jones, E. P.
- *1913. Jones, The Hon'ble Mr. S. W., M.C.S., British
Resident, Selangor. (Council 1935 ; Vice-Pre-
sident for the F.M.S. 1937).
- *1919. Jordan, The Hon. Mr. A. B., M.C.S., Secretary for
Chinese Affairs, Singapore.

1932. Joynt, The Hon. Mr. H. R., M.C.S., Financial Secretary, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1921. Kassim bin Sultan Abdul Hamid Halimshah, H.H. Tungku, Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1921. Kay-Mouat, Prof. J. R.
1926. Keith, H. G., Forest Dept., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- *1921. Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P. O., Chegar Perah, Pahang, F.M.S.
- *1920. Ker, W. P. W., c/o Paterson Simons & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1920. Kerr, Dr. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, England.
1926. Khoo Sian Ewe, The Hon'ble Mr., 24, Light Street, Penang.
1921. Kidd, G. M., M.C.S., Controller of Rubber, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1926. Kingsbury, Dr. A. N., Medical Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1931. Kirkwood, T. M., Millfield, Street, Somerset, England.
1921. Kitching, T., Superintendent of Surveys, Malacca.
1935. Lai Tet Loke, The Hon'ble Mr., 121, Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1929. Langlade, Baron F. de, c/o Socfin Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 330, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1927. Laycock, J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Singapore.
1923. Lease, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, England.
- *1921. Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1931. Lee Chim Tuan, Mandalay Villa, Tanjong Katong, Singapore.
- *1922. Leggate, J., "Troggett's", Wallis Wood, Ockley, Surrey, England.
- *1913. Leicester, Dr. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang.
1920. Lendrick, J., 30, Norre Alle, Aarhus, Denmark.
1935. Lennox, W. W. M., M.C.S., President, Town Board, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- *1925. Leonard, R. W. F., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Penang.
1938. Lewis, Ivor Lewis., c/o The Anderson School, Ipoh.
1922. Leyne, E. G., Sungai Purun Estate, Seminyih, Selangor.
1936. Lim, C. O., Bankruptcy Office, Penang.
1925. Linehan, The Hon. Dr. W., D.Litt., M.C.S., Director of Education, Singapore.
1934. Lloyd, W., Ulu Tiram Estate, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1928. Loch, Charles, W., Central European Mines, Ltd., Mezica, Dravska Banovina, Jugoslavija.

1918. Loh Kong Imm, 12, Kia Peng Road, Kuala Lumpur.
1930. London, The Hon. Mr. G. E., C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
1933. Lopez, A. G., The Rosary, 238, Tranquereh, Malacca.
1930. Luckham, H. A. L., M.C.S., District Officer, Tampin, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1936. Lyle, C. W., M.C.S., Chinese Protectorate, Penang.
- *1907. Lyons, The Rev. E. S., 1089, Wash, 39th Street, Los Angeles, California.
- *1920. MacBryan, G. T. M., 1, Woodstock House, 11, High Street, Marylebone, W. 1, England.
- *1933. Macdonald, P. J. W., Laan Cornelius, 7, Batavia-C, Java, N.E.I.
1929. Mace, N., Simanggang, Sarawak.
- *1910. MacFadyen, E., c/o The Sports Club, London, England.
1934. McHacopian, 26A, Orchard Road, Singapore.
1936. Macpherson, J. S., M.C.S., c/o The Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria, Africa.
- 1935, *1937. MacTier, R. S., Jardine, Matheson & Co., Ltd., Shanghai.
1936. McElwaine, Sir Percy, K.C., The Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Singapore.
1935. McLeod, D. S., Bakau & Kenya Extract Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1936. McPherson, Dr. Daniel Ross, General Hospital, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1930. Madden, L. J. B., Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Mahmood bin Haji Mohamad Said, Dato Adika Raja, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1937. Mahmood Mahyidden, Tengku, S.M.K., Kn.S.C., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1929. Mahmud bin Jintan, Education Office, Kuala Lumpur.
1936. Mahmud bin Tengku Haji Yusuf, Tengku, Government English School, Pekan, Pahang.
1903. Makepeace, W., 79, Henleaze Road, Westbury on Trym, Bristol, England. (Council, 1914, 1916, 1920; Hon. Libr., 1909-12; Vice-Pres., 1917; Hon. Sec., 1918, 1919).
1932. Malacca Historical Society, The, Malacca.
1926. Malay College, The, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1935. Mallal, Bashir A., 24, Raffles Place, Singapore.
1927. Malleson, B. K., Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai, Perak.
1916. Mann, W. E., P.O. 14, Batavia, Java, N.I.
1938. Mare, D. W. le, Assistant Director of Fisheries, S.S. and F.M.S., Fullerton Building, Singapore.
- *1907. Marriner, J. T.

1934. Martin, J.M., Colonial Office, London, S.W.1., England.
- *1925. Martin, W. M. E.
1921. Maxwell, C. N., Butterworth, Province Wellesley.
- 1922, *1938. May, Percy W., 6, Queen Anne's Gardens, Bedford Park, London, W. 4., England.
1928. Mee, B. S., Forest Department, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1927. Megat Yunus bin Megat Mohamed Isa, District Officer, Temerloh, Pahang, F.M.S.
1936. Meikle, R. H., c/o Rubber Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur.
1928. Meyer, L. D., Revenue Survey Officer, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1936. Middlebrook, S. M., M.C.S., Assistant Protector of Chinese, Malacca.
- *1926. Miles, C. V., c/o Rodyk & Davidson, Singapore.
1925. Miller, G. S., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1921. Miller, J. Innes, M.C.S., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1932. Miller, N. C. E., Department of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1925. Mills, G. R., Incorporated Society of Planters, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Mills, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. V., The Supreme Court, Johore. (Council, 1919-30, 1932-33; 1936-38; President, 1937).
1933. Milne, Mrs. C. E. Lumsden, Government English School, Muar, Johore.
1922. Mohamed Idid bin Ali Idid, The Hon. Tuan Sayid, Alor Star, Kedah.
1922. Mohamed Ismail Merican, Superintendent of Education, Alor Star, Kedah.
1936. Mohamed Jaffar bin Mantu, The High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.S.
1922. Mohamed Said, Major Dato Hajk, D.P.M.J., P.I.S., Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
1933. Mohamed Said bin Mohamed, Dr., The Hospital, Pekan, Pahang.
1921. Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, The Hon. Dato, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1921. Mohamed Sheriff bin Osman, The Hon. Che', Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1926. Morice, J., Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1920. Morkill, A. G.
1926. Mumford, E. W., Railway Police, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1915. Mundell, H. D., c/o Sisson & Delay, Singapore. (Council, 1938).
1930. Murdoch, Dr. J. W., Mental Hospital, Tanjong Rambutan, Perak, F.M.S.

1934. Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, Tengku, Asst. District Officer, Sepang, Selangor.
1934. Nightingale, H. W., M.C.S., c/o The Treasury, Penang.
1933. Nik Ahmad Kamil bin Haji Nik Mahmud, (Dato Sri Setia Raja), Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1932. Nolli, Cav. R., 47, Scotts Road, Singapore.
1938. Noone, H. D., M.A., The Perak Museum, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1938. Norgaard, C. S., The East Asiatic Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1916. Ong Boon Tat, J.P., 51, Robinson Road, Singapore.
1935. Oppenheim, H. R., Peet Marwick, Mitchell & Co., Hongkong Bank Building, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.S.
1935. Osman bin Haji Dahat, Supreme Court, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1931. Osman bin Taat, District Officer, Kroh, Upper Perak, F.M.S.
1920. O'Sullivan, T. A., Inspector of Schools, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
1913. Overbeck, H., Klitren Lor, 48, Djokjakarta, Java.
1925. Owen, A. I., Post Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.
1929. Pagden, H. T., Dept. of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1908. Parr, C. W. C., C.M.G., O.B.E., Parrisees Hayne, Howley, nr. Chard, Somerset, England.
1937. Pooley, F. G., Messrs. Presgrave and Mathews Penang.
1922. Pasqual, J. C., Jitra, Kedah.
- *1921. Paterson, Major H. S., M.C.S., Land Office, Johore.
1937. Payne, E. M. F., 53, Trinity Road, Ware, Herts, England.
1937. Payne, Dr. C. H. Withers, Drew & Napier, Collyer Quay, Singapore.
1933. Pearson, C. D., Survey Office, Johore.
1928. Pease, R. L. Telok Pelandok Estate, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
1934. Peel, J., M.C.S., c/o The Malayan Establishments Office, Singapore.
1931. Peet, G. L., The Straits Times, Singapore.
1926. Penang Library, The, Penang.
- *1921. Pendlebury, H. M., Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
1937. Pendrigh, C. S., Sedanak Estate, Johore.
- *1926. Pengilley, E. E., M.C.S., District Officer, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.
- *1925. Penrice, W., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1914. Pepys, The Hon'ble Mr. W. E., C.M.G., M.C.S., General Adviser, Johore.
- *1938. Persekutuan Guru-guru Melayu, Negri Sembilan., Education Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.

- *1920. Peskett, A. D., Barclay's Bank, Uckfield, Sussex, England.
- 1939. Pillay, Sandy Gurumathan. 46, Jalan Ibrahim Johore Bahru, Johore.
- *1921. Plummer, W. P.
- 1928. Powell, I. B., Llanfihangel, Talylllyn, Breconshire, Wales.
- 1932. Pretty, E. E. F., M.C.S., c/o The State Treasury, Johore.
- 1935. Purcell, Dr. V. W. W. S., M.C.S., Chinese Secretariat, Penang.
- 1926. Rae, The Hon'ble Colonel Cecil, C.B.E., Post Box 134, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1934. Raffles College, Singapore.
- 1924. Raja Muda of Perak, The, Telok Anson, Perak.
- 1937. Ramani, Radha Krishna, Advocate and Solicitor, 47, Cross Street, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1924. Rambaut, A. E., Forest Office, Johore Bahru.
- 1932. Rawlings, G. S., M.C.S., Third Magistrate, Singapore.
- 1916. Rayman, L., M.C.S.
- *1924. Reed, J. G., Sungkai, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1937. Regester, P. J. D., Messrs. Hogan, Adams & Allan, Penang.
- *1910. Reid, Dr. Alfred, Batang Padang Estate, Tapah, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1930. Rentse, A., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- *1921. Rex, The Hon. Mr. Marcus, Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
- 1926. Rigby, W. E., M.C.S., c/o The Treasury, Singapore.
- 1938. Robb, L. T. A., Messrs. Robb & Nilson, Guthrie Building, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1926. Robinson, P. M., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 3, England.
- 1937. Robson, J. H. M., Post Box 250, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1938. Rogers, Dr. G., The Hospital, Kuala Belait, Brunei.
- 1936. Ross, A. N., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Kota Tinggi, Johore.
- 1931. Samuel, P., 489, Swettenham Road, Seremban, F.M.S.
- 1934. Sanders, Dr. Margaret M., c/o The General Manager, F.M.S. Railways, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- *1923. Sanson, Hon. Mr. C. H., Police Headquarters, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1919. Santry, D., Slamat, Packhorse Road, Bressels Green, Sevenoaks, England.
- 1934. Sassoon, J. M., 8, de Souza Street, Singapore.
- *1896. Saunders, C. J., The Lawn, Barcombe Mills, nr. Lewes, Sussex, England. (Vice-Pres., 1910-1911, 1914-15, President, 1916-1918).

1935. Schneeberger, Dr. W. F., Hartevelstrasse, 26, Den Haag, Scheveningen, Holland.
1935. Schweizer, H., Diethelm & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1920. Scott, Dr. W., Sungai Siput, Perak, F.M.S.
- *1915. See Tiong Wah, Balmoral Road, Singapore.
1922. Sehested, S., c/o Singapore Club, Singapore.
- *1927. Sells, H. C., Satuan, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, England.
1937. Seri Maharaja, Tengku, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1934. Sheehan, J. J., M.C.S., Assistant Adviser, Muar, Johore.
1925. Shelley, M. B., C.M.G., c/o The Sports Club, 8, St. James's Square, London, S.W. 1, England. (Council, 1930-31 ; Vice-Pres., 1934).
1929. Sheppard, M. C. Frank, M.C.S., Federal Secretariat Kuala Lumpur. (Vice-President, 1937).
- *1927. Simpson-Gray, L. C., M.C.S., Public Trustees, S.S. and F.M.S., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1909. Sims, W. A., The Lodge, Gander Green Lane, Cheam, Surrey, England.
1931. Singam, T. R., Govt. English School, Raub.
1934. Sivapragasam, T., Co-operative Society Dept., Fullerton Building, Singapore.
1935. Skeat, W. W., "Pixies Holt" Lyme Regis, Dorset, England.
- *1926. Sleep, A., M.C.S., c/o The Treasury, Kuala Lumpur.
1922. Small, Sir Alexander, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.C.S., Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements. (Vice-Pres., 1936, 1937, 1938 ; President, 1939).
1936. Smith, G. A., c/o J. A. Wattie & Co., Ltd., Surabaya, Java, N.I.
1912. Smith, Prof. H. W., Papeari, Tahiti, Society Islands.
1924. Smith, J. D. M., M.C.S., District Office, Telok Anson, Perak.
- 1930, *1937. Soang A. I. C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, Dutch, S. E. Borneo, N.I.
1928. Sollis, C. G., Education Office, Hongkong.
1910. Song Ong Siang, Sir, K.B.E., V.D., c/o Aitken and Ong Siang, Singapore.
1928. Stanton, W. A., Brooklands Estate, Banting, Selangor.
1925. Stark, W. J. K., Emigration Office, Negapatam, South India.
- *1917. Stirling, W. G., c/o Cox and King's-Maymarket, London. (Coun., 1923-25, 1927-29).
1930. Strahan, A. C., Education Office, Telok Anson, Perak.
1926. Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.
1927. Sungai Patani Government English School, Sungai Patani, Kedah.

- *1918. Sykes, G. R., M.C.S., Commissioner Trade and Customs, Johore.
- 1930. Symington, C. F., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.S.
- 1937. Tacchi, A. C., Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1908. Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., 96, First Cross Street, Malacca.
- 1937. Tan Keng Teow, Senior Chinese Interpreter, Criminal District and Police Courts, Singapore.
- *1926. Tan Soo Bin, 9, Boat Quay, Singapore.
- 1913. Tayler, C. J., Telok Manggis Estate, Sepang, Selangor, F.M.S.
- *1928. Taylor, E. N., M.C.S., Official Assignee, Singapore. (Council, 1933).
- 1934. Tempany, Dr. H. A., C.B.E., 7, North End House, Fitzjames Avenue, Kensington, W. 14, England.
- 1935. Thatcher, G. S., Executive Engineer, Kluang, Johore.
- 1938. Thomas, F., St. Andrew's School, Singapore.
- *1921. Thomas, L. A., Chief Police Officer, Singapore.
- 1936. Thornett, B. R., 80, Perry Rise, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 23, England.
- 1938. Traeger, Miss G. L. Principal, Anglo-Chinese Girls' School, Chamberlain Road, Ipoh.
- 1938. Turner, Clive Lloyd, Veterinary Office, Raub, Pahang.
- 1930. Turner, H. G., M.C.S., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
- 1935. Turner, R. N., M.C.S., Assistant District Officer, Lower Perak.
- 1932. Tweedie, M. W. F., M.A., Curator, Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Honorary Treasurer, 1936-1939).
- 1930. University Library, The, Rangoon, Burma.
- 1936. University Library, The Librarian, Triplicane, Madras, India.
- 1938. Vaux, F. G., Messrs. Rodyk and Davidson, Singapore.
- 1935. Veerasamy, The Hon. Mr. S. M., J.P., M.F.C., c/o Messrs. Saunders & Co., Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1925. Venables, O. E., M.C.S., c/o The Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S.
- 1938. Vinen, G. H., c/o Christmas Island Phosphate Co., 86, Billiter Building, Billiter Street, London, E.C. 3.
- 1938. Voorhoeve, Dr. P., J. Tidemanlaan, 3, Pematangsiantar, Sumatra, N.E.I.
- 1937. Wade, G. H., Straits Times, Singapore.
- *1926. Waddell, Miss M. C.
- 1938. Wales, C. A., Tabanac Estate, Lahad Datu, *via* Sandakan, British North Borneo.

1931. Walker, F. S., Forest Office, Klang, Selangor.
- *1926. Wallace, W. A., Tewantin, *via* Cooroy, Queensland, Australia.
1932. Watherston, D. C., M.C.S.,
1916. Watson, J. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor.
1938. Webb, G. W., M.C.S., c/o The Treasury, Penang.
1935. White, L. E., Tebing Tinggi Estate, Kusial, Kelantan.
1927. White, The Ven. Graham, St. Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore.
1938. White, T. L., King Edward VII School, Taiping, Perak.
1923. Whitfield, L. D., Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak.
1933. Whitton, C. H., M.C.S., Traffic Magistrate, Singapore.
- *1926. Wilcoxon, W. J., Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1920. Wilkinson, R. J., C.M.G., M.Y., Helen May, Chios, Greece.
- *1926. Willan, T. L.
- *1921. Wilbourne, E. S., Batu Gajah, Perak.
- *1922. Williams, F. L., M.C.S.
1935. Wilton, W. K., c/o Survey Department, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- *1910. Winkelmann, H.
1937. Winsley, T. M., c/o Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1938. Wolters, O. W., M.C.S., Chinese Secretariat, Singapore.
1920. Woolley, G. C., Jesselton, B.N. Borneo.
- *1905. Worthington, A. F., Longclose, Pennington, Lymington, Hants, England. (Vice-Pres., 1924)
1937. Wright, A. Dickson, F.R.C.S., 43, Elsworthy Road, Regent's Park, N.W. 3, England.
1936. Wright, Miss E. Fowler, Sister's Quarters, General Hospital, Singapore.
- *1921. Wurtzburg, C. E., M.C., Glen Line, Ltd., 20, Billiter Street, London, England. (Coun., 1924-6, 1930, Hon. Sec., 1925; Vice-Pres., 1927, 1929, 1933-35; President, 1936).
1914. Wyly, A. J., 7, Piccadilly Mansions, 129, Oxford Road, Rosebank, Johannesburg, South Africa.
1936. Wynne, A. J., Drainage and Irrigation Dept., Kuantan, Pahang.
1926. Yahya bin Ahmad Affi, Sheikh, 70, The Arcade, Singapore.
- *1923. Yates, H. S., 331, Jiannini Hall, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
- *1917. Yates, Major W. G.
1932. Yeh Hua Fen, The Rev., Christchurch, Malacca.

xxx

- *1920. Yewdall, Capt. J. C., "Seatoller", Meadway, Berkhamsted, Herts, England.
- *1904. Young, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rosshire, England.
- 1920. Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad, Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.
- 1938. Zainal Abidin bin Raja Tachik, Raja, Malay College, District Office, Tampin, Negri Sembilan.

THE MALAY COINS OF MALACCA

By C. H. DAKERS, M.C.S.

(Plates I and II).

In 1900 and again in 1904 excavations near the mouth of the Malacca river resulted in the finding of a considerable number of coins. The coins were presented by the Hon'bles Messrs. W. Egerton and R. N. Bland to the Raffles Museum and were the subject of articles in the J.R.A.S. (Straits Branch) Nos. 39 and 44 by Dr. R. Hanitsch. Malay, Portuguese, Dutch and East India Company coins formed the bulk of the collection and the most modern coin was one of 1856.

Dr. Hanitsch was successful in identifying amongst these a series of Portuguese coins of Malacca whose existence had been hitherto unknown, for, though Albuquerque's Commentaries made special mention of the recall of the 'Moors' money and the coinage of a currency by the Portuguese in Malacca, Millies,¹ the great authority on the Numismatics of the Archipelago, had stated 'Malacca has left us no known numismatic monument'. Dr. Hanitsch's researches published in his two articles were successful in showing that Malacca had a Portuguese currency starting from the reign of Dom Manoel (1495-1521) but he went on to say that he could not furnish absolute proof that the collection contained any coins of the pre-Portuguese Sultans of Malacca. The readings of some of the Malay coins which he gives cannot be accepted and in only one case did he attempt an identification.

Since 1905 these coins have been in the Raffles Museum but the Malay coins have not been the subject of any further study. In 1936 during the process of cataloguing their collections I was allowed to see what could be made of them. The result has been of interest for it can now be safely claimed that coins of the early Malay Sultans of Malacca have been identified.

According to Albuquerque's Commentaries Sultan Iskander of Malacca was granted the privilege of issuing small coins of pewter, as the result of an embassy to the Emperor of China,² and had exercised this privilege on his return to Malacca. No money of this reign has yet been discovered but coins of the 5th Malacca king, Muzaffar Shah—a historic figure—and some of his successors, have been identified.

The coins in question are all made of tin.³ This is an unfortunate metal as it is subject to a disease which is infectious and apart from surface corrosion it decays internally. In many cases the whole surface of a coin may flake off leaving no trace of the original design or inscription. Judging from illustrations the coins have deteriorated since they were in Dr. Hanitsch's hands.

The method of minting the coins seems to have been to cast the blanks and then to strike the flans with a pair of dies. Most of the coins show the point, or points, at which the metal flowed into the mould. It was usual for the blank to be decorated with a 'pusat' or projecting button in the centre and the fact that in many cases the design is stamped into this 'pusat' shows that the blanks were afterwards struck. In addition to this some coins show signs of double striking caused by the slipping of the die and also of partial striking as a result of the die not being properly centred on the flan. In this respect these coins differ from the late Malayan issues where the inscription was sunk in the moulds and the coins cast in one operation. These defects in metal and manufacture and the frequently worn and corroded state of the coins have made it difficult to decipher the whole of the majority of the inscriptions. Luckily a number of duplicates of the earliest coins have made it possible to piece together the whole inscription of the Muzaffar and Mansur coins, but there are several unique pieces on which only fragments of the legend can be discerned.

To the larger coins I have given the name of Cashas. 'Caixes' is the name used by Albuquerque in his Commentaries. Captain John Davis⁴ in 1599 visited Achin and saw two kinds of money, gold and lead. The latter he calls 'Caxas' or 'Cashas' and says that 400 of them equalled one 'Cowpan' and four 'Cowpans' one 'Mas'. There are some smaller⁵ coins which I have called half Cashas and again there are two small and very thin coins which may be quarter Cashas. The word is of South Indian origin and I have not found it in any Malay dictionary.

The weights of the coins vary and I do not think that care was taken to adjust them accurately. The sizes too vary among the Cashas from 19 to 25 millimetres. Their average size is 21.5 millimetres and the average weight is 2.5 to 3 grammes.

In general it may be remarked that the collection covers the history of Malacca up to the middle of the last century.⁶ It was noticed by Dr. Hanitsch that the well-known perforated types of the Northern Malayan tin coins are absent but it is still more remarkable that there are no specimens of the six and eight sided types of the Johore tin coins, called 'Katun',⁷ collected by G. B. Gardner from the old sites on the Johore River. There are some coins of a different style which I suspect may have found their way into the collection from outside, but Malacca was a flourishing port and it is more than likely that the currency found includes besides one Trengganu coin identified, (Hanitsch No. 5) coins of Achin and other States in the Archipelago. If any silver or gold coins were found they did not come the way of the Museum. Silver Malay coins are rarer than gold and though the Portuguese struck silver in Malacca most of the silver in use in Malaysia was of foreign origin.

I have divided the collection into classes in an attempt to arrange the coins in some sort of chronological order.

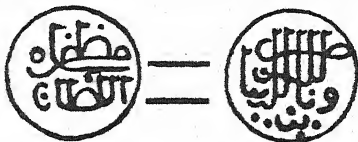
- A. Legible Coins attributed to Rulers.
- B. Al-Sultan Al-Adil.
- C. Illegible types other than A and B.
- D. Barbarous Types.
- E. Uninscribed Types.
- F. Miscellaneous.
- G. Coins with legible or partially legible inscriptions not yet attributed.

Legible coins attributed to Rulers.

Malacca Sultans.

Muzaffar Shah 1445—1458/9.

- (1)* O. Muzaffar Shah Al-Sultan.
- Casha. R. Nasir al-Dunya Wa'l-Din. (interlaced).
'The Helper of the World and the Religion'.
Varied dies. Size 20 millimetres and weight 2.28 grammes (average of three).
One fine and five poor specimens plus fragments.



- (2)* O and R as last but with the obverse inscriptions conventionalised in a somewhat different manner.
- ? ½ Casha. The circle enclosing the inscription is about 11 millimetres diameter but the coins are all imperfectly struck, and part only of the inscription appears. 4 specimens, varied dies. Size 15 millimetres. Weight 2.26 grammes average.

I think that there can be little doubt that these attributions are correct. The obverse inscription of (1) is similar in style to that used, for instance, on 15th century Brunei tombstones (see J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. xi plate xiii). The reverse inscription on (1) and (2) is in Arabic script similar to that on early tombs such as Mansur Shah's at Malacca (see J.R.A.S., Straits Branch, No. 78 Plates I and II).

Dr. W. Linehan, M.C.S., read the obverse and Mr. J. Walker of the British Museum read the reverse inscriptions. There are several specimens from this Malacca find in the British Museum.

*Coins so marked are illustrated.

Mansur Shah 1458/9—1477.

- (3)* O. Mansur Shah bin Muzaffar Shah al Sultan.⁸
 ? $\frac{1}{2}$ Casha. R. As on 1 and 2.



The die of these coins is too large for the flan and the striking is also very careless. The circle enclosing the inscription is 17 millimetres in diameter. Luckily there are nine specimens which has enabled me with the help of Mr. J. Schulman to reconstruct the whole inscription.

Varied dies. Size 13.75 millimetres. Weight 1.53 grammes.

There are poor specimens of types 2 and 3 in the Selangor and Perak Museums and in the collection of the Malacca Historical Society.

No coins of Ala'u'Din Riayat Shah (1477—1488) have been certainly identified.

Mahmud Shah 1488—1529/30.

- (4)* O. Al Sultan Mahmud (?Shah) surface partly gone.
 Casha R. Conventionalised Al Adil (?) and several zigzags
 Size 21 mm. Weight 2.820 grammes.
- (5)* O. as last but conventionalised.
 Casha R. Debased attempt to copy Muzaffar Shah's Arabic
 reverse inscription? (Three specimens from
 the same dies). Size 21.5 mm. Weight
 average 3 grammes.
- (6) O. as last but more conventionalised.
 Casha R. ? Plain. (Surface mostly gone). Size 22.5 mm.
 Weight 3.866 grammes.
- (6A) Four poor specimens resembling the Mahmud type but
 with name illegible.

There is in the Selangor Museum (provenance unknown) a casha resembling (6) with a reverse of the same style as (5).

The identification of these coins 4, 5 and 6 with the name of Mahmud as being coins of the last Sultan of Malacca is by no means certain. In favour it can be said that they appear to be of some age, they were found at Malacca and, in the case of the three coins under 5, the reverse appears to have on it a corruption of the reverse type of Muzaffar and Mansur. No other specimens are known as far as I have been able to ascertain but there are some similar coins still unidentified in the British Museum.

Ahmad bin Mahmud 1510.

- (7)* O Ahmad bin Mahmud Shah⁹
 Casha R. Al Sultan al Adil. Size 22 mm. Weight 2.30 grammes.
 (8) O. and R. as last but the inscription on each side is smaller and is contained within a plain circle of 17 mm. Size 21.5 mm. Weight 2.872 grammes.
 Casha
 These coins are Dr. Hanitsch's 3.

There is a coin of similar type with a reverse similar to (8) in the British Museum which is supposed to have come from the Malacca find. This reads Ahmad Abu Mahmud Shah on the obverse. I cannot explain this Abu (father of) except as a mistake on the part of an Arab die sinker if, as appears probable from the appearance of the coin, it is of the same issue as 8 above.

Each of these three coins appears to be unique.

B.

Al Sultan Al Adil.

This type, which does not bear a Ruler's name, covers the largest field and requires some explanation. Al Sultan Al Adil was a common title and was used from the earliest times. It appears, for example, on the coins of Dehli as far back as the reign of Shamsu-d-din Iltutmish who reigned 1210 to 1235 A.D.¹¹ It is natural that such a title as 'the Just King' should be a popular one. The word, 'Adl' and the scales were later used by the E.I.C. on the coins of Bombay.

On this group the mode of writing the word Al Sultan has undergone a great deal of modification and has been conventionalised out of all recognition. Al

Sultan is properly written

السلطان

It appears on Muzaffar's coins as

الظان

A1.

the Sin running at the base of the other two letters forming the word

On Mahmud's coins it has become

المان

A4.

and even more conventionalised

الشا

A6.

The last inscription is however not absolutely distinct.

The first coin of Group B is the clearest and shows

الشا

B1.

and so the modification continues until we have

السا

B22 and no more to show that Al

Sultan is meant.

With this we have Al Adil

الادار

and this is so similar to the shorn Al Sultan that in

the end the

السا

الادار

merge together into a monogramme such as

السا

B34 or even

السا

B37.

We have finally

السا

B40.

The last is a neat well made coin and bears the same relation to its predecessors as did Cunobelinus' gold stater of Camulodunum, with the free horse and wheat ear, to the barbarous imitations of Philip of Macedon's stater, with the wreathed head of Apollo and the double horsed chariot, which were struck by the earlier Kings. For that reason I have put it last in the list.

It is characteristic that amongst the illiterate a conspicuous feature of a coin inscription should catch the eye and become gradually the mark which all money must have, and in the case of these Malacca coins

that feature seems to have been the

السا

The Coins of Achin (see Millies plate XVI Nos. 132-136) bear this same type but the Johore and Kelantan coins have the inscription Malik al Adil. Mr. Gardner has one Al Sultan Al Adil coin in his collection from the Johore River but it is round and larger than the Johore coins and so is probably a stray from Malacca or Achin.

I have attempted to arrange the coins below into divisions according to their various styles.

Cursive type.

1.*

As stated above this has the best obverse.

The reverse appears to be double struck. Size, 22.5 mm.

Weight 2.685 grammes.

- 2* & 3. These coins have on one side a curious zigzag¹² which may be a corruption of the Arabic 'Mahmud'. There is one coin of this variety in the Selangor Museum. No. 3 shows nothing on one side but the edging dots. I think, however, it belongs to Class B.
4. The Al adil is clear. The reverse is blank.
- 5 & 6. The reverses have what appears to be possibly a corruption of Muzaffar's Arabic legend.
- 7, 8, 9 & 9A. Al Sultan Al Adil both sides. No. 9A has on the upper part of the obverse some uncertain lettering.
- 10, 11, 12. These three have unclassifiable reverses.
- 13, 14 15. With uncertain reverses. No. 15 is I think Hanitsch's No. 1 which he states is dated 1173 (1757 A.D.) but I consider this doubtful.¹³ Its obverse may possibly be intended for Al Sultan Mahmud but is double struck.
16. This is the only one of its kind. What inscription there is can be seen clearly but it is difficult to read.

Angle & Circle Type.

- 17, 18, 19* & 20. These have the inscription expressed in a conventionalised manner. The reverses are poor and cannot be made out.
21. This has the same type of obverse but the reverse is of the next type.
- 21A. Five poor specimens.

Angle & Semi-circle Type.

- 22, 23,* 24 & 25. All have this style of obverse combined with a cursive style reverse and Al Sultan Al Adil on both sides.
- 26.* This has both obverse and reverse in the same style.
- 26A. Four poor specimens.

Degenerate Types.

27. This is much double struck.
- 28, 29, 30. Types difficult to classify.
- 31.* Roughly made coin of very degenerate style.
- 31A. Four poor specimens. One is unusually small. (19 mm.)

Monogrammatic Types.

- 32 & 33. Cursive style. No. 32 appears to have the double legend on the reverse while the No. 33 reverse is plain.
- 34 & 35. Angle and circle style. The reverse of 34 resembles that on the Mahmud's No. 5.
36. Poor specimen O. Angle and circle and R. Cursive Al Sultan Al Adil ?

- 37, 38, 39. Degenerate Monogrammes. No. 39, of which there are two specimens from the same die, has a plain reverse.
- 40.* Two coins from the same dies. (Hanitsch No. 6. plate II fig. 11). This coin has been mentioned above. It is neat and well made. The reverse has a curious trident-like pattern and a large projection near the edge of the coin.
- 40A. Four poor specimens which appear to be of this type.

C.

Illegible types other than A and B.

- These Cashas are not of the Al Sultan Al Adil style but have inscriptions which have not yet been read. They are not well preserved and only fragments of the legends can be seen. The discovery of further specimens should enable us to read them.
41. This appears to be double struck on the reverse.
- 42, 43, 44, have remains of cursive inscriptions on both sides except in the case of No. 42 which appears to have a blank reverse.
- 45 & 46.
- 47.* This has Sah (?) on the reverse.
48. The reverse has what appears to be a design but is probably a flaw in the die.

D.

Barbarous Types.

- This class consists of unclassifiable coins.
49. Very well preserved but not readable. Is the reverse inscription a date?
- 50.* O. What appears to be (but is not) a Chinese character.
- R. Random collection of strokes?
51. Degenerate copy of Class B. Monogramme?
52. O. flawed. R. copy of V. O. C.?
53. What appears to be I K is stamped on the obverse.

E.

Uninscribed Types.

- This class is small compared with the inscribed. These coins usually show a 'pusat' on one or both sides. are of the ordinary type. One is a fragment.
- 53—58.
- 59—61. These may be badly worn Portuguese coins. They have no pusats. 59 is thin but 60 and 61, which are of thicker fabric and larger than the usual casha, may be 'half bastardos'. 61 is of irregular shape.

They weigh (59) 3.900 (60) 7.917 (61) 7.257 grammes.

Two specimens have been presented to the Malacca Historical Society.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XVII, Part I,

Miscellaneous.

62. This class contains 59 Cashas, some broken, on which the inscription is so fragmentary as to make classification impossible. Most are corroded and damaged as well as being considerably worn. I have put them together and numbered them 62.
63. There are also two totally illegible coins of 14 mm. weighing .884 and .812 grammes which may be quarter cashas. I have numbered them 63.

Coins with legible or partially legible inscriptions not yet attributed.

- $\frac{1}{2}$ Casha ? O. Mu'izz al-Din ?
- 64.* R. (Al Sultan ?) Al Adil.
This is a small thick coin with thick lettering. Weight 1.420 grammes Size 13.5 mm.
- $\frac{1}{2}$ Casha ? O. as last ? Only a small part of the die has struck the flan.
65. R. Al Sultan Al Adil ?
This is a larger coin than the last and the pusat and a flaw in the die have disfigured the reverse inscription. Weight 1.663 grammes Size 16 mm.
- Pitis ? O. Within a line circle of 16.5 mm.
- 66.* Al Sultan Muhammad Sharif (?)
R. In the form of a decorative state barge 'Bismillah al Rahman Al Rahim' (?). All within a line circle and border of dots (16 mm.). Below, the date 11 \wedge —the last figure not clear—about 1760 A.D.
This coin appears to be cast and not struck.¹⁴
Weight 1.840 grammes. Size 19 mm.
- Pitis ? O. Within a line circle divided horizontally by a double line.....? Wallah.
67. R. as O. illegible.
This coin has been struck on a cast blank but so badly that only part of the legend appears. It is much corroded. Weight 2.182 grammes. Size 18 mm.
These last two coins are, I suspect, 'foreigners'. No. 67 resembles slightly the Kelantan gold coin Bucknill J.M.B.R.A.S. 1923 page 205 and Linehan J.M.B.R.A.S. Volume XII part II plate X b 3.

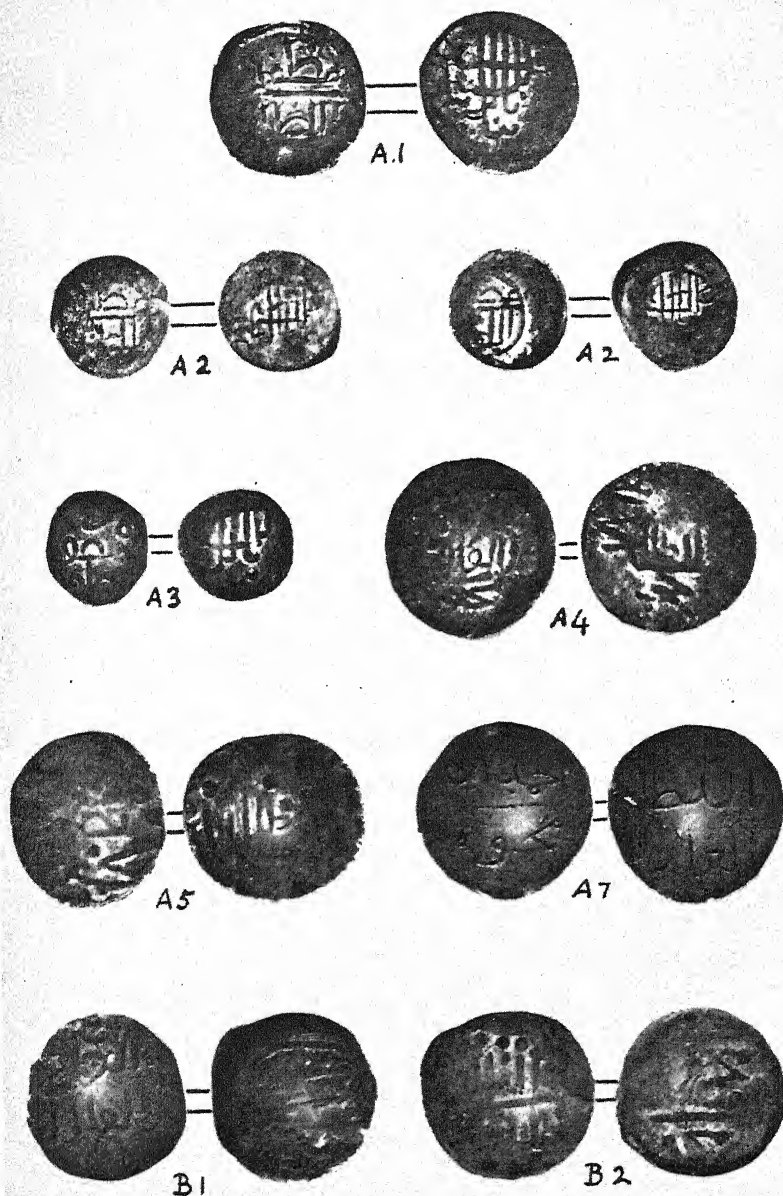
One more object was found at Malacca associated with the coins. It is illustrated in Dr. Hanitsch's first article Plate I figure I. He suggests that it shows a representation of St. Catherine's wheel and that it was coined in Goa. I am of the opinion that the obverse design is a seven petalled flower. The reverse is a blank and it is probable that it was used as a counter. Dr. Hanitsch gives its size as 27 mm. and weight as 8.9 grammes.

We can expect to get little more light on these Malacca Coins until we have a much larger number to study. Unfortunately this tin currency was so intrinsically worthless that it was not hoarded. I know no record of a treasure trove of coins of this metal found in Malaya.

We cannot even say that the coins of Class B onwards are actually coins of Malacca and the dating of this same series presents considerable difficulty.

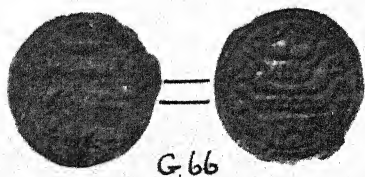
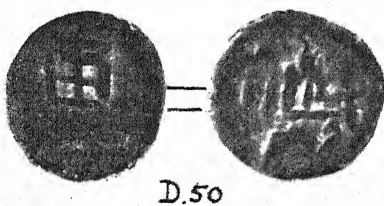
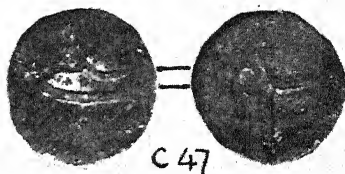
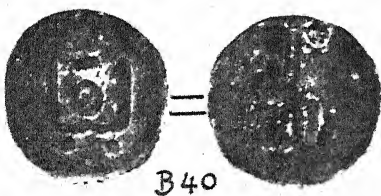
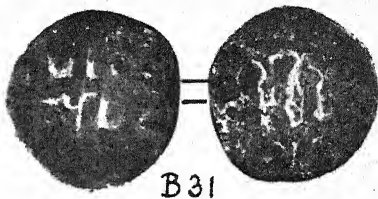
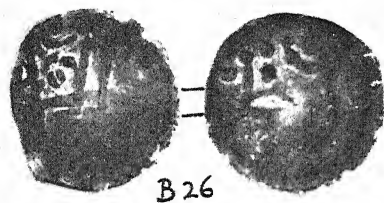
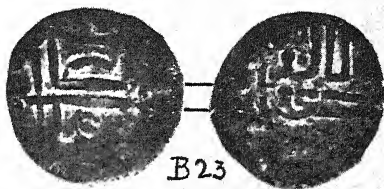
We now have established a tin currency dating from before the Portuguese conquest. The Portuguese called this in 'in order to withdraw and suppress the Coinage of the Moors and cast their root and name out of the land' and so great a quantity of money was thus carried there (*i.e.* to the mint) out of fear of the penalty (death) . . . that the officers could not despatch their business fast enough'. Whether Albuquerque gives us here the true situation or that which he wished to appear true I cannot say but it is a fact that the Portuguese seem to have filled amply the local needs for small change in tin. This carries us from the reign of Muzaffar Shah up to the capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1641. The Dutch did not coin in Malacca and in early years struck very little money in the Netherlands Indies. They began to cope with the insatiable demand of the Malayan Archipelago for small change only when the Vereenigde Ostindische Compagnie started to pour out from Europe those millions of V.O.C. doits which are commonly found all over the country. The Malacca excavations produced fourteen of them, the earliest being dated 1729 (Hanitsch No. 1, Westfrisia). From that date the next hundred years is represented by V.O.C. doits, fractions of Stivers, Keping tokens and E.I.C. coins for Sumatra. The series stops at 1856 with an isolated modern Netherlands Indies copper cent.

The last Portuguese coins attributed to Malacca are silver pieces dated 1636¹⁵ and, though there are none of these coins in the collection, it is possible that some of the unattributed Portuguese tin coins may belong to the last years of their rule. This leaves us with large gap in the series of coins which we have been able to date, and from the end of the Portuguese series in, say, 1641 up the V.O.C. doit of 1729 there is nothing which we can definitely say was the local currency. I would now suggest that we take the Cashas of classes B to F and use them to fill this gap of 100 years roughly from the first quarter of the 17th to the first quarter



Dakera: Ancient Malay tin coinage from Malacca.







of the 18th century. I have no justification for this theory except that it seems to meet our case and also because it is a fact that the manufacture of local tin money was certainly not suppressed by the Dutch at this period in their possessions in the Netherlands Indies.¹⁶

NOTES.

- (1). H. C. Millies 'Recherches sur Les Monnaies des Indigènes de L'Archipel Indien et de la Péninsule Malaie' (1871) p. 140.
- (2). If this is true it is very curious that these Malacca coins show no trace of Chinese influence inasmuch as they are struck and have no central piercing. Chinese coins were found with them but Dr. Hanitsch states (p. 186) that they were too much corroded to be identified. I have not seen them.
- (3). A specimen of Class F has been analysed in the Institute for Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur and found to be practically pure tin with a trace of lead.
- (4). John Davis reports to the Earl of Essex. 'Purchas his Pilgrimes'. The First Part London 1625 fo. III Book p. 123. The coins have been referred to variously as cashes, chazzas, caixas, caxias and caxas.
- (5). The flans and dies are smaller, in the case of type two, so I have classified them as half cashas. This does not prevent type two being a later issue of cashas on a smaller scale as it may be noted that there are no large flan cashas of Mansur Shah in the collection, though the dies for type three are the same size as those for type one. As weights do not seem to have been carefully adjusted they give us little guidance. The average weight of type two is nearly the same as type one but when we try to argue from this we are confronted with the fact that the best specimen of type one weighs 1.937 grammes while a poor one weighs 2.465. The British Museum specimens include a thick dump shaped coin of half casha type which is difficult to classify.
- (6). There are no coins between a Netherlands Indies cent of 1838 and the last coin, a modern style copper N.I. cent of 1856.
- (7). J. R. Wilkinson gives 'Ketun' for this word and derives it from Ducatoon.
- (8). The Mansur Shah part of this inscription was read for me by Mohamed Yasin bin Malim Sulaiman of the Selangor State Secretariat. I had originally failed to notice that the flan was too small for the dies on these coins and had classified them in two groups according to the legible part remaining on them. It was Mr. J. Schulman of Amsterdam (who was so kind as to go through this article) who pointed out the error and suggested the full reading now adopted.

- (9). The following note has been contributed by Dr. W. Linehan, M.C.S. :

This is one of the instances where numismatic evidence corroborates history. Ahmad was, by a Pahang princess, the eldest son of Sultan Mahmud, the last Malay ruler of Malacca who was driven out by the Portuguese in 1511, and died at Kampar in 1528.

In 1510 Mahmud had his Prime Minister, the Bendahara Seri Maharaja, wantonly murdered. He then proceeded to marry the Bendahara's daughter, Tun Fatimah, whose first husband was one of the victims of the massacre that signalized her father's death. Mahmud, not long afterwards, influenced by the grief displayed by Tun Fatimah, was smitten with remorse. He proclaimed his son Ahmad Sultan, handing over to him the regalia of State, and himself retired temporarily to Kayu Ara in the hinter-land of Malacca. It was almost certainly in celebration of this event which occurred in 1510, that the coinage of which this is a specimen was struck.

A few words may be said regarding the subsequent career of Ahmad. He took the principal part in the defence of Malacca against the Portuguese, and, mounted on an elephant, himself took part in the fight, and was wounded. On the capture of the town he and his father fled to Pagoh on the Muar, and he threw up a stockade at Bentayan (the modern Bandar Maharani). When this place was captured by the Portuguese, the Malays fled to Pahang. Thence they went on to Bintan (the island of Riau).

In course of time Mahmud had the son, whom he had once invested with the dignity of Sultan, slaughtered.

- (11). The Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli (1936) by H. N. Wright p. 21 No. 53A.
- (12). See A4 reverse.
- (13). I have not been able to identify Dr. Hanitsch's (2) two coins dated " ۱۷۷۱ i.e. 1758 A.D." nor his No. 4 with 'Khan Mahmud'. I suspect the last is one of my A 4, 5, or 6.
- (14). Nos. 64, 65 and 66 have been read by Mr. J. Walker of the British Museum.
- (15). See H. T. Grogan's article 'Indo-Portuguese Numismatics. The Issues of the Malacca Mint' in the Numismatic Circular for November—December 1916 figures 20, 21 and 23.
- (16). H. C. Millies, op. cit., plates XIV, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI.

THE FLORA OF THE LIMESTONE HILLS OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

By M. R. HENDERSON, F.L.S.

(Plates III—XII).

A striking feature of the scenery in parts of the Malay Peninsula is the occurrence of abrupt cliffs of limestone. They rise sheer out of the surrounding plain and their precipitous sides, often honeycombed with caves, and their fantastic pinnacles, attract attention immediately.

These outcrops of limestone become more common the further north one goes in the Peninsula and the first to be observed are close to Kuala Lumpur, some 200 miles from Singapore. They are commonest in Perak, Pahang, Kelantan, Perlis and Langkawi. Scrivenor in Burkill, Dict. Econ. Prod. Mal. Pen. II (1935) p. 1345, gives the following interesting information about them: "If all the limestone hills were collected together they would form a block with an area of over 100 square miles, and a height of about 800 feet, giving a mass of limestone with a volume of about sixteen cubic miles. This rough estimate gives the amount of limestone occurring as hills standing above the country level and does not take into account the far greater amount of limestone forming flat or gently undulating ground which is usually covered by soil and alluvium". In this article he gives also the chemical composition of the limestone and the chief uses to which it is put. In his "Geology of Malaya", p. 140, he states that "the limestone of Malaya is so pure that no weathering products are visible except a covering of dark red earth which is largely composed of residual clay coloured by iron oxide".

The limestone in the Peninsula does not attain any great height above sealevel, few of the hills reaching 2,000 feet.

Botanical collecting has been done on these hills to some extent for many years, but only in the more accessible parts of the north and west. The writer, however, has had opportunities, during the past few years, of visiting most of the important limestone areas and of making collections and observations, and the purpose of this account is to bring together what is now known of the flora and to show how it differs from that on other geological formations. Only the limestone hills are taken into consideration, and not those areas mentioned by Scrivenor where the underlying rock is limestone, covered by soil.

Limestone areas and collections therefrom.

In order to obtain as complete a flora as possible of the limestone, the Herbarium of the Singapore Botanic Gardens was searched for definite records and all publications dealing with the local flora carefully scrutinised. The result was somewhat

disappointing. In a great many cases the collector did not state definitely that his plant was found on limestone. Merely giving the locality, such as "Batu Caves", is not sufficiently precise, for the specimen may have been gathered somewhere near the base of the cliff, not necessarily on limestone. All such dubious records, therefore, were excluded, unless they were supported by later collections with a definite note that the specimen was found on limestone.

Setul.—Some of the limestone hills here were collected upon by Ridley, Haniff and Kerr.

Perlis.—Many small limestone hills are dotted about the alluvial plain, apart from the boundary range between Siam and Perlis. Ridley collected on the small hills near Kangar, and Corner and Henderson have also collected on those, including Bukit Lagi, Bukit Besih Hangat, Bukit Chupeng, Bukit Ketri, Bukit Wang Tangga, Tebing Tinggi, and on Pulau Rabana, off Kuala Perlis. A native collector (Kiah) from the Botanic Gardens Singapore made collections at Kaki Bukit in 1938.

Langkawi.—This most interesting group of islands has been visited many times, by Curtis, Fox, Haniff, Nur, Ridley, Robinson and Seimund, Kerr, Holttum, Henderson, and Symington. As the islands are not wholly of limestone but also of granite and quartzite, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether some of the older collections were made on limestone or not. Curtis for example often labels his plants as from "near Kuah", but the granite and limestone are close together at this point. Where there is definite indication of a precise locality, it is usually not difficult to determine the formation from which the plant came, but a few localities on labels have not been traced on maps or by enquiries among the local Malays.

The writer in 1934 collected almost exclusively on limestone in Selat Panchor, round the coasts of Pulau Timun and Pulau Dayang Bunting, and at Kisap near Kuah.

Kedah.—Gunong Keriang near Alor Star has been visited by Kunstler, Curtis, Fox, Ridley, Haniff, and the writer. This hill has been the source of several ornamental plants now cultivated at the Anak Bukit Gardens at Alor Star and in the Waterfall Gardens Penang. The large hill at Baling has had very little collecting done upon it. Best obtained a few plants there in 1929, and the writer and Kiah climbed it in 1938, unfortunately at a season (May) when very little was in flower. A large hill to the south of Baling, shown on the 1938 Geological map, has not been visited.

Kelantan.—An extensive range of limestone hills borders the railway line from the state boundary northwards. There are so many that the geological maps do not attempt to mark them all.

Nur and Foxworthy collected here in 1924 and the writer in 1927. He made large collections on one of the largest hills close to the railway line—Gua Panjang—and visited Gua Ninek and Gua Musang.

The summit of Gunong Stong, c. 5,000 ft., was reported to be capped with limestone, but Symington and Willbourn report that there are only a few boulders of limestone, of no significance from a botanical point of view.

In 1935 the writer visited Kuala Betis on the Nenggiri river and found small limestone hills a short distance up the Sungai Betis, which are not marked on the geological maps. One of these, Gua Teja, was climbed and fairly well explored and collections were made round the base of another, Gua Lambok. What appeared to be large limestone cliffs were seen much further up the Betis, but the 1938 Geological map indicates quartzite and shale in this vicinity. Further up the Nenggiri from Kuala Betis is Gunong Ayam, marked on some maps as limestone and said by the local Malays to be such, but judging from the latest geological map it is more likely to be a quartzite ridge.

Limestone boulders occur on the path between Kuala Betis and Gua Musang, but no hills were seen in this area.

The 1934 map of Kelantan showed a large ridge on the Lebir river, called Batu Papan, marked in the conventional way for limestone. This ridge, however, is composed of shale or ancient volcanic rock (fide E. S. Willbourn), and the only limestone found in the vicinity was a solitary boulder on the river-bank.

Trengganu.—The Geological maps show no limestone hills in this state.

Pahang.—The range along the railway in Kelantan extends south into Pahang almost to Kuala Lipis, the hills gradually getting smaller and further apart as one goes southwards. Near Padang Tungku are one or two small hills. These have not been visited, nor have two large hills shown on the map east of Sungai Yu. Gua Tipus, near Chegar Perah, was collected upon by the writer in 1927.

Bukit Serdam, near Raub, marked on the map as a single hill, is a group of several. The writer has climbed to the highest point and collected upon it, and he has also made collections on Bukit Chintamani, just north of Karak.

Kota Glanggi, on the Benta-Kuantan road, has been visited more than once, first by Ridley, then by Evans, who, however, employed a Dyak collector for plants and labelled them insufficiently. The writer collected on parts of this group in 1929, and in the same year, in company with Carr, climbed Gunong

Sennyum, near Kuala Krau. Evans also collected at the base of Gunong Sennyum, but again without precise data.

The group of hills northwest of Kuantan has been collected upon only by the writer in 1931. The larger hills of the group, Bukit Sagu and Bukit Cheras, were partially explored.

A group of hills to the south of the Pahang river at Jerantut has not been visited.

Perak.—Collecting on the limestone has been more extensive in Perak than in any other state. Nearly all the limestone areas have been visited.

Kunstler collected chiefly at Gopeng and Kampar, and his collections are almost invariably labelled with precise details of locality. In King's "Materials for a Flora of the Malay Peninsula" there occasionally occurs a locality called "Limbo Hills". This is a misreading of Kunstler's labels. He, or a clerk, almost always spelt "limestone" as "limbstone" and contracted it to "Limbs."

Ridley, Curtis, Burkill and the writer have collected near Ipoh, but in the case of the first mentioned it is not always safe to assume that his plants came from limestone.

Scortechini and Curtis collected a little at Batu Kurau near Taiping, and Kunstler at Gunong Pondok, north of Kuala Kangsar. Some of his labels from here are puzzling. For instance he occasionally labels a plant as from "near Gunong Pondok", giving the altitude as 1,000 feet or more. Burkill and Haniff collected about the base of this hill, and the writer to the summit.

The small hills near Lenggong in Upper Perak were collected upon by Ridley's collector, unfortunately without precise labelling. The writer made fairly comprehensive collections there in 1930.

Selangor.—Batu Caves, near Kuala Lumpur, has been visited many times by nearly all collectors working in the Peninsula, but again in many cases there is difficulty in deciding whether plants are actually from the limestone or not.

Bukit Takun, the very conspicuous hill near Kanching, has been climbed and collected upon by Symington and Nur, and the writer made a hurried ascent in 1937. Ridley collected a little round the base. Although close to Kuala Lumpur and of great interest botanically, this hill has had very little collecting done upon it, perhaps because of the difficulty of the ascent.

One of the earliest references to collecting on the Peninsular limestone that can be traced is one by Tenison-Woods in the Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales, Jan. 1889,

p. 34. In the course of a short statement he says that the limestone hills have a distinct flora, but not the same in every place, and that certain species reappear whenever the limestone crops out. He remarks that he never heard of anyone getting to the summit of Gunong Pondok. Actually the ascent of Gunong Pondok is in no way difficult, and very much easier than many smaller hills.

The great majority of limestone hills are climbable without the aid of ropes, for it is usually possible to find a cleft or gully up which one can scramble. The slopes are exceedingly steep, but the presence of abundant vegetation both hides the precipitous nature of the ground and provides the climber with numerous handholds. The rock is often weathered into exceedingly sharp knife-edge ridges and pinnacles which play havoc with clothes and boots.

Interference with the vegetation by man, etc.

The local Malays and aboriginals rarely climb these hills, for there is little inducement to do so. Survey beacons are placed on the summits of some hills and this usually entails a certain amount of clearing round the beacon. The caves and overhanging parts of the cliff bases may be used as temporary shelters and in prehistoric times they appear to have been the homes of primitive peoples. Here and there one finds a *kramat* in a cave or rock shelter, such as those at Bukit Chupeng and Gunong Sennyum. Chinese temples, such as those near Ipoh, are occasionally built into limestone hills, utilising hollows and caves in the most ingenious fashion. Large quantities of marble are quarried from easily accessible hills for road metal, ballast for railway tracks, lime burning and smelting of tin ore. Tin ore, bat guano and phosphates are recovered from hollows or caves in many places. Bats are extremely numerous in some of the darker caves and their characteristic smell can often be detected hundreds of feet way. The writer has come across one instance where these bats were used for food by the aboriginals. Platforms were erected at the narrow mouth of a dark cave and the bats struck down when emerging at dusk.

Probably the only animal of any size to be found living on the limestone hills of the Peninsula is the serow or *kambing gérut* of the Malays (*Nemorhodus sumatrensis*), but to judge from tracks seen on many occasions it is certain that elephant, tiger and other large animals frequent the cliff bases. The Malays say that elephant like to rub and scratch themselves on sharp projecting rock edges and have favourite places for doing so. They say also that elephant use the caves when giving birth to young, and certainly tracks and other marks seen tend to corroborate these statements.

In many localities clearing of the original surrounding vegetation has taken place right to the bases of the hills. The resulting exposure must have altered to some extent the original vegetation on the basal parts of these hills. Thickets of herbaceous climbers and small secondary growth trees may be found in some localities, while in others, where the base of the cliff is undercut or sheer, little change seems to have taken place.

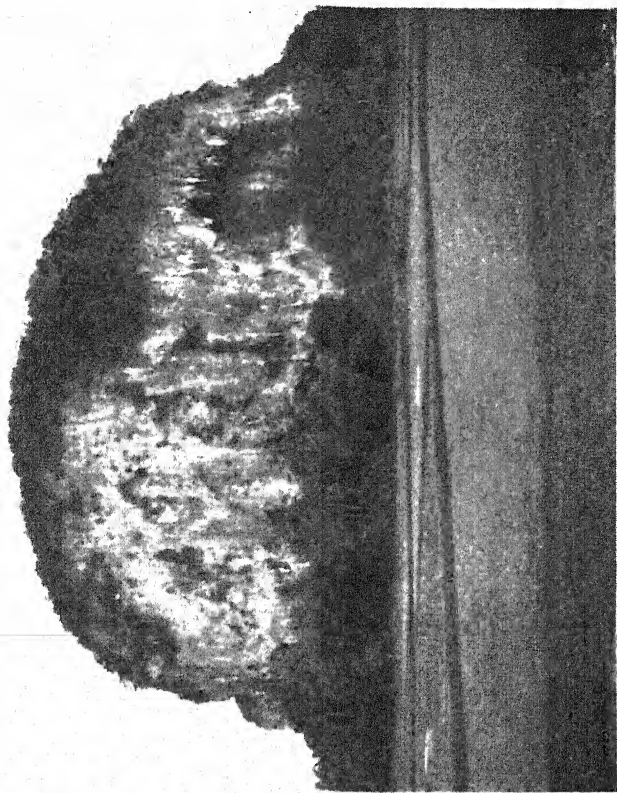
At Gunong Keriang, near Alor Star, Chinese vegetable gardens extended to within a few feet of the base of the hill and no doubt accounted for the large numbers of the Giant Snail (*Achatina fulica*) which were found crawling over the rocks.

A paragraph in the Straits Times of October 17th, 1938, drew the writer's attention to Dr. Charles Hose's statement in his "Fifty Years of Romance and Research" that in Borneo spontaneous fires had been observed on the summits of inaccessible limestone hills. Dr. van Steenis has kindly supplied a translation of a passage in his Maleische Vegetationeschetsen (Tijdschr. Kon. Ned. Aardr. Genootschap, Vol. 52 (1935) p. 48) which may explain the origin of these fires. It reads: "F. H. Endert (Midden Oost Borneo expeditie 1925, 1927, pp. 226-227) mentioned lightning strokes on steep limestone hills in Central East Borneo where after fire firstly *Epithema*, a small fleshy herb, later ferns (among others *Nephrolepis* and *Pteridium aquilinum*, the latter a typical fire plant) and at last shrubs gained ground." Further extracts sent by Dr. van Steenis from Dutch publications dealing with forest fires in the Netherlands Indies seem to point to the conclusion that although lightning strokes are common and evidences of them often seen, no serious fires are caused, due to the heavy rain which normally accompanies lightning storms in this part of the world.

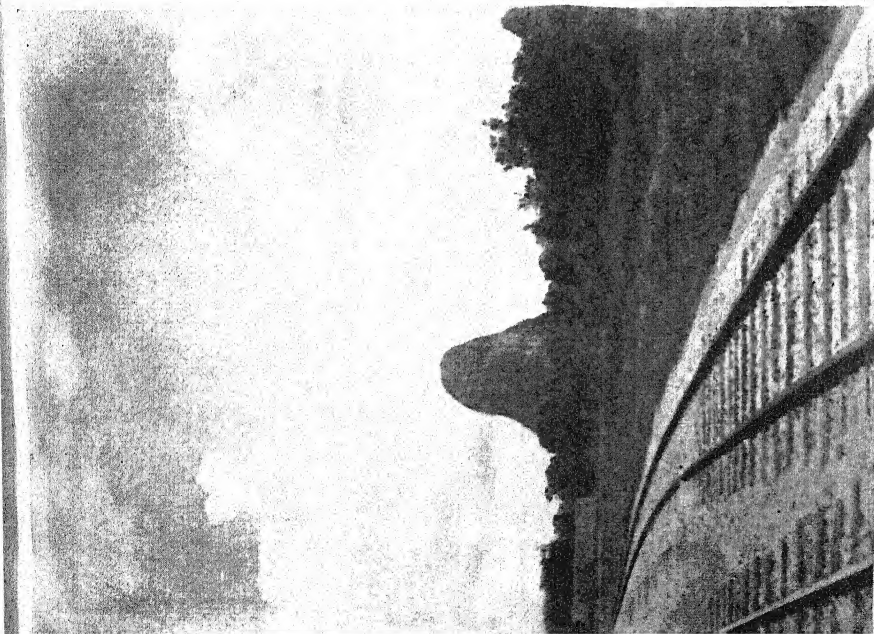
The writer has seen only one instance of damage by fire on limestone hills in the Peninsula and in this case there is very little doubt that the fire was started, accidentally or not, by human agency. *Pteridium aquilinum* is not recorded as occurring on the Peninsular limestone. *Epithema* is of course very common, and *Nephrolepis* often occurs when clearings are made.

In Langkawi, in the neighbourhood of Selat Panchor, there are a few small areas which appear to have been completely cleared. These clearings, if they are artificial, are not of recent date. They are covered with grasses and the original vegetation does not seem to have been able to re-establish itself.

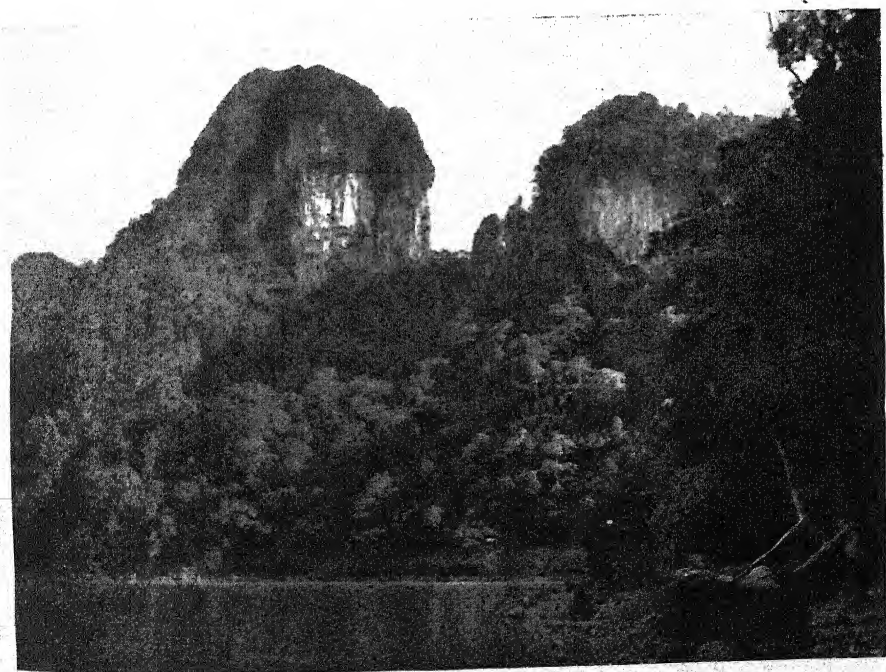
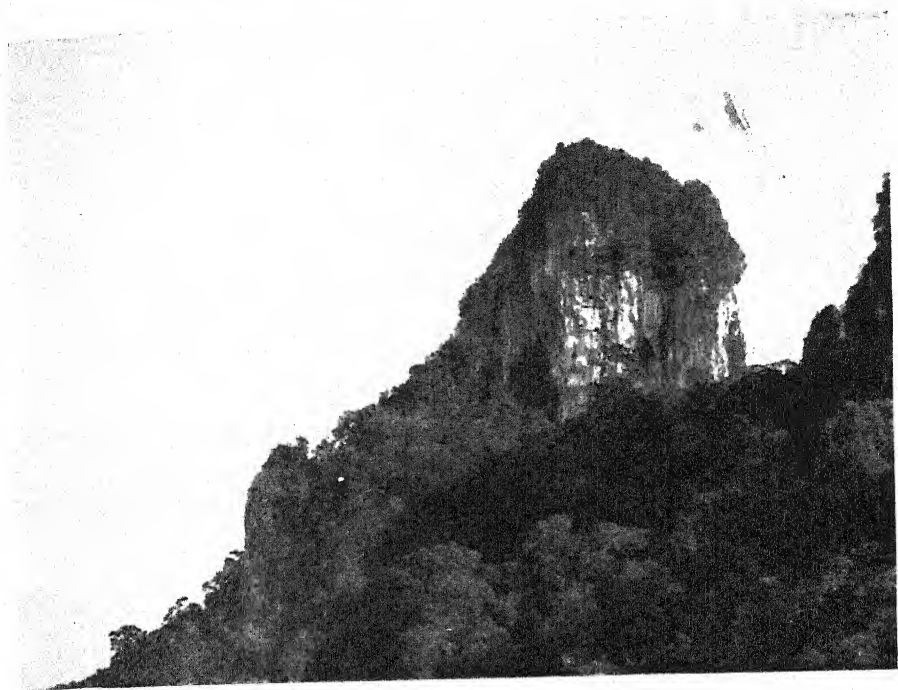
The vegetation of the limestone, therefore, is primary forest, only slightly interfered with by man and other influences. Only where the ground has been disturbed by mining, quarrying and similar activities do secondary growth plants appear.



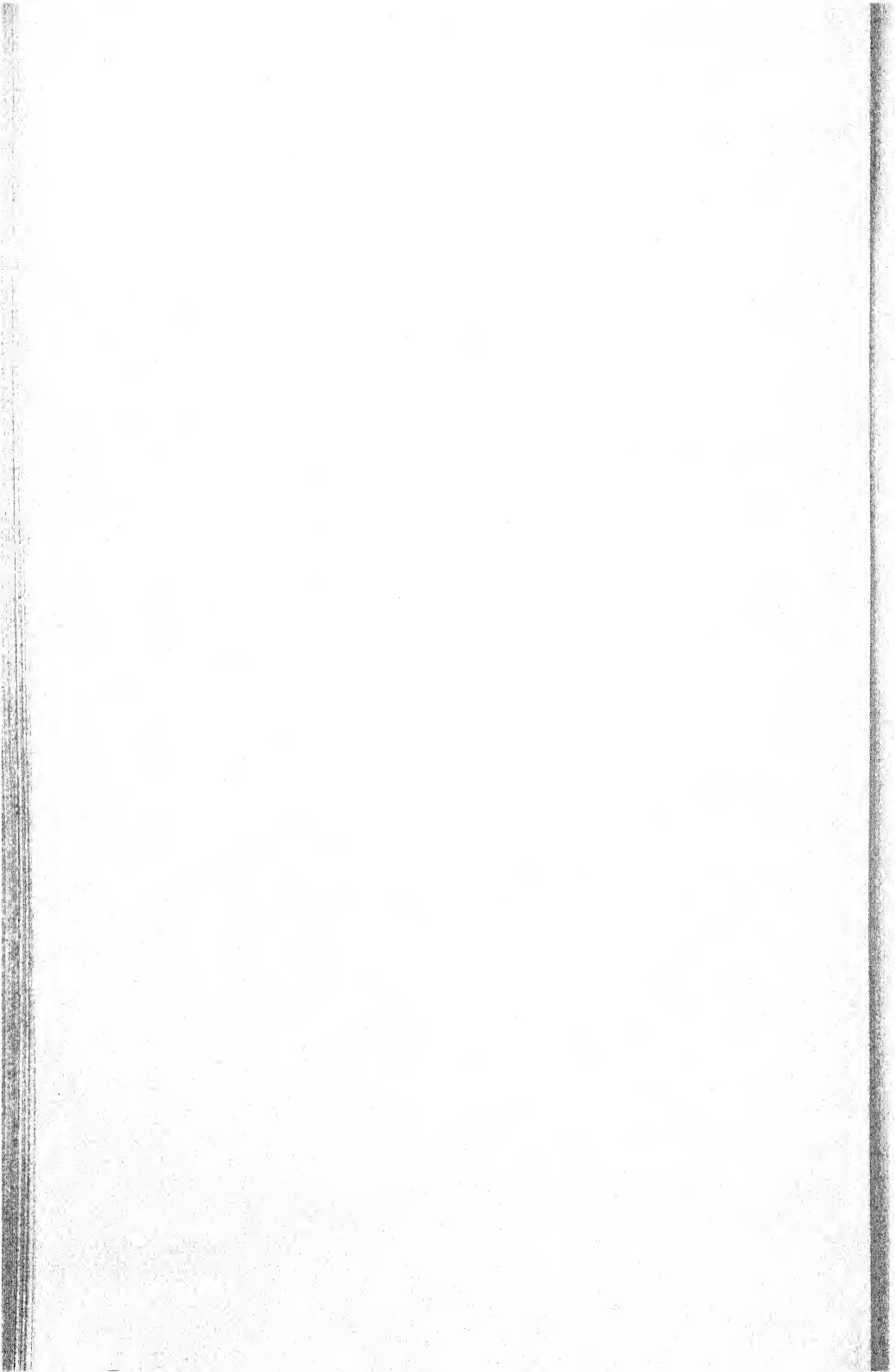
A limestone hill at Kodiang, Kedah.



A limestone hill in Perlis.



Coastal limestone, Pulau Dayang Bunting, Langkawi.



Types of limestone hills.

The general characteristics of the hills vary from place to place and a very rough classification is possible :

1. Very dry, with little soil and much exposed rock. Trees usually rather stunted. Mosses and herbaceous plants scarce.
2. Wet, often with gullies filled with rich soil and supporting fair sized not stunted trees. Mosses and herbaceous plants present.
3. Hill well covered with soil, usually a stiff red clay. Much less exposure of rock than in 1. or 2. Many tall trees, little or no moss, few herbaceous plants.

There is no hard and fast demarcation between the three types. They grade into one another and combine. Type 2 is possibly the most distinct. The characters of 1 and 3 are often combined. The most striking differences between a typical "dry" hill (Kota Glanggi, Pahang) and a typical "wet" one (Gua Panjang, Kelantan) may be tabulated :

GUA PANJANG (WET).

Large quantities of mosses, with *Corysanthes*, *Ophiorrhiza* etc.

Pandanus sp. in great numbers.

Taxotrophis ilicifolia absent or very scarce.

Few orchids, either epiphytic or on rocks.

Succulent *Impatiens* common.

Top mossy with dense growth of thin spindly trees, and deeply covered with mosses, liverworts and humus.

KOTA GLANGGI (DRY).

Little or no moss, no *Corysanthes* or *Ophiorrhiza*.

No *Pandanus*.

Taxotrophis ilicifolia very common.

Many such orchids.

No *Impatiens*.

Top dry and bare, rock exposed, no accumulation of humus or mosses. Trees not spindly, but stout, gnarled and twisted or stunted.

The actual structure of the hill may have an effect on the vegetation which covers it. One can imagine the hill to be either a solid block of limestone with drainage only from the surface, or a loose mass of boulders through which water can percolate rapidly. Mr. E. S. Willbourn advances the theory that the numerous amphitheatres or "wangs" that occur in limestone hills are caused by cave formation within the hill mass due to underground stream solution, with a subsequent falling in of the cave roof. Something of this sort in progress may be seen at Gunong Sennyum where there are several large caves with their roofs partially collapsed. Kota Glanggi also has many caves and both these hills are of the dry type. A fine example of a "wang" is the hill at Baling in Kedah. In the light of Mr. Willbourn's theory this hill must be in the last stages of dissolu-

tion, for all that remains is a horseshoe-shaped rim. The outer slopes are very steep but not sheer, except for the basal portions. The inner faces are precipitous with talus slopes at their bases. The floor of the amphitheatre is partially cultivated, as is usual in such wangs. The upper parts at least of this hill can be classified as "dry".

Gua Panjang is a wet hill. It apparently has no caves. Gua Tipus is partly wet and partly dry. It is broken up by deep gullies and has caves, but there is a considerable amount of moss on the top and *Impatiens*, *Corysanthes* and *Pandanus* are present.

The coastal limestone of Langkawi shows little cave formation, but the vegetation is dry and much sparser than on the southern limestone, due no doubt to the proximity of the sea and to the winds. On exposed headlands vegetation is often stunted and reduced, the rocks being covered with grasses, dwarf bamboo and scattered misshapen trees. Where sheltered from the wind the vegetation is more luxuriant, with a closer growth of larger trees. In one or two places, particularly at Tanjong Pinang at the southern corner of Pulau Dayang Bunting, the pruning effect of the north-easterly winds is very marked.

The experienced eye should have little difficulty in picking out a limestone hill even where no bare cliffs are visible, because of the sparser and less luxuriant vegetation compared with that, say, on granite hills. For instance, when sailing close to the coast of Langkawi near Kuah, where limestone and granite are close together, the two formations can be differentiated at a glance. The granite ridges have a much softer outline than the limestone ones, and the vegetation on the granite is very noticeably more luxuriant, with many more tall trees of different species more closely crowded together.

A botanist would not have made the mistake of marking the Batu Papan ridge on the Lebir river in Kelantan as limestone (see p 15).

The hills rise abruptly from the plains and their bases are usually surrounded by masses of fantastically weathered boulders, over which may grow tangles of *Taxotrophis ilicifolia*, tough and difficult to penetrate. *Taxotrophis* is sometimes replaced by other trees, as for instance at Bukit Takun, where the dominant tree at the cliff base is *Oreocnide sylvatica*, or at Bukit Chintamani, where it is *Pisonia excelsa*.

The bases of the cliffs in most places are undercut, sometimes very deeply, presumably by freshwater action in inland situations, where streams may often be found disappearing under the cliff, or by the sea where the limestone is coastal, as at Langkawi. An excellent example of what seems to be undercutting by the sea is to be found at the hill at Kisap, a mile or so inland from Kuah, Langkawi.

Parts of the lower slopes of some hills are covered by screes of loose rock, evidently broken off from the main mass higher up. These sometimes lie near the critical angle of slope and may be decidedly dangerous to negotiate. The lower slopes of other hills often are well covered with soil with little outcropping of rock. Others again are precipitous from the base.

The lower slopes and bases of the hills bear usually a close cover of small trees and shrubs, with herbaceous plants perched in hollows in the rocks where moisture and humus can accumulate. Small herbs such as *Pilea* and *Impatiens* grow in the cracks of the steeper faces, and it is surprising to find succulent plants like *Impatiens* growing in the shallowest cracks with the minimum of dry dusty soil. Small shrubs grow in the cracks of precipitous faces, and aroids climb up these faces with their regularly spaced leaves closely pressed to the surface of the rock. Aerial roots and lianes dangle down from ledges high above.

A species of *Arenga* may often be seen at the bases of dry cliffs, or a little way up them, perched on the tops of boulders in the driest possible situations.

In the damp ground at the mouths of caves, kept moist by the drip from above, such lowgrowing plants as *Pilea* and *Begonia* may be found, all with their leaves turned permanently to the light. In caves with a deep deposit of bat guano, there is no vegetable life. In dimly lit caves, such as those with the roofs partially collapsed, there is usually a sparse vegetation of small trees, such as *Diospyros*, on the cave floor, while small succulents are to be found on the walls.

The steep slopes of such a wet hill as Gua Panjang are well covered with small or medium sized trees, while the slightly less steep gullies, which are often filled with rich soil and humus, support larger trees, often of the *Anonaceae*. There are frequent mossy patches in which *Corysanthes* may be found, and here and there are sheets of *Ophiorrhiza*. A very conspicuous feature of such hills is the number of Pandans. On the steepest slopes they grow out almost horizontally for the first foot or so and then curve up to a vertical position. Other small trees and shrubs show this method of growth but it is most marked in *Pandanus*. Probably the young plants are more sensitive to light than to gravity and grow towards the most intense light, which, on steep slopes well covered by vegetation, would be not from overhead but from a direction more nearly horizontal.

On very dry hills no *Pandanus* may be seen. The cover of vegetation is more open, consisting of somewhat stunted small trees and wiry creepers, and orchids may replace mosses on the rocks. Indeed, the rocks in places may be completely covered with such orchids as *Phreatia*, *Liparis*, *Pholidota*, *Microsaccus*, *Adenoncos*, *Coelogyne*, *Saccolabium*, *Thelasis*, *Trichoglottis*, with

Arachnis climbing through the trees. On the northern limestone great quantities of *Paphiopedilum niveum* are to be found in places where it has not been cleaned out by "collectors". It prefers spots where there is a little accumulation of humus.

The summit of the hill may be a bare rocky ridge where the white marble rock is heated by the sun to such an extent that it is uncomfortable to the touch. Here there will be scattered stunted trees, no herbaceous plants and little or no undergrowth of shrubs. In such situations *Pistachia malayana* may be found. Normally, however, the summit of a dry hill is more covered than this with small trees of *Vitex siamica*, *Callicarpa angustifolia*, *Memecylon* sp., *Garcinia* sp., *Eriobotrya bengalensis*, etc., with climbers such as *Dioscorea* sp., and a small leaved very thorny *Zizyphus*. The trees are usually misshapen, often leaning at odd angles, and usually with small or tough leaves. Some are surprisingly big considering the nature of the habitat. The deep clefts in the rock and their sharp edges, partially concealed by fallen leaves, make walking difficult and dangerous. There is little or no herbaceous vegetation on such a hill top.

The summit of a wet hill may be very different, with a close cover of small spindly trees, the rocks underfoot covered with a deep spongy mass of mosses, liverworts and humus, a condition approximating to the "mossy forest" of far higher hills.

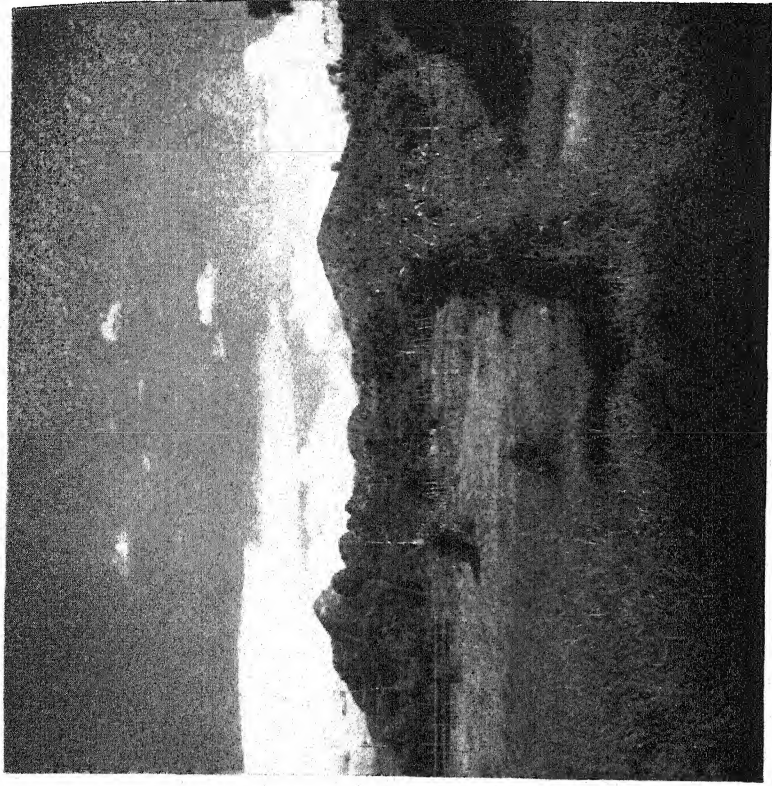
A number of limestone hills have had survey beacons erected on their summits and where the original vegetation has been cleared for this purpose a strong growth of *Nephrolepis* sp., often appears. On the summit of Gunung Sennyum this fern formed dense thickets six to eight feet tall.

General Characteristics of the Flora.

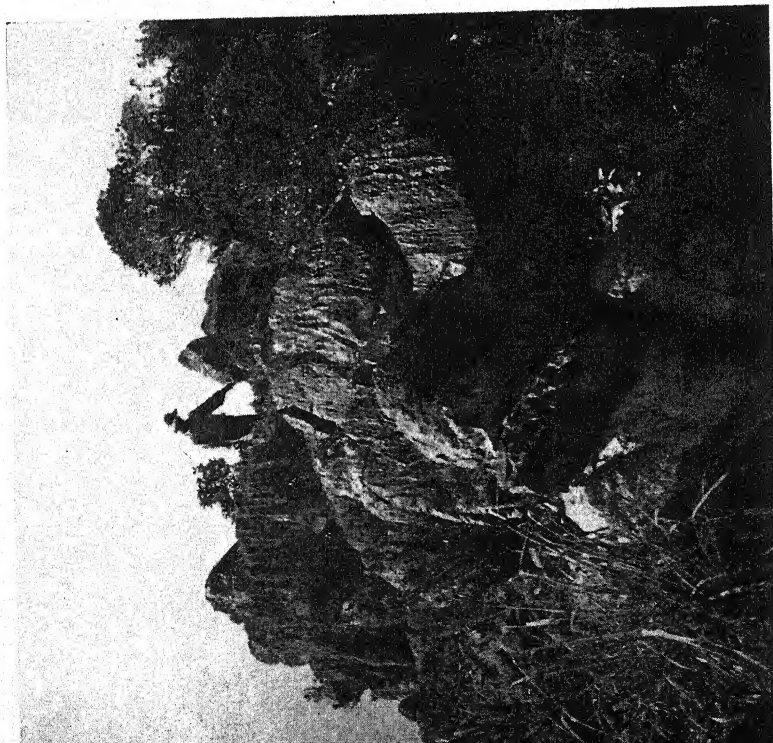
In compiling the list of flowering plants found on the limestone, all dubious records were set aside and listed separately, and epiphytes and parasites were excluded. The result is a total of about 745 species. This is very roughly about 8% or 9% of the total number of flowering plants in the Peninsula. According to Scrivenor's figures, given on p. 13, the total area of the limestone is roughly 0.2%—0.3% of the total area of the Peninsula. These figures seem to indicate a richer flora per unit of area on the limestone than on other formations. It is very improbable that they indicate a more thorough botanical exploration of the limestone. The first alternative tallies with what is accepted for the temperate limestone floras. Tansley, *Practical Plant Ecology* (1923) p. 163 writes: "Nevertheless, in any given region, the limestone vegetation is always well marked and characteristic with a number of species immensely more abundant on, if not strictly confined to, the limestone." Ecologists usually attribute this richness of flora on limestone to the chemical and physical



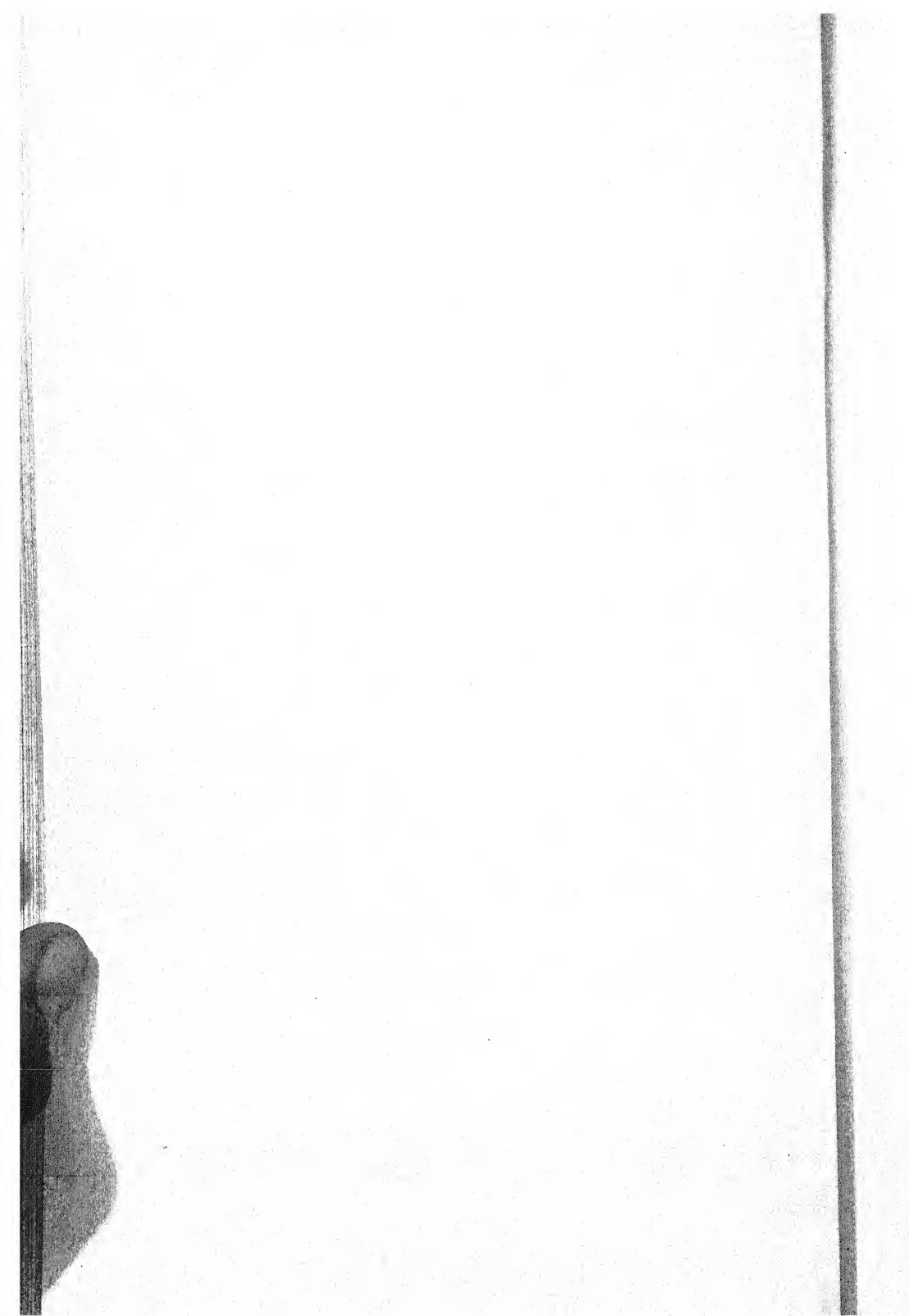
The southern slopes of Gunung Baling, Kedah.



Gunong Baling, Kedah, from the north.



The summit ridge of Gunung Baling, Kedah.



nature of the soil. In this region, at least, the greater age of the limestone compared with other formations, its more extreme conditions of temperature, the great variety of habitat offered by it, and its occurrence in relatively isolated islands may have to be taken into account.

Of the total of 745 species no fewer than about 195 or about 26% are known, in the Peninsula, only from limestone. This includes endemics and non-endemics. Of the latter it has not been possible to trace in most cases whether they are from limestone outside the Peninsula or not, but in many cases they are not. The species endemic and confined to limestone number about 130, about 67% of the total confined to limestone and over 17% of the grand total. Much more collecting remains to be done and doubtless many more species will be added to the limestone flora in the categories both of widely distributed plants and those restricted to limestone, but nevertheless these figures seem to indicate a definite calciphilous element.

Little appears to be known, at least in the tropics, about the adaptability of limestone plants and whether they will grow in acid soils. There is very little experimental evidence one way or the other, but it can be stated that *Impatiens mirabilis* will grow normally and flower amongst granite rocks and chippings, that one or two species of *Kaempferia*, which are almost certainly restricted to limestone in nature, flourish amongst granite rocks, and that seedlings of *Pistachia malayana* have been raised in non-calcareous soil. *Impatiens Foxworthyi* and *I. tipusensis* grew well both in granite chippings and in coral for a year or two and then died. But succulent Balsams of this type are difficult to maintain in cultivation.

A rough estimate shows that of the species enumerated, but excluding those known only from limestone, some eighty to one hundred are species which normally are found in rocky places, usually on or near large boulders or outcrops of rock in lowland forest. Such rocky forest is common in the Peninsula especially in the granite areas. This element of the limestone flora may be termed the "rock-plant" element, the term being used loosely for those plants which grow amongst rocks, and therefore in well-drained situations, as well as for those which normally grow upon the rocks. Most of these plants appear to be indifferent to the nature of the rock upon which they grow, but there is much information on these points still awaiting collection.

Generally speaking, the differences between the flora of the limestone and that of the rest of the Peninsula are those of degree, not of kind. No large groups are peculiar to the limestone. Very few genera are confined to limestone, and even these are small, consisting of one or two species. Nearly all the families well represented in the Peninsula appear on the limestone, in some cases with many species, in others with very few. Those

groups which consist mainly of large forest trees and whose habitat is moist or swampy lowland forest, are poorly represented, as might be expected. Doubtless those plants which require deep shade and abundant soil moisture for germination and early development do not find these conditions on limestone hills.

The following families have not yet been found on limestone :

Ranunculaceae, *Magnoliaceae*, *Winteraceae*, *Pittosporaceae*, *Hypericaceae*, *Ancistrocladaceae*, *Gonostylaceae*, *Linaceae*, *Malpighiaceae*, *Oxalidaceae*, *Simarubaceae*, *Chaillettiaceae*, *Staphyleaceae*, *Sabiaceae*, *Saxifragaceae*, *Anisophyllaceae*, *Lythraceae*, *Onagraceae*, *Ficoidaceae*, *Umbelliferae*, *Caprifoliaceae*, *Lobeliaceae*, *Campanulaceae*, *Ericaceae*, *Epacridaceae*, *Symplocaceae*, *Styracaceae*, *Bignoniaceae*, *Polygonaceae*, *Nepenthaceae*, *Chloranthaceae*, *Proteaceae*, *Opiliaceae*, *Juglandaceae* (*Engelhardtia*), *Myricaceae*, *Xyridaceae*, *Eriocaulaceae*, *Restiaceae* (*Leptocarpus*).

Nepenthaceae is a notable absentee. It prefers acid and poor soils and is very unlikely to be found on limestone. It is probable that representatives of some of the above families, for instance, *Sabiaceae*, *Symplocaceae*, *Styracaceae* and *Bignoniaceae* do occur, but one would not expect to find *Onagraceae* or *Polygonaceae*.

The limestone flora is a lowland one. No mountain plants have been found upon it and in this connection it is of interest to draw attention to van Steenis' remarks in Bull. Jard. Bot. Buit., Vol. VIII, 3, p. 296, where he discusses the origin of the Malaysian mountain flora and the possible methods of distribution of alpine plants. He writes: "On limestone mountains which may offer hot conditions during the day and rather cool conditions at night if covered by an open vegetation, plants might be able to descend abnormally low. F. Krasan stated that on the limestone of the Dolomites alpine plants descend to lower altitudes than on the granite and other rocks of the European Alps. I do not know, however, any high limestone peaks in Malaysia, and in any case all are forested, which excludes the true limestone influence, if there were any." To call the upper slopes of such hills as Bukit Chupeng or Gunong Baling forested is perhaps not quite accurate, and on such ridges no doubt extremes of temperature exist. However, it can definitely be said that alpine plants are not found on the Peninsular limestone.

Out of 64 or 65 species recorded as confined to the limestone in the Peninsula but with a distribution outside it, 50 are known only from north of the Peninsula in Siam, Burma, Indo-China and India. Of these about 29 have a restricted range and do not appear to extend beyond Siam. Three species reach the Philippines, eight have a fairly wide distribution north, south and east of the Peninsula, two are known from Sumatra and one, or perhaps two, otherwise only from Borneo. The bulk of the northern plants do not extend far into the Peninsula, most of them being recorded

from Langkawi, Perlis and Kedah. Evidently they find conditions on the limestone which enable them to penetrate further south than they would do if there were no limestone, but the distance between the limestone of the north and west and that of Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Kelantan is a barrier which they find difficulty in crossing.

Genera restricted to limestone.

Lysimachia peduncularis Wall. is the only representative of *Primulaceae* recorded from the Peninsula. It occurs in Langkawi and it is hardly surprising to find it there, for the genus is not uncommon in Siam. The other genera confined to the local limestone are:—*Pistachia* (Anacardiaceae); *Stenothyrsus* (Acanthaceae); *Dichiloboea* (Gesneraceae); *Lepidanthus* (Gesneraceae); *Gongylosperma* (Asclepiadaceae); *Buxus* (Euphorbiaceae); *Asparagus* (Liliaceae); and *Hapaline* (Araceae). Of these only *Stenothyrsus*, *Gongylosperma*, and *Hapaline* appear to be entirely confined to limestone, even outside the Peninsula, and they are all small genera with one, two, and three species respectively. *Dichiloboea* has one other Burmese and Chinese species which may or may not be from limestone. *Lepidanthus* is a monotypic genus extending into Lower Siam, from whence the records are not all definite.

Frequency of occurrence of the main groups of Phanerogams.

ANONACEAE. This large family is certainly not rare on the limestone, but undoubtedly the available records are incomplete. Seventeen genera are recorded out of a total for the Peninsula of twenty-nine, and about thirty-two species out of a total of about one hundred and eighty. *Miliusa*, *Mitrephora* and *Orophea* are the commonest genera.

POLYGALACEAE. *Polygala hyalina* Wall. is common.

GUTTIFERAE. Three species of *Garcinia*, one of which is restricted to limestone, *Mesua ferrea* L., and *Ochrocarpus siamensis* T. Anders are the only records. *Kayea* and *Calophyllum* appear to be absent.

TERNSTROEMACEAE. No quite definite records are known. It is probable that *Saurauia cauliflora* Bl. var. *calycina* King is to be found at cliff bases. The only other record is a dubious one of *Schima Noronhae* Reinw. from the northern limestone.

DIPTEROCARPACEAE. This family has been collected only upon the northern limestone and only three species are recorded: *Vatica cinerea* King, *Hopea ferrea* Llanessan, and *Pentace siamensis* (Miq.) Kurz.

1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

STERCULIACEAE. Six species in four genera are recorded out of the eighteen genera and about fifty-four species known from the Peninsula.

TILIACEAE. No *Elaeocarpus* has yet been recorded.

BALSAMINACEAE. Seven species of *Impatiens* are known from limestone out of the fourteen known from the Peninsula, all confined to the limestone. Some species occur very locally but in large quantities. The most striking is *I. mirabilis* on the northern limestone. Its enormously swollen and brittle stems wedged into cracks in the rocks make it very difficult to collect alive.

RUTACEAE. *Glycosmis pentaphylla* Corr. is common.

BURSERACEAE. There are records of two species only—*Dacryodes floribunda* H. J. Lam from Gunong Pondok, and *Canarium purpurascens* Benn. from Kaki Bukit in Perlis.

MELIACEAE. Three or four species of *Aglaiia*, *Melia excelsa* Jack, and *Turraea breviflora* Ridl. are the only records. *Xylocarpus obovatus* A. Juss. is on limestone rocks at sealevel in Langkawi but this is a littoral plant and does not occur on limestone except within tidal influence. The large genera *Amoora* and *Dysoxylon* appear to be absent.

OLACINACEAE. *Iodes ovalis* Bl., once found on the limestone at Pulau, near Ipoh, is the only record.

ILICINACEAE. *Ilex Maingayi* Hook. f. has been collected at Gopeng. The majority of the species of *Ilex* in the Peninsula are montane.

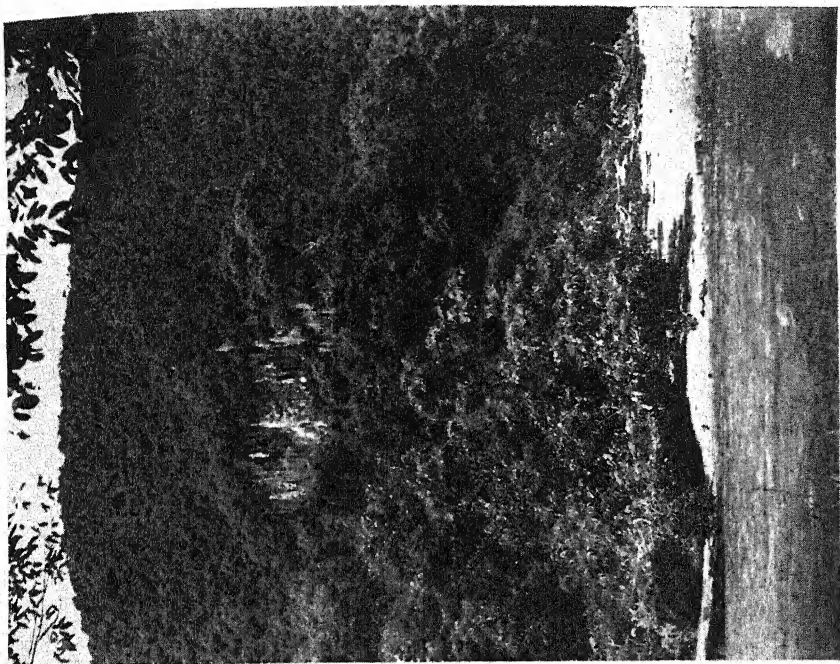
AMPELIDACEAE. The only genus common is *Vitis*, with six or seven species.

SAPINDACEAE. Only one species each of *Allophylus*, *Lepisanthes*, *Nephelium* and *Xerospermum* are recorded.

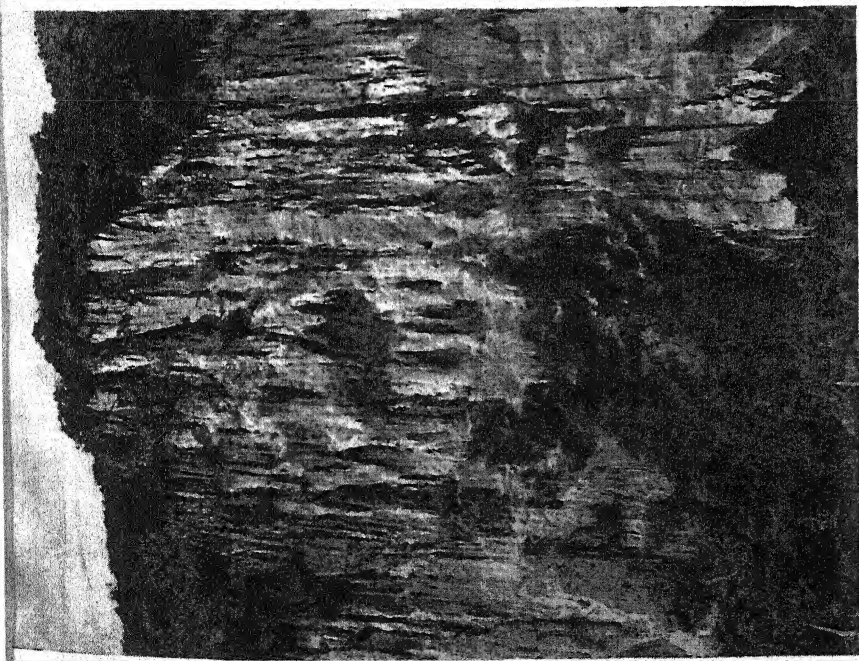
ANACARDIACEAE is rare on the limestone, only eight species out of the total for the Peninsula of about seventy-three having been recorded.

LEGUMINOSAE. Surprisingly few records are known. Of *Papilionaceae* with approximately forty-one genera and one hundred and fifty-five species in the Peninsula, only five genera with eight species are recorded; of *Caesalpinoideae* with fifteen genera and ninety species, six genera and about eleven species. The best represented genus is *Bauhinia*, with six species out of the twenty-six or twenty-seven native to the Peninsula. No *Mimoidae* are recorded.

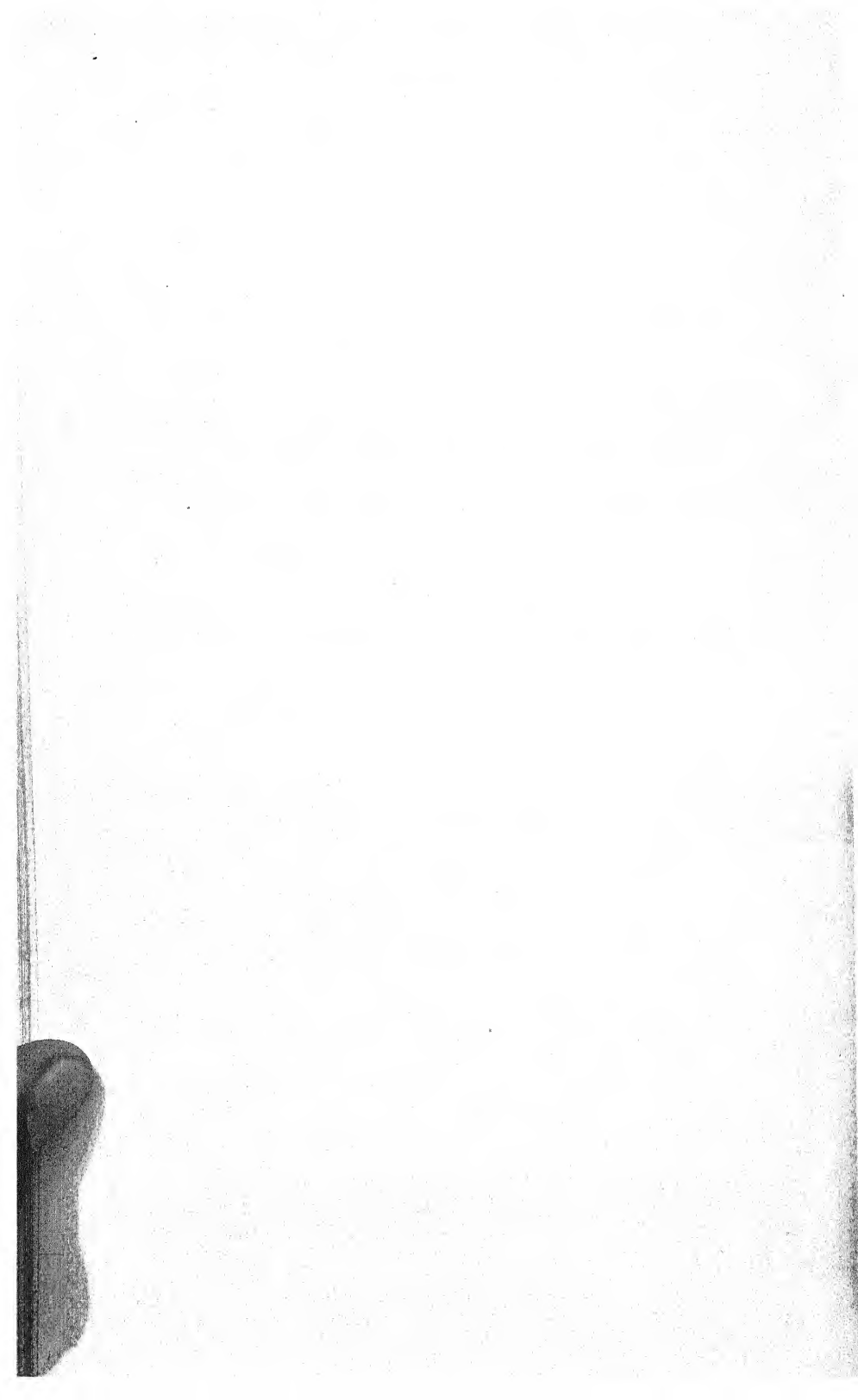
ROSACEAE. As a whole this family is poorly represented, but *Eriobotrya bengalensis* Hook. f. has been collected several times, usually on dry hill tops, and it is probably not uncommon in such situations.



The upper slopes of Gua Panjang, Kelantan.

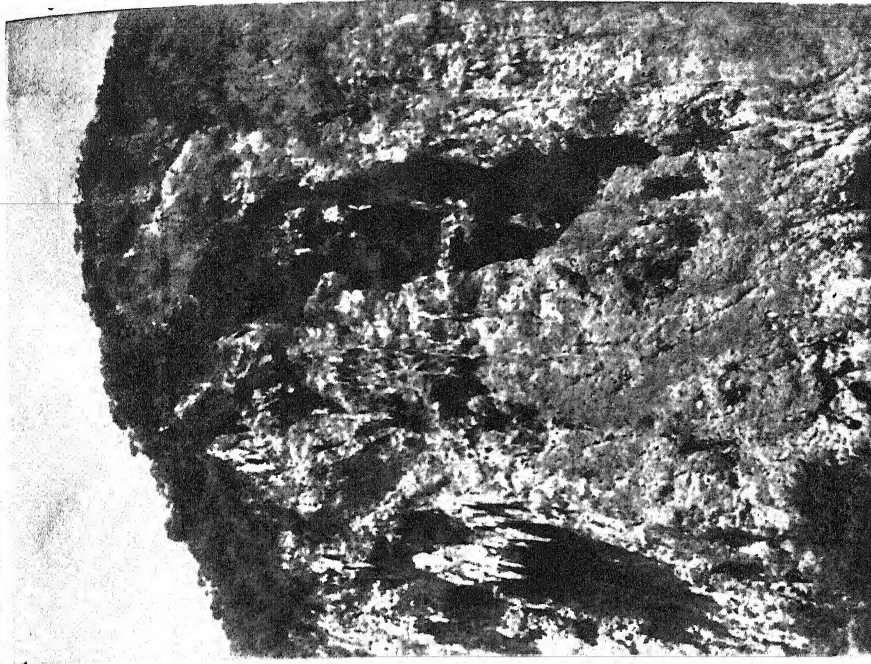


The precipitous face of Gua Panjang, Kelantan.





Gua Teja, Kelantan, undercut by Sungai Betis.



Bukit Chupeng, Perlis.



COMBRETACEAE. This family has only two species of *Quisqualis* and two of *Terminalia* on the limestone.

MYRTACEAE. This large family is definitely rare on limestone. Two species of *Tristania* are recorded, neither common. *Barringtonia fusiformis* King has been recorded definitely only from Gunong Pondok. *Barringtonia asiatica* Kurz occurs only as a seashore plant on the Langkawi limestone. *Decaspermum fruticosum* Forst., or a closely allied species, has been collected in three or four places. It is a plant one might expect to find oftener on the limestone. The only other definite records in Myrtaceae are those of *Eugenia spicata* Lamk. (*E. zeylanica* Wight), and *E. cerasiformis* DC., both collected in Perak by Kunstler. No one else has collected these common species again on limestone. Undoubtedly *Eugenia* is very rare on the local limestone. Leaves of what may have been *E. palembanicum* (Korth.) Merr. were picked up by the writer on Pulau Dayang Bunting, Langkawi, not far from the sea, but the tree could not be located. Ridley in Journ. Str. Br. Roy. As. Soc., 59, p. 26, mentions *E. claviflora* Roxb. and another, small-leaved, species on Bukit Besih Hangat, Perlis. He collected specimens of the first, but I have not been able to trace what the second may be. In Craib, Enum. Siam. Pl., I, pp. 631-667, there is one record of a *Eugenia* from limestone out of seventy-six species enumerated. Some four species are recorded from limestone in the Philippines, and there is at least one record from Borneo.

MELASTOMACEAE. *Memecylon* appears to be not uncommon, especially on the summits of the hills, for there are records of about eleven species out of a total of thirty-one in the Peninsula. Other genera are poorly represented.

BEGONIACEAE. *Begonia* has about eight species on limestone. Most are small plants of rocky places.

ARALIACEAE. Six species of *Schefflera*, out of a total of about twenty-six, are recorded. Only *Schefflera subulata* Viguier appears to be common and widespread on the limestone. So many species of this genus favour rocky places that one would expect them to occur more frequently on limestone. No other genus is common.

RUBIACEAE. This large family has in the Peninsula about sixty-seven genera and four hundred and seventy species. There are definite records from the limestone of fifty-nine species in twenty-five genera. *Ixora*, *Ophiorrhiza*, *Psychotria* and *Tarenna* are the commonest genera. Most of the species of *Ophiorrhiza*, *Psychotria* and *Tarenna* are local, except for *Psychotria rhinocerotis* Reinw., which is widespread.

COMPOSITAE are poorly represented not only on the limestone, but throughout the Peninsula, most being plants following

1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

man. Only *Vernonia Curtisii* Craib and Hutch., and *Vernonia rupicola* Ridl., both from Langkawi, can be regarded as belonging to the limestone flora proper, the other records of *Mikania scandens* Willd., *Spilanthes Acmeda* Murr., *Vernonia attenuata* DC., and *V. cinerea* Less. being doubtless accidental introductions.

VACCINIACEAE. *Vaccinium Hasseltii* Miq. has been recorded once only.

MYRSINACEAE. *Ardisia* has about fourteen species on the limestone out of a total of about fifty-eight. No other genus is common.

SAPOTACEAE. *Madhuca Ridleyi* H. J. Lam and *Isonandra perakensis* King and Gamble are restricted to limestone and rare upon it. The only other records are *Mimusops Elengi* L., var. *parvifolia* H. J. Lam, common in Langkawi but not known from limestone elsewhere, and *Payena Havilandii* K. & G.

EBENACEAE. *Diospyros* is common, and twelve species are definitely recorded. Some species are rare and local, but a few, such as *D. cauliflora* Bl., appear to be common and widespread.

OLEACEAE. *Jasminum* has six species on limestone, all local and none widespread.

ASCLEPIADACEAE. Although only three species of *Dischidia* are recorded, one, *D. bengalensis* Colebr., is common on bare limestone faces, especially in the north. *Gongylosperma lanuginosum* Ridl. is known only from Langkawi, but it is very common there. Otherwise the family is not well represented, there being eight or nine genera and about fourteen species out of thirty-two genera and one hundred and fifteen species in the Peninsula.

GENTIANACEAE. *Canscora pentanthera* Clarke is very common on dry limestone rocks. It is not confined to limestone although it is not often recorded from elsewhere. *Microrophium pubescens* Clarke is common in Langkawi.

GESNERACEAE. This family has perhaps the most representatives on limestone, although individual species are not often found in profusion in any locality. Of *Boea* there are ten or eleven species from limestone, most of them confined to it. The commonest are *Boea paniculata* Ridl. and *B. verticillata* Ridl. *Chirita caliginosa* Clarke is common on most hills, but not yet recorded from Perlis or Langkawi, and *Ch. viola* Ridl. is another widespread species which apparently tends to replace *Ch. caliginosa* on the northern limestone. *Epithema saxatile* Bl. is common on nearly all the limestone. It is a rock plant, not confined to limestone. *Monophyllaea Horsfieldii* R. Br. is widespread but not very common on limestone and it also is found on acid rocks. *M. patens*

Ridl. is confined to limestone and seems to occur oftener than *M. Horsfieldii*. Members of the section Eu-*Paraboea* only in *Paraboea* and not of §*Campanulatae* are recorded from limestone, although the former section is not restricted to limestone. Six or seven species are recorded of which only *P. capitata* is at all widespread. Both *Boea* and *Paraboea* are often found in dry exposed situations, their tough stems and felted or hairy leaves enabling them to withstand a considerable amount of dessication.

There are no definite limestone records of any species of *Didissandra* or *Didymocarpus*.

CONVOLVULACEAE. Four species out of a total for the Peninsula of about fifty-four are recorded, and one of these is a seashore plant.

SCROPHULARIACEAE. Out of fifteen genera and forty-six species known from the Peninsula only *Adenosma capitatum* Benth., *Centranthera hispida* R. Br., and *Curanga amara* Juss. are known from limestone.

ACANTHACEAE. Fourteen genera and about thirty-seven species are known from limestone out of a total of thirty-six genera and one hundred and sixty-eight species in the Peninsula. The genus best represented is *Justicia* with about twelve species, the commonest being *J. uber* Clarke, *J. ptychostoma* Clarke, and *J. subcymosa* Clarke. *Polytrema vulgare* Clarke is quite common and so is *Thunbergia fragrans* Roxb., var. *javanica* K. & G.

VERBENACEAE. *Callicarpa angustifolia* King and Gamble is common and widespread, usually on the summits of the hills. It is recorded only from limestone and so is *Vitex siamica* Williams, which is almost always present on dry hill tops. Otherwise the family is poorly represented.

AMARANTACEAE. *Deeringia polysperma* Miq. is widespread. It is not confined to limestone but is commoner there than elsewhere.

PIPERACEAE. Four species of *Peperomia* are recorded out of about seven in the Peninsula and of those *P. dindigulensis* C. DC. is not uncommon in cracks of rocks and in moss. Only six species of *Piper* out of about seventy-five are recorded and of those *Piper collinum* C. DC. may possibly be confined to limestone. *Zippelia lappacea* Bl. occurs occasionally.

MYRISTICACEAE. There are two definite records only in this family—*Knema laurina* Warb. from Gunong Baling and *Knema missionis* Warb. from Langkawi and Perlis. Undoubtedly this family is rare on the Peninsular limestone. It seems to be more common in the south of the Peninsula than the north and to prefer damp, often swampy, lowland forest.

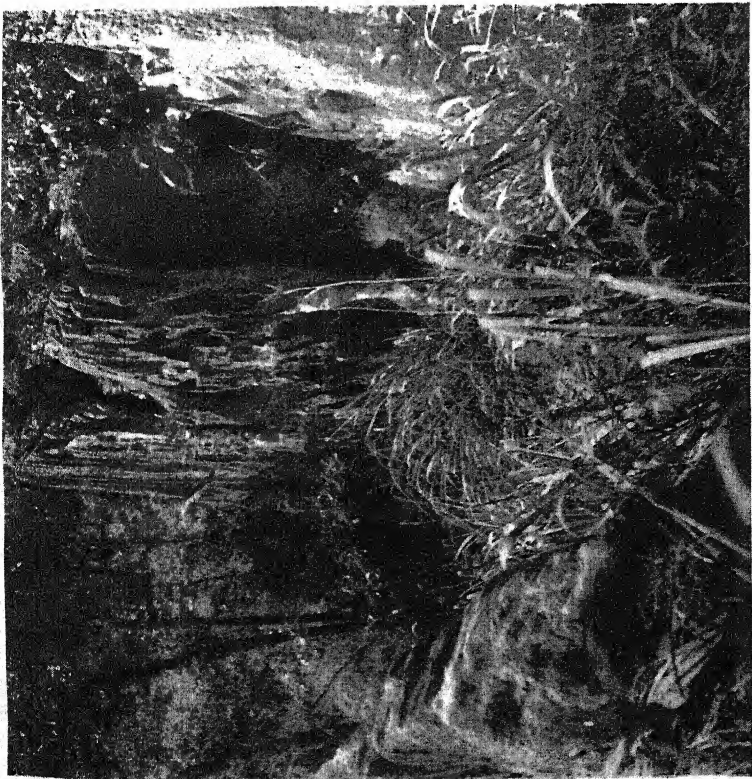
LAURACEAE. Also rare on limestone. The only definite records are of two species of *Dehaasia* and three of *Litsea*. No species has so far been recorded from Kelantan, Pahang, Langkawi or Perlis.

EUPHORBIACEAE. Of this large family, having about seventy-two genera and two hundred and fifty species in the Peninsula, thirty-one genera and about fifty-nine species are known from limestone. The genera best represented are *Bridelia*, *Cleistanthus*, *Mallotus*, *Phyllanthus* and *Sauropus*. *Actephilopsis malayana* Ridl. is not uncommon. *Andrachne australis* Z. & M. is one of the small plants often found in rock cracks. Five species of *Bridelia* are recorded, none widespread. The three species of *Buxus* known from the Peninsula—*B. malayana* Ridl. from Pulau and Bukit Takun, *B. rupicola* Ridl. from Langkawi, and *B. Holttumiana* Hatusima from Perlis, are all confined to limestone. Six species of *Cleistanthus* are recorded with certainty out of a total for the Peninsula of thirty. *C. gracilis* Hook. f. seems the commonest. *Croton Cumingii* M.A. is probably more common on limestone, especially in the north, than on other formations. *Mallotus* has five species recorded out of twenty-five, but there are probable records of several others. *Mallotus dispar* M.A. is the commonest and is often to be found at cliff bases. *Phyllanthus* is represented by eight or nine species out of twenty, none widely spread on the limestone. Although four species of *Sauropus* are recorded, all are local except perhaps *S. Llanosii* Gage. Rather a large proportion of the total number of species of Euphorbiaceae collected on the limestone has not been found off it—about twenty-seven, including one or two apparently undescribed.

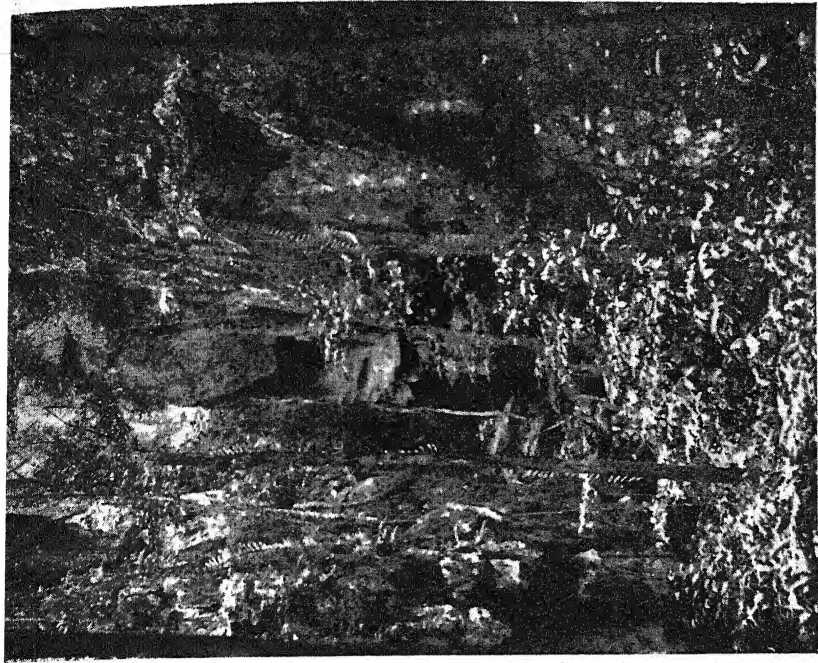
URTICACEAE. Of *Ficus* about fourteen or fifteen species are recorded, not one of them very common. Even *F. diversifolia* Bl. is not so common as might be expected, and only its variety *deltoidea* has been collected on limestone. *Oreocnide sylvatica* Miq. occasionally occurs in abundance at cliff bases. *Pilea calcarea* Ridl. is found on most of the limestone except in Perlis and Langkawi and is restricted to it. It is usually to be found low down on the cliffs in spots where there is a little dry dusty soil, but shaded by the surrounding vegetation. *Taxotrophis ilicifolia* Vidal is often exceedingly common on the lower slopes and at the bases of dry hills, rarely extending far up the hill.

CUPULIFERAE. *Pasania spicata* Oerst. var. *gracilipes* DC. from Gunong Pondok is the only record.

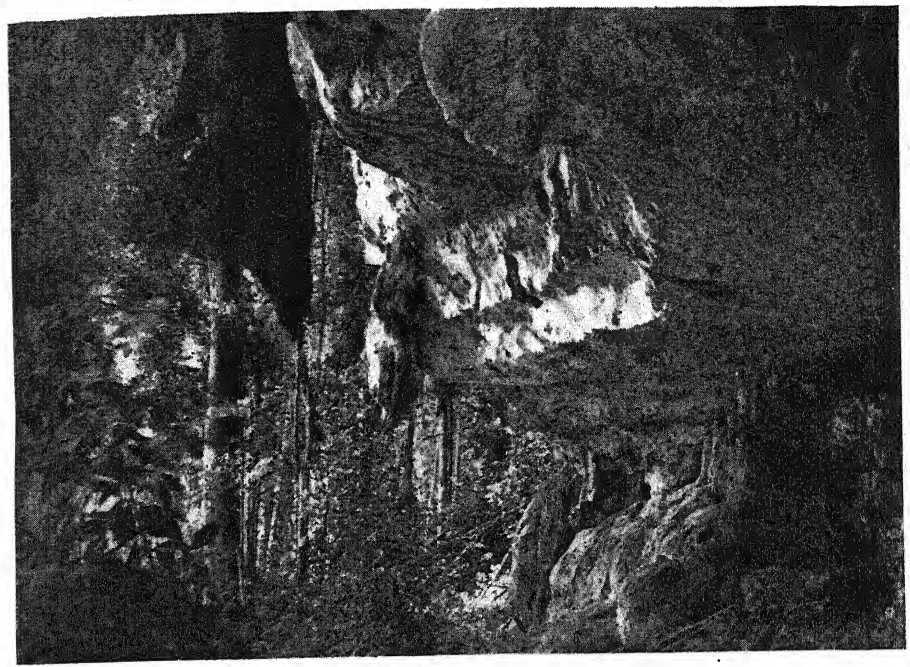
ORCHIDACEAE. There are not many true terrestrial orchids common on limestone. *Calanthe Ceciliae* Rchb. f. may be found in abundance in certain localities. *C. veratrifolia* R. Br. is recorded from several localities in Perak and Pahang. Neither of these species is known from the northern limestone. *Corysanthes mucronata* Bl. is common only on the wetter hills



Cymbopogon sp. near the summit of Gunong Baling, Kedah.



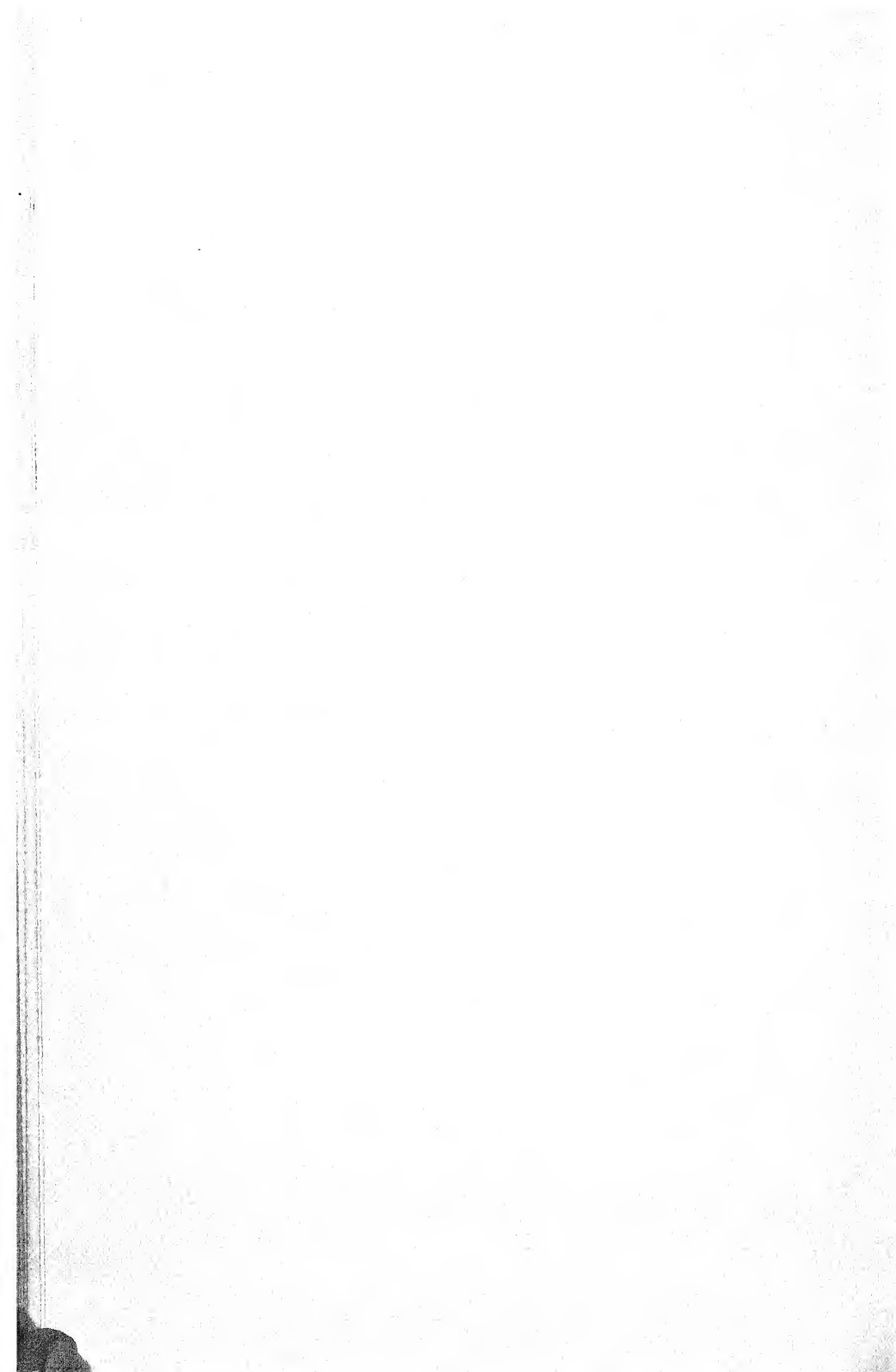
A gully in Gua Tipus, Panang.
Note climbing arolds. The figure in foreground
gives the scale.



Undercut base of Gua Panjang, Kelantan.



Impatiens Forworthyi HENDERSON at base of limestone cliff in Kelantan.



in moss. Four species of *Habenaria* are recorded, one rather dubiously from limestone. Only *H. Kingii* Hook. f. is recorded from further south than Langkawi. *Paphiopedilum niveum* Pftz. is common only in the north, coming as far south as Gunong Baling. *Eulophia Keithii* Ridl. is common on the northern limestone only. As stated on p. 21 large numbers of orchids may be found on the limestone rocks. They are species which are normally epiphytic in other habitats but which seem to grow indifferently on rocks and trees on the drier limestone hills. The commonest are: *Adenoncos major* Ridl., *A. virens* Bl., *Bulbophyllum lilacinum* Ridl., *Dendrobium euphlebioides* Lindl., *D. salaccense* Lindl., *Liparis comosa* Ridl., *L. disticha* Lindl., *Microsaccus brevifolius* Bl., *Pholidota imbricata* Lindl., *Stauroopsis gigantea* Benth. (only on northern limestone), *Thelasis carinata* Bl., *Th. decurva* Bl., *Th. elongata* Bl., *Trichoglottis retusa* Bl. Many others have been collected as epiphytes only, but a considerable amount of collecting is still necessary to decide which species are epiphytic only and are never found on rocks. For example, *Phalaenopsis cornu-cervi*, *Ph. Hebe* and *Ph. appendiculata* all occur epiphytically but have not yet been found on limestone rocks. Many of the smaller orchids common on the rocks are also common on mangrove trees.

DIOSCOREACEAE. About seven species of *Dioscorea* are recorded. It is probable that they are commoner and more widely spread than the records show.

LILIACEAE. *Dracaena congesta* Ridl. is the only member of this family common on limestone.

PALMAE. This family is scarce on the limestone and out of a total for the Peninsula of thirty genera and about one hundred and ninety species only eleven or twelve species in nine genera are recorded. Most of the records are from dry hills. The climbing palms are surprisingly rare. A species of *Arenga* is not uncommon near the bases of dry hills and this and *Didymosperma Hookeriana* Becc. are the only species which can be called common and widespread. The curious *Livistona rupicola* Ridl. is common in Langkawi and at Bukit Takun and Batu Caves.

PANDANACEAE. *Pandanus irregularis* Ridl. is the very common species on the wetter Kelantan and Pahang hills. Unfortunately the collections of *Pandanus* are poor, for they are seldom found flowering or fruiting on the limestone, and the only other records are of *P. fascicularis* Lamk. from Langkawi, where it is merely a seashore plant, and two apparently undescribed species, one from Pulau, near Ipoh, and the other from Perlis. Certainly *Pandanus* is abundant only on the wetter hills and possibly only a few species are present.

ARACEAE. Fourteen genera and about twenty-three species are recorded out of a total for the Peninsula of twenty-three genera and about one hundred and twenty-five species. Climbing Aroids, such as *Pothos*, are often common and conspicuous on

the rock faces, but they are usually sterile. *Alocasia longiloba* Miq., and *A. Lowii* Hook f. are not uncommon. Several species of *Amorphophallus* occur. *A. Prainii* Hook. f. being most often seen. *Arisaema fimbriatum* Mast., and *A. Roxburghii* Kunstl. are widespread. *Hapaline Brownei* Hook. f. is often found in rock cracks. *Pothos macrocephalus* Scort. has not been collected many times but is probably common. No other climbing aroid is recorded as common, but the collections are anything but complete.

CYPERACEAE. Sedges are rare on the limestone and all the records come from open dry places and none from the wet well-covered hills. There are one species of *Carex*, three of *Fimbristylis* and one of *Scleria*.

GRAMINEAE. Grasses are also scarce on the limestone and occur chiefly on the opener parts of the northern limestone. Excluding bamboos, eleven or twelve species in ten genera are known and one of these is an introduced grass. One or two are rare species with puzzling distribution. For instance, *Chrysopogon collinus* Ridl. is known only from limestone in Setul and from a small sandstone island off the coast of Pahang. *Eulalia lanipes* Ridl. is abundant on limestone ridges 100-200 ft. above the sea at Langkawi and is otherwise known only from Kedah Peak at 4,000 ft. *Ischaemum Beccarii* Hack., from the top of Batu Caves, was originally described from Borneo and has been found in the Botanic Gardens, Singapore (Ridley, Fl. Mal. Pen., V, p. 204). *Cymbopogon* sp. occurs on the upper slopes of Gunong Baling and is conspicuous by its abundance and refreshing scent. The same species has been collected in Langkawi and the same or an allied species at Bukit Cheras, Kuantan. Mr. C. E. Hubbard of the Kew Herbarium has kindly examined these specimens and reports that they appear to represent one or possibly two undescribed species.

Bamboos are rare on the limestone and only *Schizostachyum elegans* Ridl. is definitely recorded. It was originally described from specimens collected by Haniff in Langkawi, whether or not from limestone is not recorded; but the writer found it to be common on the limestone ridges about Selat Panchor. What was probably this species was seen on Bukit Lagi, Perlis and collected on Gunong Baling, sterile in both localities. Another bamboo, probably a species of *Schizostachyum*, but not *S. elegans*, was seen on the cleared top of Gunong Pondok and a similar bamboo was noted on Bukit Serdam.

It is perhaps surprising that grasses do not grow in the crevices of the precipitous faces of limestone hills, but they are never found in such situations except occasionally after the rock has been disturbed by quarrying. The occurrence of so many of the records from Langkawi may indicate more disturbance there than usual with the original vegetation. History indicates that Langkawi in former days had a much larger population than it has today.

A LIST OF THE FLOWERING PLANTS AND GYMNASPERMS
KNOWN FROM LIMESTONE HILLS IN THE MALAY
PENINSULA.

A ? BEFORE A LOCALITY INDICATES THAT THE RECORD FROM THAT
PARTICULAR PLACE IS NOT QUITE DEFINITE.

DILLENACEAE.

Tetracera hebecarpa Boerl. GUNONG PONDOK.

Dubious records :

Tetracera Loureirii Pierre. PERLIS.

Dillenia aurea Sm. SETUL.

ANNONACEAE.

Alphonsea sp. GUNONG BALING. Twice collected here, in fruit.

?*Alphonsea* sp. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS. In fruit.

Anaxagorea javanica Bl. GUNONG PONDOK. KOTA GLANGGI.
Collected several times near limestone. Common in the
Peninsula in lowland forest.

Artabotrys grandifolius King. PERAK. Not common in lowland
forest.

Canangium odoratum Baill. GOPENG, once collected by Kunstler.
Common in the northern parts of the Peninsula. (See
Corner, Gardens Bulletin, Vol. X, part I. p. 13).

Cyathocalyx virgatus King. GUA PANJANG, KELANTAN, at cliff
base. Not very common in lowland forest.

Dasymaschalon Blumei Fin. & Gagnep., var. *Wallichii* (Hook. fil.).
Once collected at Gopeng, but probably occurs elsewhere.
Common in lowland forest.

Desmos cochinchinensis Lour. PULAI, in hot dry places. Not
uncommon in lowland forest, commoner in the north of the
Peninsula than in the south.

Desmos Dunalii Saff. GOPENG. A poor specimen from Lang-
kawi may be this. Not common in forest.

Goniothalamus subevenius King. KUALA DIPANG. The only
record of *Goniothalamus* from limestone in the Peninsula.

Milusa amplexicaulis Ridl. LANGKAWI. BALING. LENGKONG
(fide Ridley). Rare in the Peninsula but not confined to
limestone as the distribution given in Ridl. F.M.P. Vol. I,
p. 97 might suggest.

Milusa longipes King. KINTA. Not common but widely dis-
tributed in lowland forest.

1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

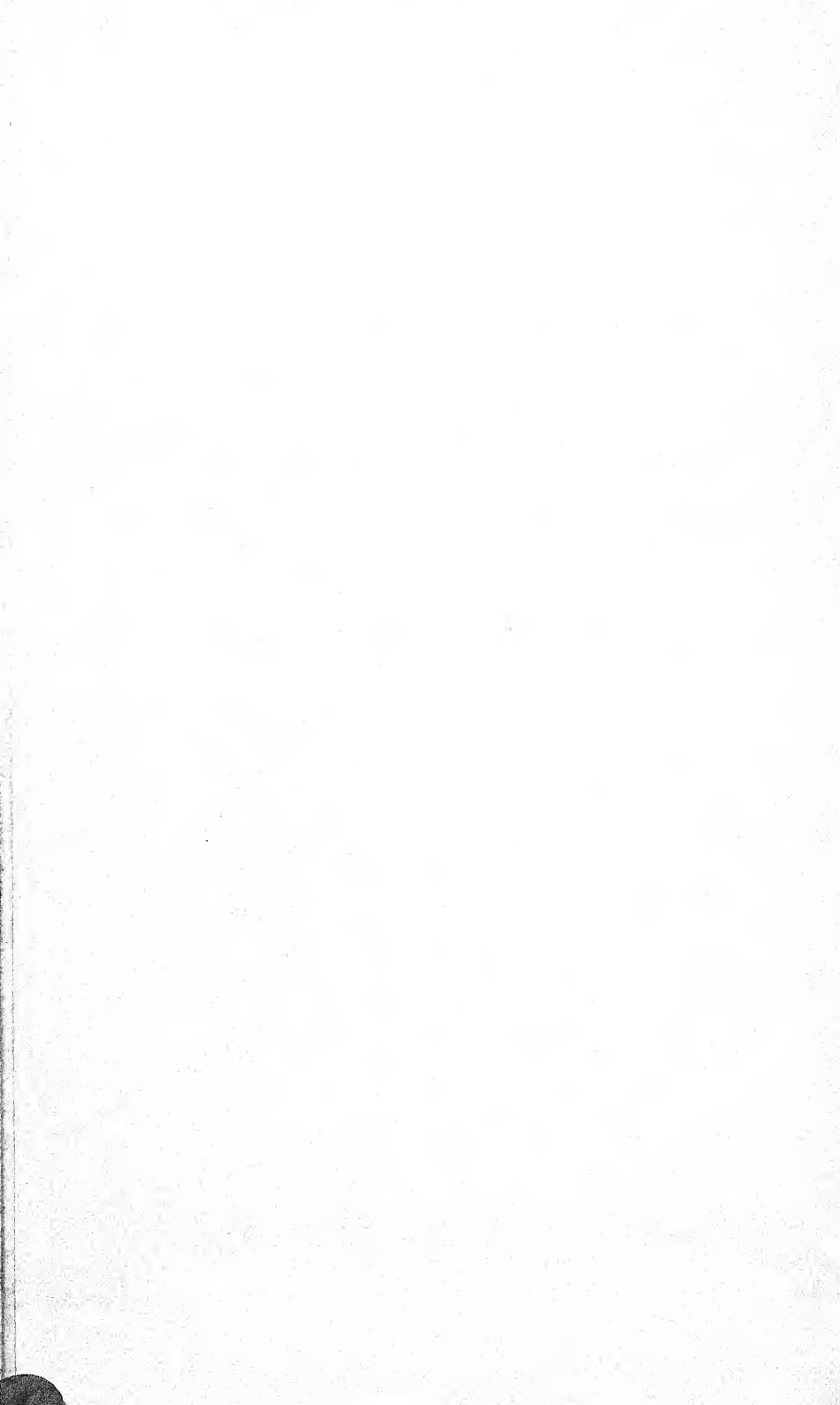
- Miliusa parviflora* Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Known only from a few collections here and confined to limestone.
- Mitrephora crassipetala* Ridl. Base of GUA TIPUS, PAHANG. Apparently rare, known otherwise only from the Tahan river.
- Mitrephora macrophylla* Oliv. ?BALING. GUA PANJANG. Not uncommon in lowland forest.
- Mitrephora Maingayi* Hook. fil & Th. GOPENG. One record only from limestone but otherwise not uncommon on forest edges, especially north of Malacca.
- Mitrephora reticulata* Hook. fil & Th. ?G. PONDOK. KUALA DIPANG. Common in lowland forest as far south as Pulau Tioman.
- Orophea cuneiformis* King. SETUL. PERAK. PAHANG. Apparently known only from these localities and confined to limestone.
- Orophea enterocarpa* Maing. KELANTAN. PERAK. Close to limestone in other localities. Not uncommon in lowland forest as far south as Malacca.
- Orophea gracilis* King. PERLIS. KEDAH. PERAK. Apparently rare, recorded from near limestone at Gopeng by Kunstler, and doubtfully from Gunong Korbu and Lower Siam.
- Orophea hirsuta* King. PERLIS. KEDAH. PERAK. Known from these localities only and only from limestone. Ridley apparently includes a specimen from either Malacca or Negri Sembilan, collected by Alvins, which does not belong here.
- Orophea maculata* Scort. PERAK. ?KOTA GLANGGI. Not very common usually on or near limestone but not confined to it or its vicinity.
- Orophea setosa* King. PERAK. KELANTAN. Not very common in lowland forest from Kelantan to Negri Sembilan.
- Oxymitra biglandulosa* Scheff. GUA PANJANG, KELANTAN, at base. Not uncommon in lowland forest.
- Polyalthia congregata* King. BATU CAVES. Not common in lowland forest. Ridley says usually on limestone, but this does not seem to be the case.
- Polyalthia lateriflora* King. PULAI. Rather rare in lowland forest.
- Polyalthia oblonga* King. GUNONG PONDOK. Not common but widespread in lowland forest.
- Popowia nervifolia* Maing. BATU CAVES, and near limestone in other localities. Not uncommon in lowland forest.
- Popowia velutina* King. GOPENG. Known only from here and confined to limestone.



Vegetation on summit of a dry hill.



Boca sp. on summit of a dry hill.

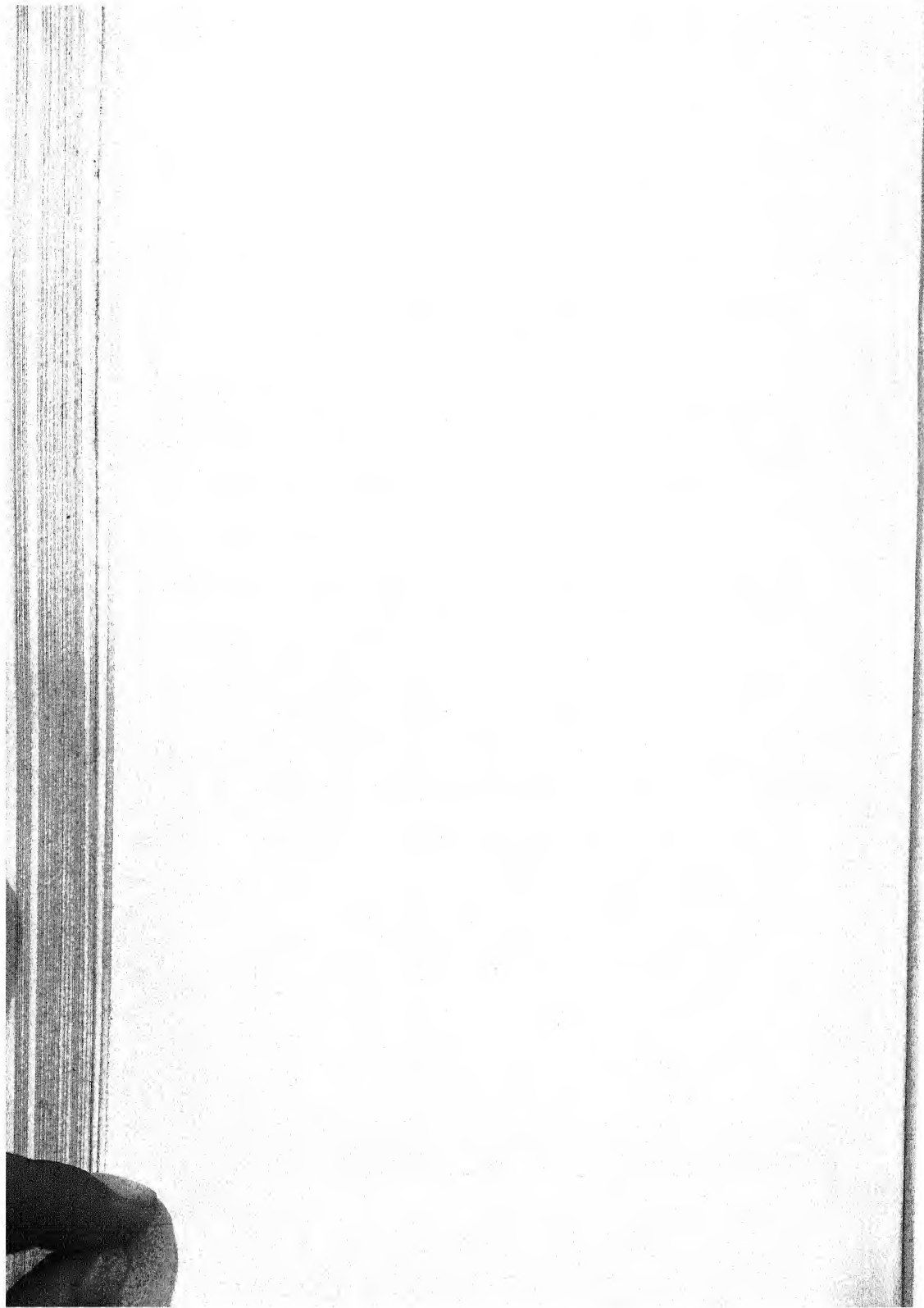




Lasia spinosa THW. and
Homalomena sp. at base of Gunung Keriang, Kedah.



Chirita sp. in a cave, Gunung Keriang, Kedah.



Stelechocarpus nitidus King. GUNONG PONDOK. ?GUNONG SENNYUM. A rare plant. Some doubtful specimens are known from Tembeling and Temerloh, not on limestone.

Uvaria dulcis Dun. GOPENG. Only once recorded from limestone, but not uncommon in lowland forest from Penang to Singapore.

Uvaria macrophylla Roxb. LANGKAWI. Known also from limestone in Lower Siam. Common in lowland forest and open places.

Xylopia dicarpa Hook. fil. KINTA. Rare in lowland forest.

Anonacea gen. dub. GUNONG BALING. What appears to be the same has been collected at Lawin, Upper Perak.

Dubious records :

Melodorum lanuginosum Hook. fil. & Th. LANGKAWI.

Polyalthia Beccarii King. KELANTAN. If not on limestone, certainly found close to it.

Popowia pisocarpa Endl. BATU CAVES. KOTA GLANGGI.

MENISPERMACEAE.

Stephania sp. KUALA KILIM, LANGKAWI, *Forest Dept. F.M.S. 46790* (Symington). The only limestone record of this family.

CAPPARIDACEAE.

Capparis diffusa Ridl. BUKIT LAGI, PERLIS. Known only from here.

Capparis sp. GUNONG SENNYUM, on floor of cave, *SFN 22319* (Henderson). Perhaps an undescribed species.

VIOLACEAE.

Rinorea dasycaula Craib. PERLIS. ?LANGKAWI. ?GOPENG. Not common in the Peninsula.

Rinorea Kunstleriana Taub. TAMBUN, and from near cliff bases in Kelantan and Pahang and at Batu Caves. Not uncommon in lowland forest.

Rinorea Wallichiana (Hook. fil.) GUNONG SENNYUM. BUKIT TAKUN. From near limestone in other localities. Not uncommon in lowland forest, often in rocky places.

POLYGALACEAE.

Polygala cardiocarpa Kurz. LANGKAWI. This species apparently does not come further south.

1939] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

Polygala hyalina Wall. GOPENG. GUNONG SENNYUM. BUKIT TAKUN. BATU CAVES. This species appears to be confined to limestone in the Peninsula.

Salomonina ciliata DC. LANGKAWI. Otherwise known in the Peninsula only from open country in the north.

Xanthophyllum glaucum Wall. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. Usually in the north of the Peninsula in open places.

Dubious record :

Securidaca inappendiculata Hassk. GUNONG SENNYUM. Collected only once in the Peninsula, by Evans, with nothing to show whether it came from the limestone or not.

FLACOURTIACEAE.

Flacourtia jagomas Lour. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS. The only limestone record so far of this common plant.

Hydnocarpus castanea Hook. fil. & Th. LENGKONG. BATU CAVES. KOTA GLANGGI. All from cliff bases. Not uncommon in lowland forest.

Hydnocarpus ilicifolia King. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. In rocky dry places, usually near the sea.

Dubious record :

Scolopia rhinantha Clos. LANGKAWI. Usually a littoral plant.

GUTTIFERAE.

Garcinia eugeniaefolia King. GUNONG BALING, and possibly elsewhere on the northern limestone. Common in forest in the lowlands and up to 3,000 ft.

Garcinia Kunstleri King. PERAK. A rare species known from one other collection not from limestone.

Garcinia minutiflora Ridl. PULAU RABANA. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Known only from these localities. This plant was described from ♂ specimens collected at Gua Chirita, Langkawi (*Curtis* 2802). From the name this should be a limestone locality. The Pulau Rabana and Perlis specimens are in young fruit, but the foliage is so similar to that of the type that there is little doubt that they belong here. In 1938 Symington collected what appears to be this species on a rocky limestone headland on Pulau Dayang Bunting, Langkawi (*Forest Dept. F.M.S.* 46715). The inflorescence and leaves of this collection agree well with the type, but the ♂ flowers, which are more mature than those of the type, have a large conspicuous pistillode which is not present in Curtis' specimens.

Mesua ferrea Linn. GUNONG PONDOK. Only once recorded from limestone. Not uncommon in dry lowland forest.

Ochrocarpus siamensis T. Anders. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula, but the records seem to show that it is not confined to limestone.

TERNSTROEMIACEAE.

Dubious records :

Saurauia cauliflora Bl., var. *calycina* King. BATU KURAU. BATU CAVES. Probably from near the cliff bases. Not recorded from elsewhere in the Peninsula.

Schima Noronhae Reinw. SETUL. LANGKAWI. Widely distributed in forest above 2,000 ft., rarely in the lowlands.

DIPTEROCARPACEAE.

Hopea ferrea Llanessan. LANGKAWI, common.

Pentacme siamensis (Miq.) Kurz. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Not known from further south in the Peninsula.

Vatica cinerea King. LANGKAWI, common. PERLIS. Known in the Peninsula only north of Perak.

MALVACEAE.

Abutilon indicum G. Don. CHUPENG, at cliff base. Probably a weed. Common in waste ground.

Sida javensis Cav. PERLIS.

Dubious record :

Wissadula periplocifolia Presl. CHUPENG. In dry open places in the north of the Peninsula.

STERCULIACEAE.

Helicteres lanceolata D.C. LANGKAWI. In open places in the north.

Leptonychia heteroclita Kurz. PULAI. Often close to limestone in other localities. Common in lowland forest, often in hill forest.

Pterospermum sp. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH, SFN 35425 (*Kiah*). Apparently a species not yet recorded from the Peninsula.

Sterculia angustifolia Roxb. GUNONG PONDOK. Known only from here in the Peninsula and from Burma.

Sterculia rubiginosa Vent. LANGKAWI (var. *glabrescens*). LENGKONG. GOPENG. Common in open lowland forest.

Sterculia lancaviensis Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from this group of islands but whether confined to limestone or not is not certain.

Dubious records :

Abroma augusta Linn. fil. BATU CAVES. Not uncommon in thickets and near rivers.

Pterospermum Jackianum Wall. LANGKAWI.

TILIACEAE.

Columbia Curtisii Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from Curtis's collection from small limestone islands.

Columbia integrifolia Ridl. LENGGONG. Known only from here.

Grewia polygama Roxb., var. *Curtisii* Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Known only from here in the Peninsula and confined to limestone.

Dubious records :

Berrya ammonilla Roxb. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula.

Corchorus aestuans Linn. PERLIS. Recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

Pentace floribunda King. GUNONG PONDOK, collected by Kunstler, whose label is confusing.

OXALIDACEAE.

Biophytum adiantoides Wight. PERLIS. Collected also by Curtis at Kuala Dipang but without mention of limestone. Usually on rocky streambanks in forest.

BALSAMINACEAE.

Impatiens cryptoneura Hook. fil. IPOH. Known only from here and confined to limestone.

Impatiens Foxworthyi Henders. GUNONG SENNYUM. BUKIT SAGU. GUA KECHAPI. GUA PANJANG. GUA TEJA. GUA LAMBOK. Common on the Pahang and Kelantan limestone, usually in rock cracks near the cliff bases in shade. Known only from these localities and confined to limestone.

Impatiens mirabilis Hook. fil. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Known only from these localities and from Lower Siamese limestone.

Impatiens Ridleyi Hook. fil. GUNONG SENNYUM. BATU CAVES. Rare and confined to limestone in the Peninsula. Doubtfully from Lower Siam.

Impatiens Scortechinii Hook. fil. PERLIS. LENGGONG. GUNONG PONDOK. SUNGAI SIPUT. KELANTAN. So far as the records go, confined to limestone.

Impatiens tipusensis Henders. GUA TIPUS, PAHANG. Known only from here.

Impatiens Vaughanii Hook. fil. JALOR. SETUL. PERLIS. Known only from these localities and probably confined to limestone.

Impatiens sp. A PERLIS plant, *Ridley 15035*, which has been placed under *I. Vaughanii*, Hook. fil., is stated by Craib, Enum. Siam. Pl. Vol. I, p. 214, to be distinct.

RUTACEAE.

Atalantia kwangtungensis Merr. PERAK. SELANGOR. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in open places.

Atalantia spinosa Tanaka. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. Usually in rocky places near the sea.

Glycosmis chlorosperma Spreng. GUNONG BALING. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.

Glycosmis Parkinsonii Tanaka, var. *ovatofoliolis* Tanaka. LANGKAWI. SELANGOR. The variety was described from BATU CAVES and is known only from the localities mentioned.

Glycosmis rupestris Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. PERAK. PAHANG. A widely distributed and variable plant.

Glycosmis sapindoides Lindl. LANGKAWI. Not very common in the Peninsula, often on riverbanks.

Glycosmis sp. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS, *SFN 35229 (Kiah)*. Perhaps a variety of *G. rupestris*, Ridl.

Micromelum pubescens Bl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PAHANG. Common in open places throughout the Peninsula.

Murraya Koenigii Spreng. LANGKAWI. Recorded from limestone in Siam.

Dubious record:

Murraya paniculata Jack. Ridley F.M.P. Vol. I, p. 353, states that this is wild on the limestone but no specimens have as yet been collected.

OCHNACEAE.

Dubious record:

Gomphia microphylla Ridl. LANGKAWI, on PULAU DAYANG BUNTING, collected by Robinson and known only from this one collection.

BURSERACEAE.

Canarium ? *purpurascens* Benn. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS. Common in forest.

Dacryodes floribunda H. J. Lam. GUNONG PONDOK. Not common in lowland forest.

MELIACEAE.

Aglaia ?cordata Hiern. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, a leaf specimen only

Aglaia odoratissima Bl. PERAK. KELANTAN. Common in lowland forest.

Aglaia splendens Koord. & Val. KUALA DIPANG. Rare, otherwise known from Penang and Java.

Aglaia sp. GUNONG BALING, a leaf specimen only.

Melia excelsa Jack. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR. This specimen was identified as *Chukrassia tabularis* Juss., but it now appears that all the Malay Peninsular material referred to this is actually *Melia excelsa* Jack. (Corner, Gard. Bull., X, 2, p. 263).

Turraea breviflora Ridl. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR. Rare, known also only from Ulu Selangor and Singapore.

Xylocarpus obovatus A. Juss. LANGKAWI, but only as a littoral plant and not found on limestone beyond the tidal area.

Dubious record :

Chisocheton glomeratus Hiern. BATU CAVES. Not common in lowland forest.

OLACINACEAE.

Gomphandra sp. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS, SFN 35256 (*Kiah*).

Iodes ovalis Bl. PULAI. Not very common in lowland forest.

ILICINACEAE.

Ilex Maingayi Hook. fil. GOPENG. Not very common but widespread in lowland forest from Penang to Singapore.

CELASTRACEAE.

Euonymus javanicus Bl. BATU CAVES. Common in forest, often in the hills.

Euonymus Wrayi King. KOTA GLANGGI. Otherwise known only from hill forest above about 4,000 ft.

Glyptopetalum quadrangulare Prain. KEDAH. PAHANG. Not uncommon, often in forest on hills or near the sea.

Gymnosporia Curtisii King. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Known only from here, but whether confined to limestone or not is not certain.

Hippocratea indica Willd. PERLIS. ?GUNONG SENNYUM (collected by Evans without details). Scattered throughout the Peninsula in open places.

Hippocratea ?nigricaulis Ridl. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS. GUA TEJA, KELANTAN. Differs a little from the typical form.

Salacia flavescens Kurz. ?LANGKAWI. SELANGOR. KELANTAN.
Common in lowland forest and open places.

Salacia grandiflora, Kurz. GUNONG PONDOK. Only once from limestone, but otherwise common in open places and lowland forest.

Salacia ?Korthalsiana Miq. GUA TIPUS, PAHANG. The identification of this specimen is somewhat doubtful. Hitherto it has been known only from Singapore and Java.

Dubious record:

Celastrus paniculata Willd. KOTA GLANGGI, collected by Evans without details. Known in the Peninsula only from this collection.

RHAMNACEAE.

Colubrina asiatica Brongn. PULAU RABANA on the seashore.
Common on rocky or sandy beaches.

Zizyphus sp. A small leaved species common on many dry limestone hills, very rarely flowering. This may possibly be *Z. pernettyoides* Ridl., which I have not seen.

Dubious records :

Smythea macrocarpa Hemsl. GUNONG PONDOK, collected by Kunstler without mention of limestone. Not common in the Peninsula in rocky forest.

Ventilago Maingayi, Lawson. LANGKAWI. Common in open places.

Ventilago oblongifolia Bl. BATU CAVES. "near Gunong Pondok", coll. Kunstler.

Zizyphus pernettyoides Ridl. LANGKAWI, collected on Pulau Dayang Bunting by Robinson. Probably from limestone.

AMPELIDACEAE.

Leea rubra Bl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. Common especially in the north of the Peninsula, usually on tidal river banks.

Leea aequata Linn. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KELANTAN. PAHANG. ?KUALA DIPANG, SELANGOR. Common in rocky forest, not confined to limestone.

Vitis glaberrima Wall. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR. Lowland forest.

Vitis hastata Miq. PERAK. PAHANG. SELANGOR. A common climber in open places.

Vitis ?japonica Thunb. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR (*Md. Nur, s.n.*).

Vitis lanceolaria Wall. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS. Common, often in open places.

- Vitis mollissima* Wall. ?LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PERAK. Common in open places in forest.
- Vitis novemfolia* Wall. IPOH. Widespread in lowland forest.
- Vitis pyrrhodasys* Miq. LANGKAWI. KELANTAN. Common in lowlands.
- Vitis repens* Wight & Arn. LANGKAWI. BATU CAVES. Common in open places, hedges, etc.
- Vitis Scortechinii* King, var. *pubescens* King. GUNONG PONDOK. GOPENG. ?BATU CAVES. Not very well known. Possibly confined to limestone.
- Vitis* sp. PULAI, PERAK, *SFN 15071* (Henderson).

Ampelocissus Martinii Planch. GUNONG BALING. ?GUNONG GERIANG. These are the only records of this species from the Peninsula, but *A. arachnoidea* Planch., from Terutau and near Kangar, Perlis, seems hardly separable.

Dubious record :

- Vitis discolor* Dalz. PERLIS and SETUL, fide Ridley. BATU CAVES.

SAPINDACEAE.

- Allophylus Cobbe* Bl., var. *glaber* Hiern. GOPENG. Common in lowland forest.
- Allophylus Cobbe* Bl., var. *villosus* Corner. PERLIS. Common in lowland forest.
- Nephelium ?mutabile* Bl. GUNONG PONDOK (identification of specimen doubtful).
- Xerospermum Wallichii* King. Base of GUNONG BALING. Not common in forest.

ANACARDIACEAE.

- Parishia rosea* Ridl. LANGKAWI, common. Known only from here and from islands in Pungah Lower Siam. Probably confined to limestone.
- Pentaspadon Curtisii* (King) Corner. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and only from limestone.
- Pentaspadon Motleyi* Ridl. (?not of Hook. fil.). PERLIS. A poor specimen which may not even belong to this genus. C. F. Symington has suggested that it is a species of *Odina*.
- Pistachia malayana* Henders. LENGKONG. BUKIT TAKUN. Known only from these localities.
- Mangifera* sp. GUA TEJA, KELANTAN. Trees of a species of this genus were seen on the summit of this hill.
- Semecarpus glomerulatus* Ridl. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. Rare in open places in the north of the Peninsula.

Semecarpus cochinchinensis Engl. SETUL. ?LANGKAWI. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula.

Spondias pinnata Kurz. Base of GUNONG BALING. Perhaps cultivated.

Dubious records :

Gluta Wrayi King. GUNONG PONDOK, collected by Kunstler without mention of limestone. Rare in lowland forest.

CONNARACEAE.

Dubious records :

Castanola villosa Schellenb. GUNONG SENNYUM, collected by Evans without details. Common in the lowlands in the Peninsula.

Connarus Griffithii Hook. fil. LANGKAWI. SETUL. PERLIS. Collected by Kunstler "near limestone" in Perak. Common in the Peninsula in the lowlands.

LEGUMINOSAE.

Cassia timoriensis DC. var. *typica*. LANGKAWI, common on limestone near the sea. Known only from here and Kedah in the Peninsula. var. *xanthocoma* Miq. KEDAH. KELANTAN. PERAK. Not uncommon, especially near limestone and on riverbanks.

Caesalpinia Nuga Ait. LANGKAWI, as a seashore plant only. Not recorded from limestone elsewhere.

Bauhinia acuminata L. GUNONG PONDOK. Once recorded from limestone. Ridley doubts whether it is wild, except perhaps on G. Pondok.

Bauhinia Curtisi Prain. LANGKAWI. GUNONG KERIANG. Also recorded from Terutau and known only from these localities.

Bauhinia decumbens Henders. GUNONG SENNYUM, summit. Known only from here.

Bauhinia micrantha Ridl. PERLIS. A rare species, known only from a few localities. Not confined to limestone.

Bauhinia strechnoidea Prain. KELANTAN. ?PAHANG. PERAK. SELANGOR. Commonest on or near limestone, but never very common. Found in a few localities far from limestone.

Bauhinia sp. LANGKAWI, SFN 29146 (*Henderson*). Possibly undescribed.

Dalbergia Kunstleri Prain. GOPENG. A rare species, otherwise known only from riverbanks at Kinta.

Dalbergia phyllanthoides Bl. BUKIT SERDAM. GUA TEJA. Not common in rocky and dense lowland forest and on riverbanks.

Derris elliptica Benth. PERLIS. Doubtfully wild.

1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

- Desmodium rugosum** Prain. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula. Also from Burma and Siam, but apparently not confined to limestone.
- Desmodium umbellatum** DC. LANGKAWI, as a seashore plant only.
- Erythrina indica** Lam. GUNONG KERIANG. A seashore plant, often cultivated.
- Millettia pterocarpa** Dunn. IPOH. Known otherwise only from Kapayang, Kinta, whether or not on limestone unknown.
- Peltophorum inerme** Llanos. LANGKAWI, as a sea shore plant only.

Dubious records :

- Bauhinia mollissima** Wall. PERLIS. Common in open country in the north of the Peninsula.
- Caesalpinia digyna** Rottl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Common in the north of the Peninsula.
- Crudia Evansii** Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM, collected by Evans without precise data.
- Desmodium capitatum** DC. PERLIS. Common in open sandy places. Not regarded as likely to occur on limestone.
- Desmodium gangeticum** DC. PERLIS. GUNONG KERIANG. Not common in lowland forest in the north.
- Fordia pauciflora** Dunn. UPPER PERAK. Ridley states definitely that this is from limestone, but he did not collect it himself. Rare and known only from a few localities.
- Saraca taipengensis** Cantley. BATU CAVES. Also from near cliff bases in Kelantan. Common in lowland forest near streams.

ROSACEAE.

- Eriobotrya bengalensis** Hook. f. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. BUKIT TAKUN. GUA TEJA, and probably elsewhere. Not very common in the Peninsula in rocky forest from sealevel to 5,000 ft.
- Rubus angulosus** Focke. PULAI, on ground disturbed by mining. BUKIT CHERAS. Widely distributed in the lowlands, usually in open places.

LEGNOTIDACEAE.

- Carallia Scortechinii** King. ?BATU CAVES. BALING. Widely distributed but rare in the Peninsula in the lowlands.

Dubious record :

- Carallia lucida** King. PERLIS.

COMBRETACEAE.

- Quisqualis densiflora* Wall., var. *parvifolia* Ridl. LANGKAWI.
The variety is known only from here, the species not very common in the Peninsula, usually in rocky and rather open places.
- Quisqualis indica* L. PERLIS. Commonly cultivated, but probably wild in a few places, scrambling on rocks.
- Terminalia pyrifolia* Kurz. LANGKAWI, common. Only known from here and Perlis in the Peninsula, not confined to limestone. An open country or scrub plant.
- Terminalia triptera* Stapf. LANGKAWI, common. GUNONG KERIANG. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula. Not confined to limestone. Recorded several times from limestone in Siam.

MYRTACEAE.

- Barringtonia asiatica* Kurz. LANGKAWI, but only as a littoral plant.
- Barringtonia fusiformis* King. GUNONG PONDOK. ?BATU CAVES.
Not very common on riverbanks and in bamboo forest.
- Decaspermum* sp. prox. *D. fruticosum* Forst. GUNONG SENNYUM. GUA TEJA. BATU CAVES. BUKIT TAKUN.
- Eugenia cerasiformis* DC. KINTA, collected once by Kunstler. Known also from near the bases of Gunong Sennyum and Kota Glanggi. Not uncommon in lowland forest and up to about 3,000 ft.
- Eugenia spicata* Lamk. PERAK, once recorded only. Common in open country and near the sea.
- Tristania merguensis* Wight. PAHANG. LANGKAWI (determination of this specimen doubtful). Common in coastal forest and in the hills.
- Tristania subauriculata* King. PERAK. Rare, known only from two collections made by Kunstler, one not from limestone.

Dubious records:

- Barringtonia spicata* Bl. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH.
- Eugenia* sp. PERLIS. Mentioned by Ridley in J.R.A.S.S.B., 59, p. 26, but apparently not collected.
- Eugenia claviflora* Roxb. PERLIS. Also mentioned by Ridley in the above publication, and collected by him.

MELASTOMACEAE.

- Memecylon ?acuminatum* Sm. LANGKAWI (identification of specimen doubtful).

- Memecylon coeruleum** Jack. PERLIS. Only once recorded, otherwise common in open places, often coastal.
- Memecylon dichotomum** Clarke. PAHANG. Only one definite record, but found near limestone in Kelantan. Common in lowland forest, often in rocky places.
- Memecylon Kunstleri** King. PERAK. One record from limestone. Not common, usually in dense lowland forest.
- Memecylon laevigatum** Bl. var. **LANGKAWI**. GUA TEJA. KELANTAN. BUKIT TAKUN. BATU CAVES. A small leaved variety which is probably commoner on the summits of dry hills than the records indicate.
- Memecylon myrsinoides** Bl. ?**LANGKAWI**. PERLIS. Widely distributed in lowland forest.
- Memecylon oleaefolium** Bl. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH. Widely distributed but not very common in lowland forest.
- Memecylon ovatum** Sm. PERLIS. Not uncommon in the Peninsula on rocky coasts.
- Memecylon sp. prox. M. laevigatum** Bl. **LANGKAWI**, sterile specimens only.
- Memecylon sp.** **LANGKAWI**, sterile specimens only.
- Memecylon sp.** **BATU CAVES**, insufficient for determination.
- Pachycentria tuberculata** Korth. PAHANG, once recorded only. Generally an epiphyte, but also on rocks. Common in forest from sealevel to 4,000 ft.
- Phyllagathis hispida** King. KANCHING, fide Ridley. Usually in hill forest.
- Sonerila elliptica** Stapf. KINTA. ?**SUNGAI SIPUT**. Known only from these collections, but with some doubt as to whether it is confined to limestone or not.
- Sonerila epilobioides** Stapf. **LANGKAWI**, common. Known only from here and Terutau, but whether from limestone in Terutau is not recorded.

SAMYDACEAE.

- Homalium dasyanthum**, Warb. **LANGKAWI**, common. Common in north of Peninsula in rocky places.
- Homalium Kunstleri** King. PERAK. Once or twice collected by Kunstler and known only from these collections.
- Homalium undulatum** King. PERAK. Known only from Kunstler's collections.
- Homalium sp.** **LANGKAWI**, *Forest Dept. F.M.S. 46746 (Symington).* A sterile specimen collected on Pulau Dayang Bunting. Possibly one of the foregoing species.

Dubious record:

Osmelia Maingayi King. BATU CAVES. PAHANG. Widely distributed in lowland forest.

PASSIFLORACEAE.

Adenia nicobarica King. LANGKAWI. KEDAH. Not uncommon in the Peninsula, usually in secondary growth.

CUCURBITACEAE.

Alsomitra pubigera Prain var. *glauca* Craib. LANGKAWI. Not known from elsewhere in the Peninsula.

Gymnopetalum cochinchinense Kurz. PERAK. Recorded once only from limestone. Not very common in the Peninsula in open places and riverbanks.

Melothria marginata Cogn. LANGKAWI. SELANGOR. Not uncommon in waste ground, thickets, riverbanks etc.

Momordica subangulata Bl. IPOH. Not common in the Peninsula, recorded also from riverbanks.

Trichosanthes tricuspidata Lour. PAHANG. Once recorded from limestone. Not uncommon in secondary growth, clearings, riverbanks, etc.

Zanonia Clarkei King. BATU CAVES. KINTA. Known only from these collections.

BEGONIACEAE.

Begonia Curtisii Ridl. (incl. *B. Haniffii* Burkill). LANGKAWI. So far known only from limestone here, and from Lower Siam, also on limestone.

Begonia debilis King. GUNONG PONDOK. The only limestone collection. Rather rare in rocky places.

Begonia Foxworthyi Burkill. PAHANG. KELANTAN. Also found on shale rocks in dense shade at Bukit Batu Papan, Kelantan.

Begonia guttata Wall. LANGKAWI. Rather rare and local in rocky places.

Begonia ignorata Irmsch. KOTA GLANGGI. BUKIT CHERAS. Known only from these localities.

Begonia Kingiana Irmsch. PERAK. KELANTAN. SELANGOR. Known only from these localities and apparently confined to limestone.

Begonia phoeniogramma Ridl. LANGKAWI. SELANGOR. Rare, known also from a few localities in forest on granite rocks.

Dubious record :

Begonia pseudo-isoptera Irmsch. KELANTAN. The records are not definite, but it is possible that it occurs on limestone. It is a rock and riverbank plant.

DATISCACEAE.

Dubious record :

Tetrameles nudiflora R. Br. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH. There is nothing to show whether it was collected on limestone or not. Probably it came from the base of the hill. It is recorded from a similar situation in the Enumeration of Siamese Plants.

ARALIACEAE.

Brassiopsis palmata Kurz. PAHANG, once recorded only, and once from limestone in Lower Siam. Widespread but not common in forest from the lowlands to 5,000 ft.

Schefflera heterophylla Harms. BUKIT CHERAS. Usually a rock plant, not uncommon and widespread in the Peninsula.

Schefflera subracemosa Viguiet. KUALA DIPANG. Known only from here.

Schefflera musangensis Henders. BUKIT TAKUN. Otherwise known only from the base of Gua Musang, Kelantan, where it grew epiphytically.

Schefflera subulata Viguiet. BUKIT CHERAS. GUNONG SENNYUM. KOTA GLANGGI. ?BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula on rocks and trees in forest from sea level to over 2,000 ft. Common on the Pahang limestone.

Schefflera tomentosa Viguiet. PERAK. PAHANG. Recorded twice only from limestone. Widespread in lowland forest, often terrestrial, sometimes epiphytic.

Dubious records :

Schefflera minimiflora Ridl. LANGKAWI. It is probable that some of the Langkawi plants were collected on limestone, for it is recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

Trevesia cheiranthra Ridl. PERAK. SELANGOR. It has been collected near the base of Batu Caves. Widespread in lowland forest.

RUBIACEAE.

Amaracarpus saxicola Ridl. BUKIT KAMUNING, PERAK. Known only from here.

Argostemma diversifolium Ridl. LENGKONG. Known only from here in the Peninsula. Recorded also from Lower Siam, but not stated to be on limestone.

Argostemma inaequilaterum Benn. ?GUNONG PONDOK. BATU CAVES. ?LENGGONG. There is only one definite record, but the others are probable. Ridley states that it is usually on limestone. Rare in the Peninsula, probably a rock plant.

Argostemma pictum Wall. LANGKAWI. Not uncommon in the Peninsula, usually in hill forest and often on rocks.

Becheria parviflora Ridl. BATU CAVES. Rare in the Peninsula in lowland forest.

Canthium aciculatum Ridl. KEDAH. PERAK. Not common in lowland forest.

Coffea malayana Ridl. PERLIS. PERAK. Not uncommon in lowland forest.

Geophila herbacea O. Ktze. LANGKAWI. PERAK. ?SELANGOR. Rare on or near limestone, but common in lowland forest on banks and in rocky places.

Guetarda speciosa Linn. LANGKAWI, as a seashore plant only.

?*Gynochthodes* sp. IPOH (*Curtis 3339*). A very poor specimen which may not belong to this genus.

Hedyotis coronaria Craib. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KELANTAN. ?IPOH. Not uncommon in the Peninsula from sealevel to over 4,000 ft., usually in forest in shade.

Hedyotis tenelliflora Bl. PAHANG, once only from limestone. Not common in the Peninsula in open rather dry places.

Ixora Brunonis Wall. GUNONG BALING, summit. Not common in the Peninsula.

Ixora clerodendron Ridl. BUKIT CHERAS. GUNONG SENNYUM. KOTA GLANGGI. A little known species, possibly commonest on or near limestone.

Ixora congesta Roxb. GUNONG BALING. Common in the Peninsula in forest.

Ixora nigricans Wight & Arn. SETUL, ?LANGKAWI. KEDAH. KELANTAN (var. *ovalis*, Pitard). ?GUNONG SENNYUM. UPPER PERAK (var. *ovalis*, Pitard). ?BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula.

Ixora pendula Jack. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PAHANG. ?BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula.

Ixora Scortechinii King & Gamble, var. Base of GUA PANJANG, KELANTAN. Common in lowland forest.

Ixora umbellata Koorders & Valetton. PERLIS. KEDAH. KELANTAN. BATU CAVES. Common in forest.

Knoxia corymbosa Willd. PERAK, from open places on limestone. Not common in the Peninsula in grassy or open places.

Lasianthus stipularis Bl., var. *hirta* Ridl. KANCHING. The variety is known only from this collection. The species is widely distributed in lowland forest, but not known from limestone.

?*Mitragyne* sp. GUNONG PONDOK, *SFN 23813* (Henderson).

Morinda umbellata Linn., ?var. KEDAH. PERAK. PAHANG. SELANGOR. A plant of doubtful status, which may be a variety of this common species.

Mycetia malayana Craib. ?LANGKAWI. KEDAH. KELANTAN. SELANGOR. Widely distributed in lowland forest.

Nauclea Junghuhnii Merr. GOPENG ("in rich soil on limestone" coll. Kunstler). The only limestone record. Otherwise it is common in lowland forest.

Oldenlandia ovatifolia DC. LANGKAWI. Rare in the Peninsula, not confined to limestone.

Oldenlandia pterita Miq. PERLIS. Rare in the Peninsula, known from here and Malacca (not limestone). A plant of roadsides and other open places.

Oldenlandia rosettifolia Geddes. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula. Recorded from limestone in Siam, but apparently not confined to it.

Oldenlandia verticillata Linn. PULAU RABANA. LANGKAWI. Not very common in the Peninsula in open dry places. Recorded from "evergreen forest" in Siam.

Ophiorrhiza fruticosa Ridl. BATU CAVES. Known only from here.

Ophiorrhiza hispidula Wall. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in forest.

Ophiorrhiza Kunstleri King. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PERAK. KELANTAN. Known only from limestone.

Ophiorrhiza longerepens Ridl. KELANTAN. Known so far only from Gua Panjang, where it was common.

Ophiorrhiza pallidula Ridl. KELANTAN. SELANGOR. Rare, usually in lowland forest.

Ophiorrhiza sp. TANJONG RAMBUTAN, PERAK, *SFN 23785* (Henderson).

Ophiorrhiza sp. GUNONG BALING, KEDAH. *SFN 35276* (Henderson).

Paederia tomentosa Bl. ?LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Not very common in the Peninsula in open and rocky places, possibly only on limestone in the north.

Pavetta indica Linn. PERLIS. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.

Pavetta pauciflora Ridl. BATU CAVES. Known only from here.

- Pavetta* sp. GUNONG BALING, SFN 35406 (Henderson).
Pavetta sp. GUNONG PONDOK, SFN 23799 (Henderson).
Pavetta sp. LANGKAWI, SFN 21374 (Henderson).
Pavetta sp. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS, SFN 35226 (Kiah).
Petunga hirta Ridl. PERAK. Known only from one locality on limestone and also rather doubtfully from Sungai Telom, Pahang.
Prismatomeris malayana Ridl. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS. Common in the Peninsula, usually in open places, often on the coast.
Psychotria angulata Korth. ?PERLIS. PAHANG. SELANGOR. Not uncommon on limestone. Common in the Peninsula in forest, often in rocky places.
Psychotria Cantleyi Ridl. ?PAHANG. BATU CAVES. Widely distributed in lowland forest but only once definitely recorded from limestone.
Psychotria montana Bl. PERAK. Common in the Peninsula, often in rocky forest.
Psychotria rhinocerotis Reinw. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PERAK. PAHANG. Not uncommon on limestone. Common in the Peninsula in rocky places in forest.
Psychotria rostrata Bl. PAHANG. Only once definitely recorded, but several times collected close to limestone. Common in lowland forest.
Psychotria viridiflora Reinw. PAHANG. ?SELANGOR. Common in open and rocky places both in the lowlands and the hills.
Randia ?oppositifolia Koords. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. PERAK. SELANGOR. A rather doubtful plant. It may be a variety of this species, which is common in the Peninsula.
Randia sp. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, Forest Dept. F.M.S. 37439 (Symington).
Saprosma sp. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS, (Kiah, 11/4/38, sine num.).
Tarenna angustifolia Merr. PERAK, top of limestone hills, known only from here in the Peninsula. Two collections are recorded from Siam, one from limestone, the other from rocks, formation not stated.
Tarenna calcarea Ridl. PERAK. Known only from limestone near Ipoh.
Tarenna Curtisii Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KELANTAN. Otherwise known only from limestone in Lower Siam. King, in Mat. F.M.P., includes Wray 3612 from Gunong Inas under this species. I have not seen this number, but Wray 4113 from the same locality is not *Tarenna Curtisii*. The variety mentioned by Ridley, F.M.P. II, p. 107 has been found at GUA TIPUS and BATU CAVES and may be a distinct species.

- Tarenna Ridleyi** Pears. UPPER PERAK. Not very common in the Peninsula, usually in forest in the south.
- Tarenna ?stellulata** Ridl. GUNONG BALING, *SFN 35367 (Kiah)*.
- Tarenna sp. prox.** *T. pulchra* Ridl. BUKIT LAGI, PERLIS, (*Henderson sine num.*).
- Tarenna sp. aff.** *T. attenuata* Ind. *Kew.* BUKIT SAGU, PAHANG, *SFN 25091 (Henderson)*.
- Tarenna sp.** BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, *Forest Dept. F.M.S. 37415, 39592 (Symington)*; *SFN 34383 (Nur)*.
- Timonius atropurpureus** Craib. LANGKAWI, apparently common. Perhaps confined to limestone, although only two of the several collections are stated to be from limestone. Recorded from Lower Siam on rocks, formation not specified.

Dubious records :

- Hymenodictyon excelsum** Wall. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula. Recorded from limestone in Siam.
- Ixora javanica** DC. SETUL. KOTA GLANGGI.
- Ixora pumila** Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM, collected by Evans. Known only from here and Kuala Tahan, Pahang.
- Ophiorrhiza discolor** R. Br. BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often in rocky places.
- Ophiorrhiza major** Ridl. PERAK. PAHANG. SELANGOR. No definite records, although it is known from near bases of limestone cliffs. Common in lowland forest.
- Ophiorrhiza remotiflora** Ridl. PAHANG. Probably on limestone, as it has been collected close to cliff bases. Rare in the Peninsula, known from granite and shale formations.
- Randia fasciculata** DC. SETUL. PERLIS. Not uncommon in the north of the Peninsula in open places or near the sea.
- Psychotria lanceolaria** Ridl. BATU CAVES. Known only from here.
- Tarenna adangensis** Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS.
- Tarenna Evansii** Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM, collected by Evans and known only from this collection.

COMPOSITAE.

- Mikania cordata** B. L. Robinson. PERAK, recorded once only and probably present as a weed. Common in the Peninsula in open places, edges of forest, etc. from sealevel to over 4,000 ft.
- Vernonia cinerea** Less. BUKIT CHERAS, PAHANG. The only record from limestone in the Peninsula and no doubt accidentally introduced, as it was found near a frequently visited cave. It is, however, recorded from open deciduous forest on limestone in Siam.

Vernonia Curtisii Craib & Hutchins. TERUTAU. LANGKAWI, common. Known also from Siam apparently usually if not always on limestone.

Vernonia rupicola Ridl. LANGKAWI. Recorded also from Adang, on rocks, presumably not limestone. Known only from these localities.

Dubious records:

Spilanthes Acmella Murr. PERAK. BATU CAVES. If on limestone then probably only as a weed.

Wedelia biflora DC. PULAU DAYANG BUNTING, LANGKAWI, fide Craib, Enum. Siam. Pl., II, p. 275.

VACCINIACEAE.

Vaccinium Hasseltii Miq. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR. The only record so far of this family from the Peninsular limestone. No limestone records are given in Craib's Enumeration of Siamese Plants.

PRIMULACEAE.

Lysimachia peduncularis Wall. LANGKAWI. A Burmese and Siamese species not hitherto recorded from our area. In the Peninsula known only from one collection from the limestone.

MYRSINACEAE.

Ardisia biflora King & Gamble. PERAK, fide Ridley,. Known only from collections made by Kunstler and Wray which I have not seen.

Ardisia lanceolata Roxb. BATU CAVES. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in lowland forest.

Ardisia langkawiensis King & Gamble. LANGKAWI. Known only from Ridley's collection on Pulau Dayang Bunting.

Ardisia Meziana King & Gamble. GOPENG, collected once by Kunstler and not seen again.

Ardisia oxyphylla Wall. KELANTAN. Not uncommon in the Peninsula, often in hill forest.

Ardisia platyclada King & Gamble. PERAK. Rare and known only from one other collection not from limestone.

Ardisia Ridleyi King & Gamble. ?LANGKAWI. PERAK. Not uncommon in lowland forest and up to 4,000 ft.

Ardisia pendula, Mez. PERLIS. Not common in the Peninsula in open country.

Ardisia solanacea Roxb. ?LANGKAWI. PERAK. Not very common in forest, often in hill forest.

- Ardisia Vaughanii* Ridl. GUNONG BALING. Known also only from Tembeling (Pahang) and Rahman.
- Ardisia vestita* Wall. PERAK. Once definitely recorded but several times found near limestone. Common in the Peninsula in forest.
- Ardisia* cf. *Hullettii* Mez. GUA LAMBOK, KELANTAN, a poor specimen in fruit.
- Ardisia* sp. aff. *A. suffruticosa* Ridl. BUKIT CHERAS, PAHANG, in abundance at one spot.
- Ardisia* sp. prox. *A. fulva* King & Gamble. LANGKAWI, SFN 21394 (Henderson).
- Ardisia* sp. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH, SFN 35420 (Kiah).
- Ardisia* sp. LANGKAWI, Forest Dept. F.M.S. 46753 (Symington). Sterile specimens from a rocky headland on P. Dayang Bunting.
- Embelia calcarea* Fletcher. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula, but what appears to be the same thing was collected by Kloss in Banguay island, off the coast of Borneo.
- Maesa pahangiana* King & Gamble. KELANTAN. PERAK. Not common, usually on riverbanks.
- Myrsine Porteriana* Wall. GUNONG BALING, SELANGOR. Not uncommon in the Peninsula, occasionally near the sea, usually in hill forest.

Dubious record :

- Ardisia attenuata* Wall. BATU BUNGA, SETUL.

SAPOTACEAE.

- Isonandra perakensis* King & Gamble. KINTA, PERAK, collected once by Kunstler and known only from this collection.
- Madhuca Ridleyi* H. J. Lam. LENGKONG. BUKIT SERDAM. A curious species known only from these two collections.
- Mimusops Elengi* Linn. var. *parvifolia* H. J. Lam. LANGKAWI, common. Very rarely wild elsewhere in the Peninsula except perhaps on seashores. The species is often cultivated.
- Payena Havilandii* King & Gamble. LANGKAWI. Widely distributed in the Peninsula in lowland forest.

EBENACEAE.

- Diospyros adenophora* Bakh. PAHANG. Known only from one collection from limestone and from Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- Diospyros cauliflora* Bl. PERAK. PAHANG. Probably not uncommon on or near limestone. Widespread in lowland forest.
- Diospyros daemona* Bakh. PAHANG. Known only from one collection.

- Diospyros ellipsoidea* King & Gamble. PERAK. Not common in dense lowland forest.
- Diospyros ferrea* Bakh. ?LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. GUNONG BALING. Usually in dry open places especially near the sea.
- Diospyros frutescens* Bl. GUNONG PONDOK. Not common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.
- Diospyros hermaphroditica* Bakh. ?LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Commonest in the north of the Peninsula especially in rocky places near the sea.
- Diospyros Holttumii* Bakh. LANGKAWI. Known only from one collection.
- Diospyros malayana* Bakh., var. *aequabilis* Bakh. KOTA GLANGGI, at base of cliff. Not common in the Peninsula in forest.
- Diospyros pilosanthera* Blanco var. *Helferi* Bakh. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS, several localities.
- Diospyros retrofracta* Bakh. PERLIS. UPPER PERAK. PAHANG. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula and from Siam, but apparently not confined to limestone there.
- Diospyros toposioides* King & Gamble. KEDAH. UPPER PERAK. ?PERAK. ?SELANGOR. Widespread in forest. Ridley says commonest on limestone, but this is doubtful.
- Diospyros undulata* Wall. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. Known also from Terutau and Lower Siam but whether on limestone or not is not stated.
- Diospyros Wallichii* King & Gamble. ?LANGKAWI. UPPER PERAK. BATU CAVES. Common and widely distributed in forest.
- Diospyros* sp. LANGKAWI, *Forest Dept. F.M.S. 34711* (Symington), sterile specimens collected on P. Dayang Bunting.

Dubious records :

- Diospyros pubicarpa* Ridl. BATU CAVES.
- Diospyros siamensis* Hochr. LANGKAWI.

OLEACEAE

- Jasminum adenophyllum* Wall. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH. Rare in the Peninsula, recorded from the main range in Selangor and also from Penang. The Penang specimen was collected by Kunstler in 1881, but it may then have been in cultivation in Penang as it is now.
- Jasminum cordatum* Ridl. PULAI, PERAK. Known only from here.
- Jasminum Curtisii* King & Gamble. PERLIS. Once only recorded from limestone, but collected near Ipoh without data. Known only from these collections.

Jasminum Wrayi King & Gamble var. *hispida* King and Gamble. PERAK. ?BATU CAVES. Not very common in forest.

Jasminum sp. prox. *J. nervosum* Lour. LANGKAWI, *Forest Dept. F.M.S. 46737, 46783 (Symington)*. I have seen no authentic material of Loureiro's species for comparison. It is recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

Jasminum sp. BATU CAVES. A scrap collected by Ridley and not seen again.

Jasminum sp. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, *Forest Dept. F.M.S. 39587 (Symington)*.

Ligustrum confusum Dcne. PERLIS. Not previously recorded from the Peninsula. Common in Siam, especially in "padang" formations (fide A. F.G. Kerr).

APOCYNACEAE.

Alstonia angustiloba Miq. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, but identity of specimen rather doubtful. This is the only record so far of *Alstonia* from limestone in the Peninsula, but *A. Curtisii* K. & G. is recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

Alyxia selangorica King & Gamble. BATU CAVES. Known only from here in the Peninsula. Also known from Sumatra, in one locality there, at least, not from limestone, and from Siam, ?not on limestone.

Alyxia sp. GUA TIPUS, PAHANG, *SFN 19466 (Henderson)*.

Ervatamia peduncularis King & Gamble. ?LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PAHANG. ?BATU CAVES. Common in forest and sometimes in rather open places up to 2,000 ft.

Holarrhena Curtisii King & Gamble. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula. Extends into Siam and Cambodia.

Hunteria zeylanica (Retz.) Gard. LANGKAWI. UPPER PERAK. ?BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often in rocky places.

Kopsia alba Ridl. ex Henderson. KELANTAN. Common in this district in the limestone area and in rocky jungle in Pulau Tioman. Recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

Kopsia Griffithii King & Gamble var. *paucinervia* K. & G. PERAK, fide King and Gamble. The variety known only from this collection, the species also very rare.

Kopsia macrophylla Hook. f. BUKIT SERDAM, in dry clayey soil on limestone. Rare, otherwise known only with certainty from Pulau Jerajak, Penang, and doubtfully from Johore.

Melodinus orientalis Bl. GOPENG. Not common in the Peninsula in forest, often in hill forest.

Melodinus perakensis King & Gamble. GOPENG. Known only from here.

- Parameria polyneura* Hook. f. PULAI. The only limestone record, but common in lowland forest.
- Rauwolfia perakensis* King & Gamble. GUNONG KERIANG. BATU CAVES. Not uncommon in open places, riverbanks, edges of secondary growth, etc., up to 4,500 ft.
- Rauwolfia sumatrana* Jack. PERAK. Rare in the Peninsula and perhaps only on limestone.
- Wrightia laevis* Hook. f. PERLIS. KELANTAN. Not very common but widely distributed in lowland forest in the Peninsula. Recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

ASCLEPIADACEAE.

- Dischidia bengalensis* Colebr. PULAU RABANA. LANGKAWI. GUNONG SENNYUM. Common on the northern limestone, often on bare rock faces. Common on trees, often in the open, from sealevel to 5,000 ft.
- Dischidia hirsuta* Dcne. BATU CAVES. BUKIT CHERAS. Not common on limestone, but otherwise common as an epiphyte on trees in more or less open places.
- Dischidia tomentella* Ridl. PERLIS. Known only from here.
- Gongylosperma lanuginosum* Ridl. LANGKAWI, on bare limestone cliffs. Known only from here. One other species is known from limestone in Siam.
- Gymnanthera insularum* King & Gamble. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and Lower Siam, but whether always on limestone or not is not certain.
- Heterostemma piperifolium* King & Gamble. IPOH. BATU CAVES. Not common, usually in forest.
- Hoya citrina* Ridl. ?BATU KURAU. BATU CAVES. Known only from these localities and from Ulu Bubong (not limestone).
- Hoya coronaria* Bl. IPOH. Collected once only on limestone, but common in mangrove, secondary growth, on riverbanks and near the sea.
- Hoya occlusa* Ridl. BATU CAVES. Known only from here and collected once only.
- Hoya parviflora* Wight, ?var. PERLIS. KELANTAN. Not uncommon as an epiphyte.
- Marsdenia tinctoria* Br. PERLIS. IPOH. BATU CAVES. Perhaps remains of cultivation.
- Secamone micrantha* Dcne. ?LANGKAWI (probable), ?PERLIS. IPOH. Not very common but widespread in the Peninsula, in open places or on rocks by the sea.
- 1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Toxicarpus Curtisii King & Gamble. ?LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. BUKIT TAKUN. Not common, known otherwise only from forest at about 3,000 ft.

Toxicarpus pauciflorus Henders. BUKIT CHINTAMANI. Known only from here.

Tylophora calcicola Henders. GUA NINEK, KELANTAN. BUKIT CHERAS, PAHANG. Known only from these localities.

Tylophora perakensis King & Gamble. GUNONG KERIANG. ?PERAK. Not common in the Peninsula in forest.

Tylophora tenuis Bl. PERLIS. BATU CAVES. Not common on limestone, but common in the Peninsula, often on tidal rivers and in open places.

Dubious record :

Toxicarpus langkawiensis King & Gamble. LANGKAWI. Known only from here.

LOGANIACEAE.

Fagraea calcarea Henders. BUKIT CHINTAMANI. Known only from here.

Fagraea carnosae Jack. BUKIT SERDAM at 1,500 ft. alt. Collected once only on limestone. Rather rare in the Peninsula, near the sea or in rocky places in forest.

Fagraea Curtisii King & Gamble. LANGKAWI, several times recorded, but whether or not always on limestone is unknown. Known only from here and from Channing, Kelantan (not limestone).

Fagraea obovata Wall. BUKIT TAKUN. Common in lowland forest or near the sea, usually in rocky places.

Mitreola oldenlandioides Wall. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula, but not confined to limestone.

Strychnos chloropetala A. W. Hill. LANGKAWI. Described from Siam, where it occurs frequently on limestone. Not hitherto recorded for the Peninsula.

GENTIANACEAE.

Canscora pentanthera Clarke. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. KELANTAN. PAHANG. PERAK. SELANGOR. Commonest on dry limestone rocks but not confined to them.

Microrhophium pubescens Clarke. LANGKAWI. Apparently common here but the records do not show whether it is confined to limestone or not. Known only from here.

Microrhophium sp. BUKIT SAGU, PAHANG, *SFN 25158 (Henderson)*. Possibly only a glabrous variety of the preceding species.

BORAGINACEAE.

- Cordia Griffithii* Clarke. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. Not common in open places.
- Cordia* sp. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH, *SFN 35418 (Kiah)*. Said to be a climber.
- Ehretia timorensis* DC. LANGKAWI. Only once definitely recorded from limestone. Not very common in the Peninsula, often in rocky forest.

CONVOLVULACEAE.

- Argyreia obtusifolia* Lour. LANGKAWI. Not common in the Peninsula, not south of Perak, usually in more or less open places.
- Ipomoea illustris* Prain. PULAU RABANA. LANGKAWI. A sea-shore plant, not common in the Peninsula, not south of Penang.
- Jacquemontia paniculata* Hall. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. Rare in the Peninsula, in open and rocky places, not confined to limestone.
- Lettsomia Maingayi* Clarke. GUNONG SENNYUM. BUKIT CHERAS. ?KOTA GLANGGI. Not uncommon, usually in lowland forest.

Dubious record :

- Lepistemon flavescens* Bl. BATU CAVES. Not very common in the Peninsula, usually on forest edges.

CARDIOPTERIDACEAE.

- Cardiopteris lobata* Wall. PERLIS. Apparently scarce in the Peninsula, in open places and secondary growth.

SOLANACEAE.

- Solanum bifforum* Lour. KELANTAN. PAHANG. SELANGOR. Rare in the Peninsula, known only from limestone or from localities very close to it.
- Solanum decemdentatum* Roxb. GUNONG SENNYUM. Rare in the Peninsula, usually in rocky rather open places.
- Solanum nigrum* L., and *S. verbascifolium* L., have been collected near the bases of limestone hills, and *Capsicum frutescens* has been seen as an escape from cultivation on hill bases in Perlis.

SCROPHULARIACEAE.

- Adenosma capitatum* Benth. LANGKAWI. Common in the Peninsula along roads, in open sandy places, on seashores, etc.

Centranthera hispida R. Br. LANGKAWI, in grass in open places.
Not previously recorded from the Peninsula.

Dubious record :

Curanga amara juss. SELANGOR. Not uncommon in the north of the Peninsula along borders of forest and on riverbanks.

LENTIBULARIACEAE.

Utricularia minutissima Vahl. LANGKAWI. Scarce in the Peninsula in damp and sandy spots. Known also from the Anamba Islands.

GESNERACEAE.

Boea acutifolia Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. So far as is known confined to limestone in these localities.

Boea brachycarpa Ridl. GUA NINEK, KELANTAN. Known only from here.

Boea coerulescens Ridl. IPOH. SUNGAI SIPUT. BUKIT SERDAM. Known only from these localities, and presumably confined to limestone.

Boea lanata Ridl. LANGKAWI, common on exposed rock faces. Known only from here and probably confined to limestone.

Boea minutiflora Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM. Known only from here.

Boea paniculata Ridl. PERAK. SELANGOR. Apparently confined to limestone and known only from these localities.

Boea parviflora Ridl. PERAK, several localities. Known only from these localities and presumably confined to limestone.

Boea suffruticosa Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from Curtis's collections from here.

Boea verticillata Ridl. KEDAH. PERAK. PAHANG. SELANGOR. Except for one doubtful specimen collected by Kunstler at Sungai Ryah, known only from these localities and confined to limestone.

Chirita caliginosa Clarke. PERAK. PAHANG. SELANGOR. In most localities, but not recorded from Langkawi, Perlis or Kedah. There are two collections by Kunstler, one from Sungai Ryah and one from Larut, with no mention of limestone. These are not quoted by Ridley in his Flora. Otherwise it is known only from limestone.

Chirita parvula Ridl. KOTA GLANGGI. Although collected by Evans without mention of limestone, it is highly probable that it is a limestone plant. It is known only from here and from Jalor, also very probably from limestone.

- Chirita rupestris* Ridl. PERLIS. Known also only from Bukit Penarak, Langkawi, which, so far as can be traced, is not limestone.
- Chirita sericea* Ridl. PERAK. Known only from here, and perhaps confined to limestone, but the records are not definite.
- Chirita viola* Ridl. LANGKAWI. KEDAH. PAHANG. KELANTAN. Usually, but not always on limestone.
- Dichiloboea speciosa* Stapf. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and confined to limestone.
- Epithema saxatile* Bl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PAHANG. PERAK. SELANGOR. Common on nearly all the limestone, but not confined to it. A rock plant.
- Lepadanthus flexuosus* Ridl. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH. Known only from here in the Peninsula. Also from Lower Siam, but the records do not show whether it is confined to limestone there or not.
- Monophyllaea glabra* Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula and only from limestone. Also from Lower Siam, possibly always on limestone, though this is not definitely recorded.
- Monophyllaea Horsfieldii* R. Br. PAHANG. KELANTAN. PERAK. SELANGOR. Not very common on limestone. A rock plant, often on acid rocks.
- Monophyllaea patens* Ridl. KELANTAN. PAHANG. PERAK. SELANGOR. Not very common on limestone and confined to it.
- Paraboea Bakeri* Henders. BUKIT CHERAS, PAHANG. Known only from here.
- Paraboea Bettiana* Henders. BUKIT CHERAS. Known only from here.
- Paraboea capitata* Ridl. PERAK, several localities. PAHANG. Usually on limestone but not confined to it.
- Paraboea ferruginea* Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and probably always on limestone.
- Paraboea laxa* Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and only from limestone.
- Paraboea vulpina* Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and from two localities in Perak, apparently not on limestone.
- Rhyncoglossum obliquum* Bl. GUA TIPUS, PAHANG. One record only from limestone in the Peninsula, but known from limestone in Lower Siam. Not common in the Peninsula, usually in hill forest.
- Stauranthera grandiflora* Benth. PAHANG. KELANTAN. Not common in the Peninsula, usually in rocky places in forest.
- 1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Stauroanthura umbrosa Clarke. PERAK. One definite record only, but known from near Batu Caves. Not common in the Peninsula in rocky places.

Dubious records :

Boea divaricata Ridl. LANGKAWI at Ayer Hangat and on "small islands". Known only from here. The locality "small islands" very probably indicates limestone. Ayer Hangat is not in the limestone area, as far as can be ascertained.

Boea lancifolia Ridl. TERUTAU, without data. Known only from here.

Cyrtandra pendula Bl. IPOH. Common in lowland forest. *C. cupulata* Ridl. has been found close to limestone in several localities, but the genus as a whole is usually found in wet places in forest.

Didymocarpus crinita Jack. PERAK, without precise locality, collected by Kunstler. Common in forest up to 4,000 ft.

Didymocarpus pectinata Clarke. PERAK, without precise locality, collected by Kunstler. Rare, known only from this collection and two in Selangor.

Apparently both Kunstler's collections were made at the same place. He states that they were on limestone "in dense jungle", but as they have not been collected again on limestone and no other *Didymocarpus* has been found on limestone, there is a possibility that he mistook the rocks.

Paraboea regularis Ridl. LANGKAWI, without definite details. Known only from here and doubtfully from Lower Siam.

ACANTHACEAE.

Andrographis tenuiflora T. Anders. TERUTAU. LANGKAWI. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula and apparently only on limestone.

Aporuella sumatrensis Clarke, var. *Ridleyi* Clarke. BATU CAVES. The variety is known only from here, the species from Sumatra.

Barleria siamensis Craib var. *glabrescens* Ridl. LANGKAWI. The variety is known only from here, the species submontane in Siam.

Barleria prionitis L. PERLIS, collected by Ridley and thought by him to be wild. Otherwise cultivated or an escape from cultivation.

Dicliptera rosea Ridl. ?SETUL. PERLIS. KEDAH. Known only from these localities. If the Setul specimen came from limestone then the plant is confined to limestone.

Gymnostachyum decurrens Stapf. BUKIT SERDAM. GUA TIPUS. Not common in lowland forest.

- Gymnostachyum diversifolium* Clarke. LANGKAWI. Not common in the north of the Peninsula, usually in lowland forest.
- Gymnostachyum Robinsonii* Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here.
- Gymnostachyum* sp. GUA TEJA, KELANTAN, *SFN* 29687 (*Henderson*).
- Hemigraphis Ridleyi* Clarke. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. ?KEDAH. Not very common in open places, grassy places, riverbanks, etc.
- Justicia henicophylla* Clarke. PAHANG. ?PERAK. Not common in forest, usually submontane.
- Justicia hirticarpa* J. B. Imlay. KISAP, LANGKAWI, *SFN* 29176 (*Henderson*). The only other collection of this species is *Curtis* 2117 labelled "Kuah". Curtis may have collected it on the limestone at KISAP, which is not far from the village of Kuah.
- Justicia microcarpa* Ridl. BATU CAVES, at base. Known only from here.
- Justicia pectinella* Ridl. GUNONG BALING. BUKIT CHINTAMANI. Also from near Kota Glanggi. Not common in forest.
- Justicia ptychostoma* Nees. LANGKAWI. PERAK. SELANGOR. Common in rather open places and riverbanks.
- Justicia Robinsonii* Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and from Burau, the latter collection without details.
- Justicia rupestris* Ridl. PERLIS, at cliff bases. Known only from here.
- Justicia subalternans* Clarke. KINTA. Apparently known only from this collection.
- Justicia subcymosa* Clarke. PERLIS. KEDAH. PERAK. SELANGOR. Common in lowland forest.
- Justicia uber* Clarke. PERLIS. KELANTAN. PAHANG. ?SELANGOR, and probably from other localities. Common in lowland forest.
- Justicia vasculosa* Wall. IPOH. Recorded once only from limestone. Not uncommon in lowland forest.
- Justicia valida* Ridl. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH. Known only from here and Lower Siam.
- Polytrema cupreum* Ridl. PERAK. Known only from two collections from near Ipoh, one of which is without details.
- Polytrema vulgare* Clarke. PERAK. PAHANG. ?BATU CAVES. Common in lowland forest, sometimes in rocky places. Recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

Pseuderanthemum crenulatum Radlk. PULAU RABANA. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. ?KEDAH. PERAK. ?BATU CAVES. Not uncommon on or near limestone and in lowland forest.

Pseuderanthemum graciliflorum Ridl. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. ?KEDAH. Common in lowland forest.

Rostellaria procumbens Nees. LANGKAWI, in open very dry places. Not common in the Peninsula in open, usually sandy places.

Rungia minutiflora Clarke. LANGKAWI. Known only from here, and probably confined to limestone.

Stenothyrsus Ridleyi Clarke. IPOH. A monotypic genus collected a few times in this locality, apparently always on limestone.

Strobilanthes leucopogon Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here, but one collection is from granite.

Strobilanthes pachyphyllus Clarke. KINTA. Known only from here.

Strobilanthes sp. LANGKAWI, *SFN 29096* (Henderson). Collected also on Pulau Pong Pinang off the coast of Lower Siam, *SFN 4024* (Haniff & Nur). This island is said to be limestone.

Thunbergia fragrans Roxb., forma *javanica* Clarke. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. BATU CAVES, and possibly elsewhere. The variety seems to be wild and not uncommon on the limestone and on riverbanks or in hedges. The species is probably not wild.

Dubious records :

Lepidagathis incurva Don. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. Common in open and waste ground in the north of the Peninsula.

Nelsonia campestris R. Br. LANGKAWI. PERLIS.

Polytrema aequale Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM. BATU CAVES. Not common in lowland forest.

Ruellia repens Linn. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH. Common in open places in the Peninsula, especially in grass. Recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

Staurogyne comosa Kuntze. PERAK. SELANGOR. Usually in hill forest.

Staurogyne malaccensis Clarke. GUNONG KERIANG. Not uncommon in lowland forest.

Staurogyne merguensis Kuntze. PULAU DAYANG BUNTING, LANGKAWI. Collected by Robinson without data. Not common in lowland forest in the north of the Peninsula, often in rocky places.

VERBENACEAE.

Callicarpa angustifolia King & Gamble. LANGKAWI. KELANTAN. PAHANG. PERAK. SELANGOR. Very often on the tops of dry hills and confined to limestone.

Callicarpa arborea Roxb. PULAI. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in lowland forest. Recorded from limestone in Lower Siam.

Clerodendron paniculatum Wall. Summit of GUNONG BALING, KEDAH. Perhaps not wild. See note in Ridley, F.M.P. Vol. II, p. 628.

Clerodendron penduliflorum Wall. ?KEDAH. PAHANG. PERAK. SELANGOR. Not uncommon in lowland forest in the north of the Peninsula.

Clerodendron serratum Spreng., var. *Wallichii* Clarke. BUKIT SERDAM. One record only from limestone but it occurs near limestone in other localities. Common in the lowlands in open places and near rivers.

Glossocarya mollis Wall. PULAU RABANA. ?PERLIS. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula.

Lantana aculeata L. PULAI, PERAK. A weed on ground disturbed by mining.

Premna pyramidata Wall. IPOH. Once only from limestone. Not uncommon in lowland forest and on riverbanks.

Stachytarpheta indica Vahl. PULAI, PERAK. As a weed in ground disturbed by mining.

Vitex pubescens Vahl. LANGKAWI, not uncommon here. Common in the peninsula in open places and secondary growth.

Vitex siamica Williams. LANGKAWI. PULAU RABANA. PERLIS. KEDAH. KELANTAN. PAHANG. SELANGOR. Common on summits of dry hills and found only on limestone.

Dubious records:

Clerodendron langkawiense King & Gamble. LANGKAWI. TERUTAU. One at least of Curtis's collections is not from limestone.

Sphenodesme pentandra Jack. SETUL. Common in the Peninsula on margins of forest.

LABIATAE.

Acrymia ajugiflora Prain. KANCHING. The only other collection of this plant also comes from limestone and was made by Kunstler and labelled "N.K.L." This may mean "near Kuala Lumpur." Prain in the "Materials" and Ridley in his Flora both quote Kunstler's collection as from Perak, but Kunstler used printed tickets and often did not delete the word "Perak" even though the plant was not collected in that State.

Coleus atropurpureus Benth. LANGKAWI. Also from limestone in Lower Siam. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in open ground and waste places.

- Cymaria dichotoma** Benth. PERLIS. ?KEDAH. IPOH. ?LENGGONG.
The Kedah and Lenggong records are very probably from limestone. Not common in the north of the Peninsula, usually but not always on limestone.
- Gomphostemma crinitum** Wall. PERAK. PAHANG. At cliff bases.
Not uncommon in forest, sometimes in the hills.
- Gomphostemma oblongum** Wall. GUNONG SENNYUM. ?KOTA GLANGGI. Not very common in the Peninsula, often in the hills.
- Leucas ?mollissima** Wall. GUNONG BALING, summit, *SFN* 35381 (*Kiah*). Probably this species, which has not hitherto been recorded from the Peninsula.

NYCTAGINACEAE.

- Boerhaavia repanda** Willd. PERLIS. Known only from here in the Peninsula.
- Pisonia aculeata** L. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. These and one collection from Pulau Tioman (not limestone) are the only records from the Peninsula.
- Pisonia excelsa** Bl. PERAK. PAHANG. Not common in the Peninsula, known also from rocky islands (n t limestone) off the East Coast.

AMARANTACEAE

- Deeringia amaranthoides** Merr. PERAK, on limestone, fide Ridley.
Not common in the Peninsula, not confined to limestone.
- Deeringia polysperma** Miq. ?PERLIS. KEDAH. PERAK. PAHANG. KELANTAN. Commonest on limestone but also found on granite rocks.

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE.

Dubious record:

- Apama tomentosa** Soler. IPOH. Occurs near limestone in Pahang.
Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.

PIPERACEAE.

- Peperomia dindigulensis** Miq. KOTA GLANGGI. GUA TIPUS. BUKIT CHERAS. BATU CAVES. In cracks of rocks and in moss.
Known only from these localities in the Peninsula.
- Peperomia kotana** C. DC. KOTA GLANGGI. Known only from here and from Pulau Tioman (not limestone).
- Peperomia portulacoides** A. Dietr. BATU CAVES, fide Ridley.
The only record of this species from the Peninsula.
- Peperomia** sp. GUNONG BALING, KEDAH.

Piper boehmeriaefolium Wall. PULAI, PERAK, on bare rock. Not common in the Peninsula in forests, sometimes sub-montane.

Piper collinum C. DC. GOPENG, fide C. de Candolle in the "Materials". The only other collection of this species is an unlocalised one collected in Perak by Scortechini, and quoted by de Candolle.

Piper caninum A. Dietr. GUNONG BALING. Common in the Peninsula.

Piper nigrum L. BATU CAVES, fide C. de Candolle. Possibly an escape from cultivation.

Piper retrofractum Vahl. PERLIS. Not common in the Peninsula, usually near the sea.

Piper Scortechinii C. DC. GOPENG, fide C. de Candolle. Known only from here and from the Taiping Hills.

Piper umbellatum L., var. *subpeltatum* Willd. ?PERAK. SELANGOR. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often in rocky places.

Zippelia lappacea Benn. GUA PANJANG, at base. ?KUALA DIPANG. Rare in the Peninsula in forest.

Dubious records :

Piper argyrites Ridl. BATU CAVES. Rare, otherwise known only from Ginting Bidai (not limestone).

Piper flavispicum C. DC. PERAK, near a small limestone hill, fide C. de Candolle. Known only from here.

MYRISTICACEAE.

Knema laurina Warb. GUNONG BALING. GUNONG PONDOK (identification of this specimen doubtful). Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.

Knema missionis Warb. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. One of the few members of this family common in the north of the Peninsula.

MONIMIACEAE.

Kibara chartacea Bl. BUKIT CHERAS. Recorded once only from limestone, otherwise not uncommon in lowland forest.

LAURACEAE.

Dehaasia Curtisii Gamble. SELANGOR. Otherwise known only from Penang Hill.

Dehaasia microcarpa Bl. GOPENG. Recorded once only from limestone. Not uncommon in lowland forest.

Litsea chinensis Lam. GUNONG BALING. This widespread species has not yet been recorded from the Peninsula, unless it has been redescribed under another name.

Litsea Noronhae Bl. GUNONG PONDOK. One record only actually from limestone, but often from near limestone. Not common in lowland forest.

Litsea polyantha Juss. GUNONG PONDOK. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in lowland forest and on riverbanks.

Dubious record:

Litsea glabrifolia Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM, collected by Evans without data. Also from near limestone at Kuala Dipang. Known only from these two localities.

HERNANDIACEAE.

Illigera lucida Teysm. & Binn. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. ?PERAK, several localities, none very definite. Not common in the Peninsula but widespread.

THYMELEACEAE

Wikstroemia viridiflora Meissn. LANGKAWI. BATU CAVES. Not common in the north of the Peninsula in open rocky places and on seashores.

?**Wikstroemia** sp. BUKIT SAGU, PAHANG, SFN 25093 (*Henderson*).

SANTALACEAE

Scleropyrum sp. GUNONG BALING, SFN 35374 (*Kiah*). GUNONG SENNYUM, SFN 22278 (*Henderson*). Both collections are in fruit. They may belong to an undescribed species.

EUPHORBIACEAE.

Actephila excelsa M.A. ?LANGKAWI. KELANTAN. ?PERAK. BATU CAVES. Not common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often in rocky places.

Actephila ovalis Gage. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. Possibly confined to limestone, but some records from Langkawi are indefinite. Known only from these localities and from Lower Siam.

Actephilopsis malayana Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PERAK. Not uncommon in lowland forest or in rocky or open places.

Aleurites moluccana Willd. GUNONG PONDOK. Usually on seashores.

Andrachne australis Zoll & Mor. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. KELANTAN. PERAK. SELANGOR. Common on limestone and rarely if ever found on other formations in the Peninsula.

Ridley in Kew Bull. 1923, p. 361, makes two species—*Andrachne hirta* and *A. calcarea*—for what appear to be merely forms of this widespread plant.

Antidesma montanum Bl. ?SETUL. ?LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. PAHANG. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often near the sea.

Antidesma tomentosum Bl. GOPENG. Once only definitely recorded from limestone. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in forest, sometimes in the hills.

Antidesma sp. aff. *A. rostratum* Tul. BUKIT SAGU. PAHANG. SFN 25092 (*Henderson*).

Antidesma sp. PERLIS, SFN 23011 (*Henderson*), SFN 35233 (*Kiah*).

Aporosa stellifera Hook. f. GOPENG. The only record from limestone. Common in lowland forest.

Baccaurea lanceolata M.A. KEDAH. PERAK. ?BATU CAVES. Not very common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, but widespread.

Blumeodendron Kurzii J. J. S. GOPENG, once collected by Kunstler. Rare in the Peninsula. What appears to be this species has been found in the swamp forests of Johore.

Bridelia ovata Dcne. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Not very common in open or rocky places in Penang and the north of the Peninsula.

Bridelia tomentosa Bl. GUNONG BALING, on summit. Common in the Peninsula in open places.

Bridelia sp. BUKIT CHERAS, PAHANG, SFN 25206 (*Henderson*).

Buxus Holttumiana Hatushima. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS. Known only from one collection.

Buxus malayana Ridl. PULAI, PERAK. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR. Known only from these localities. Confined to limestone.

Buxus rupicola Ridl. DAYANG BUNTING, LANGKAWI. Known only from here and very probably confined to limestone.

?*Cephalomappa* sp. BUKIT TAKUN SELANGOR, *Forest Dept. F.M.S.* 37403, 39582 (*Symington*).

Cladogynos orientalis Zipp. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. KELANTAN. Rare in the Peninsula on or near limestone in the north only.

Claoxylon longifolium M.A., var. *brachystachys* Hook. f. LANGKAWI. The species common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, the variety usually near the sea.

Cleistanthus decurrens Hook. f. GOPENG. Not common, collected only a few times in Perak and Penang.

Cleistanthus glaucus Jack. GOPENG, fide Ridley. Known only from here and from Lumut (not limestone).

- Cleistanthus gracilis* Hook. f. LANGKAWI. PERLIS, fide Ridley. KEDAH, fide Ridley. PERAK. PAHANG. A small leaved variety is common on the limestone and may be confined to it. The typical form is not known definitely from limestone.
- Cleistanthus hirsutulus* Hook. f. PERAK. ?BATU CAVES. Not very common in lowland forest and by rivers, but widespread.
- Cleistanthus Kingii* Jabl. GUNONG PONDOK. IPOH. Known only from these localities and from granite at Sungai Siput.
- Cleistanthus parvifolius* Hook. f. GOPENG, top of limestone hills. Known only from here.
- Cnesmone subpeltata* Ridl. GUNONG PONDOK. BATU CAVES. Known only from these localities.
- Coelodiscus subcuneatus* Gage. LANGKAWI. KELANTAN. Not common, but widespread in lowland forest, usually in rocky places.
- Croton argyratus* Bl. GUNONG PONDOK. ?KOTA GLANGGI. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.
- Croton calcicolum* Ridl. KANCHING, fide Ridley. Known only from here in the Peninsula, and from Borneo.
- Croton Cumingii* M.A. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PERAK. ?KOTA GLANGGI. Not very common in the Peninsula in rocky places, commonest on limestone in Langkawi and Perlis.
- Drypetes nervosa* Pax. GOPENG. Known only from here and from a specimen collected by Scortechini in Perak without precise locality.
- ?*Endospermum* sp. GUNONG PONDOK (*Henderson s. n.*, sterile specimens only).
- ?*Erismanthus* sp. GUA PANJANG, KELANTAN, SFN 19543 (*Henderson*).
- Euphorbia antiquorum* L. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Wild only on the northern limestone.
- Euphorbia hirta* L. BUKIT SERDAM, on cleared summit. A common weed in waste ground.
- Excoecaria* sp. aff. *E. quadrangularis* M.A. GUNONG PONDOK. GUA TEJA. SFN 23809, 29693 (*Henderson*).
- Excoecaria oppositifolia* Griff. LANGKAWI. GUA TEJA. GUNONG PONDOK. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula and from a specimen collected by Scortechini in Perak without precise locality. Possibly confined to limestone.
- ?*Gelonium* sp. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, *Forest Dept. F.M.S. 37411* (*Symington*).
- Glochidion obscurum* Bl. GOPENG. Once only from limestone, otherwise common in lowland forest and riverbanks.
- Glochidion* sp. LANGKAWI, SFN 29056 (*Henderson*).

- Glochidion** sp. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, *Forest Dept. F.M.S.* 37413, 37453 (*Symington*), *SFN* 34377 (*Nur*).
- Macaranga tanarius** M.A. ?PERLIS. BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula in open places, riverbanks, occasionally in rocky forest.
- Mallotus cuneatus** Ridl. PERLIS (Kakit Bukit, Tebing Tinggi, Bukit Lagi). Known only from here and only from limestone.
- Mallotus dispar** M.A. BUKIT CHERAS, PAHANG. Only once collected actually on limestone, but it is common near limestone in most localities. Also from near granite rocks.
- Mallotus Griffithianus** Hook. f. GOPENG. Not uncommon in lowland forest.
- Mallotus leucocalyx** M.A. ?LANGKAWI. PERLIS. ?GUNONG KERIANG. GUNONG BALING. Known in the Peninsula only from north of Penang and if not always on limestone, apparently usually close to it.
- Mallotus philippinensis** M.A. GUNONG KERIANG. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in open places.
- Mallotus Wrayi** King. GUNONG PONDOK. Not common, usually in rocky lowland forest.
- Microdesmis casearifolia** Planch. ?LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Common in the Peninsula in forest.
- Phyllanthodendron coriaceum** Gage. GOPENG. IPOH. KOTA GLANGGI (fide Ridley). Rare in the Peninsula and known only from these localities.
- Phyllanthus columnaris** M.A. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Rare in the north of the Peninsula and perhaps confined to limestone, but the records are not all definite.
- Phyllanthus** sp. aff. *erythocarpus* Ridl. BUKIT CHERAS, *SFN* 25221 (*Henderson*). BATU CAVES, *SFN* 6354 (*Burkill*). Recorded also from Ulu Gombak (not limestone).
- Phyllanthus ficifolius** Gage. LANGKAWI. Known only from here, but the records indicate that it is not confined to limestone.
- Phyllanthus frondosus** Wall. GUNONG SENNYUM, summit. BATU CAVES, summit. Common in the Peninsula in forest, rocky places, occasionally in swamps and thickets, from sealevel to 4,000 ft.
- Phyllanthus Hamiltonianus** M.A. PERLIS. Rare in open places in the north of the Peninsula.
- Phyllanthus pulcher** Wall. GUA TEJA, KELANTAN. Common in the Peninsula often on streambanks. From limestone in Lower Siam.
- Richeriella malayana** Henders. GUNONG PONDOK. IPOH. Rare in lowland forest, usually in rocky places.
- 1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

- Sauropus calcareus** Henders. GUNONG SENNYUM. Known only from here.
- Sauropus Llanosii** Gage. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. PAHANG. Not common in open places in the north of the Peninsula.
- Sauropus parvifolius** Ridl. ?LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Rare in hedges and open places in the north.
- Sauropus spectabilis** Miq. BATU CAVES. Known only from here in the Peninsula.
- Tragia laevis** Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known also only from Perlis and Kelantan, not on limestone.
- Trigonostemon salicifolius** Ridl. KANCHING, fide Ridley. Known only from here and from Ulu Gombak (not limestone).

Dubious records :

- Breynia Keithii** Ridl. SETUL. Rare in open places in the north.
- Bridelia retusa** Spreng. LANGKAWI, collected by Robinson at Pulau Dayang Bunting, without data. Probably from the limestone. Known only from here in the Peninsula.
- Cleidion javanicum** Bl. SETUL. BATU CAVES. Probably from limestone. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula.
- Glochidion perakense** Hook. f. PERLIS. Not very common in forest.
- Homalanthus populifolius** Grah. Not uncommon near cliff bases, but not yet recorded actually from the limestone. Common in the Peninsula, often in secondary growth.
- Mallotus brevipetiolatus** Gage. PERLIS. Collected also in Perak by Kunstler, and known only from these collections.
- Mallotus floribundus** M.A. SETUL. Common in the Peninsula.
- Mallotus repandus** M.A. PERLIS. BATU CAVES. Not very common in the Peninsula in open forest.
- Mallotus subpeltatus** M.A. PERLIS. PERAK. Rare in the Peninsula.
- Phyllanthus dalbergioides** Wall. LANGKAWI. PERAK. Rare in the Peninsula in forest.
- Phyllanthus erythrocarpus** Ridl. BATU CAVES. Probably on the limestone. Known only from here.

URTICACEAE.

- Boehmeria nivea** H. & A. GUNONG KERIANG. Perhaps an escape from cultivation.
- Celtis Collinsae** Craib. LANGKAWI (sterile specimens only). PULAU RABANA. ?PERLIS. GUNONG KERIANG. In the Peninsula known only from these localities.

- Conocephalus amoenus* Hook. f. KOTA GLANGGI. ?BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, usually epiphytic.
- Debregeasia squamata* Hook. f. ?KUALA DIPANG. BATU CAVES. Not common in the Peninsula, often in rocky forest.
- Elatostema Curtisii* Schroter. ?PERAK. BATU CAVES. Not common on rocks in forest.
- Elatostema latifolium* Bl. ?SETUL. KELANTAN. PERAK. ?BATU CAVES. ?KOTA GLANGGI. GUNONG SENNYUM. Often abundant in the Peninsula in forest in rocky or sandy places.
- Ficus annulata* Bl. LANGKAWI, by sea. Widely distributed in the Peninsula in the lowlands.
- Ficus diversifolia* Bl. var. *deltoidea* King. KEDAH. KELANTAN. PAHANG. Only this variety of this common and variable fig. has been collected on the limestone, and it is by no means common there.
- Ficus elastica* Roxb. IPOH, but doubtfully wild.
- Ficus gibbosa* Bl. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS. Widely spread in the Peninsula, often near the sea.
- Ficus glabella* Bl. ?LANGKAWI. PULAI. Not uncommon in lowland forest in the Peninsula.
- Ficus hispida* Bl. PERLIS, at base of Bukit Lagi. Common in the Peninsula especially near the sea and in secondary growth.
- Ficus quercifolia* Roxb. KOTA GLANGGI. Not very common in the Peninsula, on rocks by streams.
- Ficus Miquelii* King. KELANTAN. PERAK. SELANGOR. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often in swampy places.
- Ficus obtusa* Hassk. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR. Not common in the Peninsula.
- Ficus obtusifolia* Roxb. PULAU RABANA. LANGKAWI. ?GOPENG. Rare in the Peninsula, apparently known only from these localities.
- Ficus parietalis* Bl. BUKIT CHERAS. ?GUNONG PONDOK. Widespread in the Peninsula in lowland forest.
- Ficus pomifera* Wall. GUNONG BALING. Not uncommon in the Peninsula usually in lowland forest in damp places and by streams.
- Ficus ramentacea* Roxb. PULAI, PERAK, at cliff base in ground disturbed by mining. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.
- Ficus retusa* L. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. PAHANG. Not uncommon in the Peninsula, usually near the sea in dry and rocky places, sometimes on riverbanks.
- Ficus Scortechinii* King. ?LANGKAWI. GUNONG BALING. Common all over the Peninsula.

- Ficus villosa** Bl. PERAK. ?BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula on trees and rocks in lowland forest and open places.
- Ficus** sp. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, *Forest Dept. F.M.S. 37426, 37451, 39590 (Symington). SFN 6283 (Burkill)*, from the limestone at Ipoh, seems to be the same.
- Fleurya interrupta** Gaud. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH. Common in the Peninsula as a weed in waste ground.
- Oreocnide sylvatica** Miq. BUKIT TAKUN, common at cliff base. BATU CAVES. Not very common in the Peninsula in forest, usually above 2,000 ft.
- Phylloclamys spinosa** Bureau. LANGKAWI, common. Not common in the Peninsula, not confined to limestone.
- Pilea calcarea** Ridl. KELANTAN. PAHANG. PERAK. SELANGOR. On nearly all the limestone except in Perlis and Langkawi. Known only from limestone.
- Pilea fruticosa** Hook. f. IPOH. GOPENG. Known only from these localities and confined to limestone.
- Pilea** sp. BUKIT LAGI, PERLIS, (*Henderson s.n.*).
- Streblus asper** Lour. ?LANGKAWI. GUNONG KERIANG, at base. In the north of the Peninsula in open dry places.
- Taxotrophis ilicifolia** Vidal. Common at the bases of most dry hills and rarely extending far up the hill. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in dry and rocky forest.

Dubious records :

- Cudrania javensis** *Trecul.* PERLIS. Not common in lowland forest.
- Elatostema repens** *Hall. f.* SETUL. KELANTAN. BATU CAVES.
- Ficus punctata** *Thunb.* BATU CAVES.
- Laportea stimulans** *Miq.* GUNONG KERIANG. BUKIT TAKUN. BATU CAVES. Probably occurs on the limestone. Not uncommon in the peninsula in open places or rocky forest.

CUPULIFERAE.

- Pasania spicata** Oerst., var. **gracilipes** DC. GUNONG PONDOK. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.

BURMANNIACEAE.

- Burmattia gracilis** Ridl. LANGKAWI, but not confined to limestone, as it is recorded from Gunong Raya, which is granite. Also from limestone in Lower Siam, and known only from these localities.

ORCHIDACEAE.

(Only those species which are definitely recorded as growing terrestrially or on rocks are listed. Many of those are to be

found growing epiphytically in the same localities. Species which so far have been found only on trees on the limestone are excluded.)

Abdominea minimiflora J. J. Sm. ?KOTA GLANGGI. BATU CAVES. Rare in the Peninsula, usually epiphytic.

Adenoncos major Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM. ?KOTA GLANGGI. ?GUA TIPUS. Not very common but widespread, usually epiphytic.

Adenoncos virens Bl. KOTA GLANGGI. GUA TIPUS. BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula on mangrove and forest trees. Usually abundant on the limestone where it occurs, like *A. major*. On trees or rocks, not confined to rocks.

Appendicula purpurascens De Vr. KOTA GLANGGI. Not very common in the Peninsula, epiphytic in forest, often in the hills.

Arachnis flos-aeris Bl. KOTA GLANGGI. BUKIT SERDAM. Probably also on other dry hills, but seldom flowering. Not very common in the Peninsula, often in rocky forest.

Bulbophyllum flammuliferum Ridl. BATU CAVES. Not common, except locally in mangrove.

Bulbophyllum lilacinum Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Epiphytic or on the rocks. Also from Kedah (not limestone) and Lower Siam.

Bulophyllum rupicolum Ridl. SETUL, fide Ridley. Known only from here.

Calanthe Ceciliae Rchb. f. GUNONG SENNYUM. KOTA GLANGGI. BUKIT CHINTAMANI. ?BATU CAVES. Often abundant amongst boulders at cliff bases. Not very common but widespread in lowland forest.

Calanthe veratrifolia R. Br. GOPENG. PULAI. GUNONG SENNYUM. GUA TIPUS. Common in the Peninsula in forest up to about 4,000 ft.

Coelogyne Kingii Hook. f. GUNONG SENNYUM. Not common in forest.

Coelogyne pandurata Lindl. KINTA. Not uncommon in the Peninsula, usually epiphytic in forests by streams.

Coelogyne Rochussenii De. Vr. GUNONG SENNYUM. Common in the Peninsula, epiphytic in forest.

Corymbis brevistylis Hook. f. KUALA DIPANG. ?GUNONG SENNYUM. Rare, known only from these localities.

Corymbis longiflora Hook. f. BATU CAVES, and probably elsewhere at cliff bases. Common in lowland forest.

Corysanthes mucronata Bl. GUA PANJANG. GUA TIPUS. BUKIT TAKUN. Not common in the Peninsula on mossy rocks.

- Cymbidium Dayanum** Rchb. fil. ?SETUL. PERLIS (KAKI BUKIT). Also from limestone in Lower Siam. Usually epiphytic and not common in the Peninsula.
- Dendrobium callibotrys** Ridl. BUKIT TAKUN, on rocks and trees. Not common, usually on mangrove trees in the south of the Peninsula.
- Dendrobium euphlebiun** Lind. GUNONG SENNYUM. BUKIT SAGU. BUKIT CHERAS. Not uncommon in the Peninsula on mangrove and forest trees.
- Dendrobium eulophotum** Lindl. LANGKAWI. No records from southern limestone, although common as an epiphyte in the lowlands.
- Dendrobium leonis** Rchb. f. GUNONG SENNYUM. Probably occurs on other limestone. Common in the lowlands.
- Dendrobium secundum** Lindl. LANGKAWI, but oftener as an epiphyte than on the rocks. Common in the Peninsula in the lowlands.
- Dendrobium salaccense** Lindl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. BUKIT SAGU. BUKIT CHERAS. Probably elsewhere on limestone. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in the lowlands.
- Desmotrichum fimbriatum** Bl. GUNONG BALING. PAHANG. Very probably from limestone in Lower Siam. Common in the lowlands as an epiphyte.
- Desmotrichum sp.** LANGKAWI, sterile specimens only.
- Dipodium pictum** Rchb. GUNONG SENNYUM. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.
- Eria pannea** Lindl. GUNONG SENNYUM. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in lowland forest.
- Eria pendula** Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM. ?BATU CAVES. Not common in the Peninsula in forest and by streams.
- Eria rigida** Bl. ?LANGKAWI. GUA TIPUS. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula.
- Eulophia Keithii** Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. Known only from these localities and Siam, but the records are not clear as to whether it is confined to limestone or not.
- Geodorum citrinum** Jack. LANGKAWI. Not very common in the north of the Peninsula in forest.
- Habenaria carnea** N.E. Br. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and Lower Siam, and apparently confined to limestone.
- Habenaria glaucescens** Ridl. LANGKAWI. Also from Lower Siam, not certainly but possibly from limestone.
- Habenaria Kingii** Hook. f. GUNONG BALING. IPOH. ?GUNONG PONDOK. Not common in the Peninsula, usually on limestone, but not confined to it.

Haemaria discolor Lind. SETUL. Only once recorded from limestone. More usually on granite rocks, not common in the Peninsula but widespread and abundant where it occurs.

Liparis comosa Ridl. KOTA GLANGGI. GUNONG SENNYUM. GUA TIPUS. BUKIT SAGU. Not uncommon in forest, often in the hills.

Liparis disticha Lind. KOTA GLANGGI. GUNONG SENNYUM. BUKIT SERDAM. GUA TIPUS. Common in the Peninsula in forest up to 5,000 ft., often in mangrove.

Liparis sp. GUA LAMBOK, KELANTAN (*Henderson s.n.*).

Microsaccus brevifolius Bl. GUNONG SENNYUM. KOTA GLANGGI. BATU CAVES. Probably common on limestone on dry hills in the south. Common in the south of the Peninsula on mangrove trees.

Microsaccus javensis Bl. BUKIT TAKUN. ?BATU CAVES. On forest and mangrove trees.

Microstylis congesta Rchb. f. LANGKAWI. Common in the Peninsula, usually in lowland forest.

Microstylis Hendersonii J. J. Sm. GUA PANJANG, KELANTAN, in moss at c. 1,200 ft. Known only from here.

Microstylis ?micrantha Hook. f. GUNONG BALING. GUNONG SENNYUM. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in lowland forest, in wet places or on rocks.

Microstylis reniloba Carr. PERLIS. Known only from one collection.

Oberonia transversiloba J.J. Sm. GUA TIPUS, PAHANG. Known only from here.

Paphiopedilum niveum Pftz. PULAU RABANA. LANGKAWI. GUNONG BALING. Probably confined to limestone, here and in Lower Siam.

Pholidota imbricata Lindl. LANGKAWI. GUNONG BALING. GUA PANJANG. BUKIT CHERAS. BUKIT TAKUN. BATU CAVES, and probably elsewhere. Commonest in the Peninsula on limestone, but not confined to it.

Phreatia minutiflora Lind. PERAK. PAHANG. SELANGOR. Usually on mangrove trees.

Podochilus lucescens Bl. LANGKAWI. Not very common in the Peninsula but widespread, usually in the lowlands.

Podochilus tenuis Lindl. GUA TIPUS, PAHANG. Not uncommon in the Peninsula on wet rocks and tree trunks.

Polystachya siamensis Ridl. LANGKAWI. ?BUKIT CHERAS. Not common in the Peninsula, usually in the north.

Preptanthe rubens Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Known only from these localities.

- Preptanthe vestita** Rchb. f. BUKIT TAKUN. SELANGOR. The only definite record from limestone rocks. Otherwise known only in the Peninsula from Batu Caves (?epiphytic) and doubtfully from Pulau Adang (epiphytic).
- Saccolabium miserum** Ridl. LANGKAWI. ?GUNONG BALING. Not very common as far south as the Dindings.
- Saccolabium sacculatum** Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here, but whether always on limestone is not certain.
- Saccolabium secundum** Ridl. LANGKAWI. Common in the Peninsula on lowland trees, often near the sea or rivers.
- Saccolabium saxicolum** Ridl. KOTA GLANGGI. GUNONG KERIANG. IPOH. On trees and rocks, fide Ridley. Rare, usually on limestone but not confined to it.
- Saccolabium setulense** Ridl. SETUL, fide Ridley. Also from Lower Siam.
- Saccolabium tenuicaule** Hook. f. LANGKAWI. GUNONG SENNYUM. ?BATU CAVES. Not very common but widespread.
- Sarcochilus tanyphyllus** Ridl. KOTA GLANGGI, fide Ridley as to being on rocks. Known only from here, not uncommon as an epiphyte.
- Spathoglottis Handingiana** Par. & Rchb. f. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula. Also from limestone in Lower Siam.
- Stauroopsis gigantea** Benth. LANGKAWI, common on rocks near the sea. ?PERLIS. Known only from the north of the Peninsula, Siam, and Burma. *Stauroopsis breviscapa* is recorded from limestone in Borneo.
- Tainia plicata** Ridl. GUA TIPUS, PAHANG. Known only from here in the Peninsula.
- Thecostele maculosa** Ridl. GUNONG SENNYUM. Not very common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, but widespread.
- Thelasis carinata** Bl. GUNONG SENNYUM. ?KOTA GLANGGI. ?BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula on mangrove and lowland forest trees.
- Thelasis decurva** Bl. BUKIT CHERAS. KOTA GLANGGI. Common in the Peninsula on mangrove and lowland forest trees.
- Thelasis elongata** Bl. ?LANGKAWI. GUNONG SENNYUM. KOTA GLANGGI. BUKIT CHERAS. Common in the Peninsula, usually on mangrove trees.
- Thunia alba** Rchb. f. SETUL. Known only from here in the Peninsula.
- Trichoglottis retusa** Bl. GUNONG SENNYUM. KOTA GLANGGI. GUA TIPUS. BATU CAVES. In the Peninsula apparently confined to limestone, either on rocks or as an epiphyte.

- Tropidia curculigoides* Lindl. GUNONG BALING, near base.
Common in the Peninsula in forest, sometimes in the hills.
- Vrydagzynea* sp. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR, *Forest Dept. F.M.S.*
37410 (*Symington*).

Dubious records :

- Adenoncos parviflora* Ridl. BATU CAVES. Known only from here.
- Agrostophyllum bicuspidatum* J. J. Sm. GUA PANJANG. KOTA GLANGGI. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.
- Aplostellis flabelliformis* Ridl. PERLIS. GUNONG PONDOK, close under the cliff base, not actually on the limestone. *A. plicata* is recorded from limestone in LOWER SIAM.
- Ascochilus hirtulus* Ridl. LANGKAWI. KOTA GLANGGI. BATU CAVES. So far recorded only as an epiphyte, but it probably occurs on the rocks.
- Cymbidium Munronianum* King. SETUL. Rare in the Peninsula and only in the North.
- Cymbidium Finlaysonianum* Lindl. GUNONG SENNYUM, but not recorded whether on rocks or epiphytic. Common in the Peninsula in the lowlands.
- Habenaria Susannae* Br. SETUL. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and from Perlis in the Peninsula and certainly often found off limestone.
- Saccolabium latifolium* Ridl. SETUL. BATU CAVES. Not uncommon in lowland forest.
- Saccolabium parvum* Ridl. KOTA GLANGGI. Known only from here.
- Staurochilus fasciatus* Ridl. LANGKAWI, on rocks and trees, fide Ridley, but type of rocks not stated.
- Thelasis capitata* Bl. BATU CAVES. Not common in the Peninsula in lowland, forest not in mangrove.
- Trichoglottis tetraceras* Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Known only from these localities.

ZINGIBERACEAE.

- Alpinia latilabris* Ridl. PERLIS, fide Ridley. Rare, but not confined to limestone.
- Amomum testaceum* Ridl. SETUL. PERLIS. KEDAH. BATU CAVES. Usually on or near limestone but not confined to it. Not common, but widespread, usually in rocky forest.
- Costus speciosus* Sm. LANGKAWI. KELANTAN. Common in the Peninsula on forest edges, open places in lowland forest, etc.
- Gastrochilus acuta* Ridl. SETUL. PERLIS. BUKIT SAGU. PAHANG. Known only from these localities and apparently confined to limestone.

- Gastrochilus Curtisii** Baker. LANGKAWI, apparently always on limestone. Known only from here, except for a doubtful specimen from Pahang, not from limestone.
- Gastrochilus (Boesenbergia) sp.** PERLIS, (*Henderson A. 480*).
Globba aurantiaca Miq. ?GUNONG BALING. BUKIT CHINTAMANI.
 ?BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest.
- Hornstedtia macrochilus** Ridl. IPOH. Not common in lowland forest, often in damp places.
- Hornstedtia megalochilus** Ridl. SETUL. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often in wet places.
- Hornstedtia metriochilus** Ridl. IPOH. ?BATU CAVES. Common in lowland forest, often in wet places.
- Hornstedtia triorgyale** Ridl. GUNONG PONDOK, at cliff base. Rare, usually in hill forest.
- Kaempferia elegans** Wall. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. Rare in the Peninsula, apparently usually, if not always on limestone, but there is a doubtful specimen from Trengganu, not from limestone.
- Kaempferia pulchra** Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH. Usually, if not always on limestone, but there are a number of doubtful specimens collected as medicinal plants in Perak, not from limestone. These are possibly from cultivated plants.
- Zingiber spectabile** Griff. LENGKONG, in deep rich soil on limestone. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often in damp places.

Dubious records:

- Hitcheniopsis Kunstleri** Ridl. LENGKONG, at cliff base. KINTA, base of cliffs (var. *rubra* Ridl.).
- Hornstedtia pauciflora** Ridl. BATU CAVES, base of cliff. A rare plant known only from here and the base of Gunong Inas, Perak.

MARANTACEAE.

- Stachyphrynium cylindricum** Schum. GUNONG BALING. IPOH. Not common, known only from these localities and from Kelantan, not on limestone.

LOWIACEAE.

- Orchidantha calcarea** Henders. LENGKONG. Known only from here.

MUSACEAE.

- Musa malaccensis** Ridl., var. *minor* Ridl. PERLIS. This variety of the common species is known only from here and is the only *Musa* recorded from the Peninsular limestone.

LILIACEAE.

Asparagus racemosus Willd. LANGKAWI. Rare in the Peninsula, known only from this collection.

Chlorophytum malayense Ridl. PERLIS. GUNONG PONDOK. KUALA DIPANG. Rare, usually on limestone but not confined to it.

Dracaena congesta Ridl. PERLIS. PAHANG. SELANGOR. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in lowland forest, most abundant on the limestone.

Dracaena Curtisii Ridl. ?SETUL. LANGKAWI. Known only from these localities and perhaps confined to limestone.

Dracaena yuccaefolia Ridl. SETUL. LANGKAWI. Also from limestone in Lower Siam, and known only from these localities.

Peliosanthes lurida Ridl. LANGKAWI. KEDAH. PAHANG. Not uncommon in forest, often in rocky places.

Tupistra grandis Ridl. KISAP, LANGKAWI. Rare in forest up to 4,000 ft.

AMARYLLIDACEAE.

Crinum defixum Ker. LANGKAWI. Not uncommon in the north of the Peninsula in fields and open damp places.

Curculigo latifolia Dryand. PULAI, PERAK. Common in the Peninsula in forest from sealevel up to 6,000 ft.

Eurycles sylvestris Salisb. PERLIS, fide Ridley. Not uncommon in the Peninsula, usually in sandy and rocky places near the sea. Often cultivated.

TACCACEAE.

Tacca pinnatifida Forst. LANGKAWI. Not common in the Peninsula as a seashore plant in sandy places.

DIOSCOREACEAE.

Dioscorea calcicola Prain & Burkill. GUNONG BALING. Known also from Kedah Peak, doubtfully from Penang Hill, and from limestone in Lower Siam.

Dioscorea esculenta Lour. PERLIS. KEDAH. Not common in the Peninsula.

Dioscorea gibbiflora Hook. fil. ?LANGKAWI. GUNONG SENNYUM. BATU CAVES. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in forest.

Dioscorea glabra Roxb. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Common in the Peninsula in forest and open places.

Dioscorea ?membranacea Pierre. PERLIS, SFN 22884 (Henderson).

1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Dioscorea myriantha Kunth. PERLIS. Known also from Langkawi, but probably not from limestone there. Known only from these localities and the Philippines.

Dioscorea pyrifolia Kunth. LANGKAWI. BATU CAVES. Very common in the Peninsula in hedges, secondary growth, open places, etc.

Dioscorea triphylla Lamk. LANGKAWI. Common in the Peninsula in hedges and other open places.

Dioscorea sp. GUA TEJA, KELANTAN, on summit (*Henderson s.n.*). Possibly one of the foregoing species.

ROXBURGHACEAE.

Stemona tuberosa Lour. PERLIS, fide Ridley. ?LANGKAWI. ?KOTA GLANGGI. Not uncommon in the north of the Peninsula in dry places.

COMMELINACEAE.

Aneilema subovatum Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS, SFN 22822 (*Henderson*), determination doubtful. Known only from these localities in the Peninsula.

Pollia subumbellata Clarke. PERLIS. KEDAH. Confined to limestone in the Peninsula except for a doubtful specimen from Tembeling, Pahang.

Pollia thyrsoflora Endl. BATU CAVES, at base. Common in the Peninsula in forest, often in hill forest.

Dubious record :

Aneilema lineolatum Kunth. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH. Not uncommon in forest, especially in the north of the Peninsula.

TRIURIDACEAE.

Sciaphila asterias Ridl. LANGKAWI. GUA NINEK, KELANTAN. GUA TIPUS, PAHANG. Rare, known only from these localities and from the Teku river, Pahang (not limestone).

PANDANACEAE.

Pandanus fascicularis Lamk. LANGKAWI, as a seashore plant only, never found on inland limestone.

Pandanus irregularis Ridl. KELANTAN. PAHANG. Common on the limestone here and confined to it. Not known from elsewhere.

Pandanus sp. PULAI, PERAK, SFN 23759 (*Henderson*).

Pandanus sp. KAKI BUKIT, PERLIS, SFN 35285 (*Kiah*). *Pandanus* is exceedingly rare on the north-west limestone.

Pandanus sp. have been seen, but always without flowers or fruit, on GUNONG PONDOK, BUKIT SERDAM, BUKIT CHERAS and BUKIT SAGU.

ARACEAE.

- Aglaonema costatum* N. E. Br. LANGKAWI. Known only from here in the Peninsula, but whether confined to limestone or not is not known.
- Aglaonema oblongifolium* Schott. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. ?GUNONG KERIANG. GUNONG SENNYUM. IPOH. BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest, often in wet places.
- Alocasia longiloba* Miq. GUNONG KERIANG. LENGKONG. ?KOTA GLANGGI. Common in the Peninsula in the lowlands, usually in rather open places.
- Alocasia Lowii* Hook. fil. PERLIS. KUALA DIPANG. BATU CAVES. Not uncommon in rocky forest. By no means confined to limestone, as might be inferred from the distribution given by Ridley, F.M.P., V, p. 98.
- Amorphophallus carnea* Ridl. LANGKAWI, fide Ridley. PERLIS. SETUL, fide Ridley as to being on limestone. Apparently confined to limestone and known only from these localities except for doubtful specimens from Lower Siam.
- Amorphophallus haematospadix* Hook. fil. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Known only from these localities and from Jalor, and probably confined to limestone, although the collectors' labels do not make this clear.
- Amorphophallus Prainii* Hook. fil. KELANTAN. PAHANG. ?BATU CAVES. Common near cliff bases and amongst boulders. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest and in open and rocky places.
- Amorphophallus variabilis* Bl. LANGKAWI, fide Ridley as to being on limestone. Rare in the Peninsula in forest.
- Amydrium humile* Schott. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR. Common in the Peninsula in rocky places.
- Anadendrum marginatum* Schott. KELANTAN. PAHANG. Not very common in the Peninsula and rather local in forest, epiphytic or on rocks.
- Anadendrum montanum* Schott. BATU CAVES. Ridley's var. *cordatum* (F.M.P., V, p. 110) appears merely to be a juvenile form of this common lowland species.
- Arisaema fimbriatum* Mast. PULAU RABANA. LANGKAWI. BUKIT SAGU. ?KOTA GLANGGI. BUKIT TAKUN. Also from limestone in Lower Siam. Usually on limestone, if not confined to it.
- Arisaema Roxburghii* Kunth. ?LANGKAWI. ?KOTA GLANGGI. BUKIT CHERAS. BUKIT TAKUN. ?BATU CAVES. Not uncommon in forest, often in the hills.

- Colocasia gigantea* Hook. fil. PERLIS. GUNONG SENNYUM. IPOH. BATU CAVES. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in open places.
- Epipremnum giganteum* Schott. PERLIS. Also from limestone in Lower Siam. No doubt common in the Peninsula on rocks and trees but not often collected.
- Epipremnopsis media* Engl. PERLIS. Common in the Peninsula in lowland forest on rocks and trees.
- Hapaline Brownei* Hook. fil. ?LANGKAWI. GUNONG KERIANG. KELANTAN. Probably confined to limestone. Recorded from Lower Siam without data as to habitat.
- Homalomena humilis* Hook. fil., var. *pumila* Furtado. IPOH. Common in the Peninsula in forest.
- Homalomena* sp. GUNONG KERIANG, KEDAH, in damp places at base of cliff.
- Lasia spinosa* Thw. PERLIS. KEDAH. PAHANG. In damp spots at cliff bases. Common in the Peninsula in wet places.
- Pothos lorispatha* Ridl. BATU CAVES, fide Ridley. Known only from here.
- Pothos macrocephalus* Scott. PERLIS. UPPER PERAK. KELANTAN. Not common in forest, but widespread. Locally common on the limestone and probably in other localities than those mentioned.
- Pothos scandens* Linn. KEDAH. UPPER PERAK. BATU CAVES. Common in the Peninsula on trees. Hardly differs from the preceding species.
- Raphidophora Maingayi* Hook. fil. BATU CAVES. Apparently common in forest on rocks and trees but seldom flowering.
- Schismatoglottis mutata* Hook. fil. KOTA GLANGGI. ?GOPENG. ?BATU CAVES. Not uncommon, often in hill forest.
- Scindapsus perakensis* Hook. fil. GUNONG PONDOK. ?BATU CAVES. Not very common in the Peninsula on rocks in forest.
- Typhonium filiforme* Ridl. BUKIT LAGI, PERLIS. KUALA DIPANG. The identification of the Perlis specimen is somewhat doubtful. The plant is known only from these two collections.
- Typhonium fultum* Ridl. LANGKAWI. BUKIT CHINTAMANI. BATU CAVES (fide Ridley as to being on limestone). Known only from these localities.

Dubious records :

- Aglaonema Schottianum* Miq. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. Common in lowland forest.
- Schismatoglottis calyptrata* Zoll. & Mor. KOTA GLANGGI. GUNONG SENNYUM. Common in the Peninsula, usually in rocky forest.

Typhonium flagelliforme Bl., var. *angustissimum* Ridl. PERLIS.
Typhonium trilobatum Schott. PERLIS. Not uncommon in the north and east of the Peninsula, usually in open places.

PALMAE.

Areca triandra Roxb. SETUL. LANGKAWI. Not common in the north of the Peninsula in forest.

Arenga ?pinnata Merr. GUNONG BALING. GUNONG PONDOK. BUKIT SERDAM. BUKIT SAGU. PULAI. GUA LAMBOK. Only poor collections of this plant are available and its status is still obscure.

Calamus sp. GUNONG BALING, near base of cliff.

Calamus sp. LANGKAWI.

Calamus sp. PULAI, PERAK.

Caryota mitis Lour. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. ?KOTA GLANGGI. Common in the Peninsula in forest, often in rocky places.

Didymosperma Hookeriana Becc. SETUL. PERLIS. KOTA GLANGGI. GUA TEJA. Common in lowland forest.

Iguanura ?corniculata Becc. BUKIT SERDAM, SFN 25059 (*Henderson*).

Iguanura polymorpha Becc. GUNONG PONDOK. IPOH. GUA PANJANG. At cliff bases. In forest in the north of the Peninsula, usually in the hills.

Licuala modesta Becc. GUNONG PONDOK. Common on the Taiping Hills and scarce elsewhere.

Livistona cochinchinensis Mart. GUNONG PONDOK. Not rare in the Peninsula by ricefields and in the hills.

Livistona rupicola Ridl. LANGKAWI. BUKIT TAKUN. BATU CAVES. Known only from limestone in these localities. In Langkawi this plant grows on very exposed rocks close to the sea and is there stunted. It may also be found in more sheltered positions where it attains a height of 10 ft. or more.

Plectocomiopsis ferox Ridl. TELOK APAU, LANGKAWI. Known only from here.

Dubious records :

Calamus concinnus Mart. SETUL. Rare in the Peninsula in open places.

Calamus siamensis Becc. PERLIS. Not uncommon in open places in the north of the Peninsula.

CYPERACEAE.

Carex malaccensis Clarke. LANGKAWI, but not always on limestone. Known only from here in the Peninsula and from Siam.

- Fimbristylis fuscoidea* Clarke. LANGKAWI. Rare in the Peninsula, known otherwise only from open "heath" country in Setul and Perlis.
- Fimbristylis trichophylla* Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known only from here and confined to limestone.
- Fimbristylis* sp. *prox.* *F. fusca* Benth. GUNONG SENNYUM, summit, SFN 22259 (Henderson). BUKIT TAKUN, Forest Dept. F.M.S. 39575, 39576 (Symington), SFN 34378 (Nur).
- Scleria lithosperma* Sw. LANGKAWI, open places on ridges above sea. BUKIT SERDAM, on cleared summit. KOTA GLANGGI, on open dry summit. Common in the Peninsula, usually in dry places in forest.

GRAMINEAE.

- Alpuda varia* Hook., var. *intermedia* Ridl. LANGKAWI. The only record from limestone, otherwise rare in the Peninsula on riverbanks.
- Centotheca latifolia* Trin. LANGKAWI. Common in the Peninsula in forest, especially by paths, sometimes near the sea.
- Chrysopogon collinus* Ridl. SETUL. Known only from here and from a small sandstone island off the coast of Pahang, growing in thick bird guano.
- Chrysopogon orientalis* A. Camus. LANGKAWI, abundant in open places. Usually in sandy places near the sea.
- Cymbopogon* sp. BUKIT CHERAS, PAHANG, SFN 25224 (Henderson).
- Cymbopogon* sp. LANGKAWI, SFN 29106 (Henderson). GUNONG BALING, *Kiah s.n.*, SFN 36256 (*nat. coll.*). What appears to be the same was collected by Curtis in Langkawi at the "Hot Springs", which are not in the limestone area.
- Dicanthium caricosum* Stapf. GUNONG SENNYUM, on cleared summit. BUKIT SERDAM, on cleared summit. BUKIT TAKUN, in open place. Rare in the Peninsula, known only from the above localities and Kedah and Raub, Pahang.
- Eulalia lanipes* Ridl. LANGKAWI. Known otherwise only from Kedah Peak. The Langkawi plant is somewhat more hairy than the type.
- Isachne ?Kunthiana* Wight. LANGKAWI, SFN 17423 (Holttum), SFN 28945 (Henderson).
- Ischaemum aristatum* Linn. LANGKAWI. ?PERLIS. Common in the Peninsula by roadsides and other open places.
- Ischaemum Beccarii* Hack. BATU CAVES. A Bornean species known only from here in the Peninsula except for its occurrence as a weed in the Botanic Gardens, Singapore in 1897.

Optismenus compositus Beauv. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. KEDAH.
Common in the Peninsula in dry rocky and sandy places.

Schizostachyum elegans Ridl. LANGKAWI. PERLIS (sterile plants seen only). GUNONG BALING (sterile specimens only). Known only from these localities. Originally described from plants brought to the Penang Gardens by Haniff and cultivated there. There is now no record of where Haniff obtained his plants, so that it is not certain whether the species is confined to limestone or not.

?*Schizostachyum* sp. GUNONG PONDOK. BUKIT SERDAM. Only sterile specimens seen.

Stenotaphrum Helfer Munro. GUNONG BALING. GUNONG PONDOK. At cliff bases. Not common in the Peninsula, west of the main range.

Tricholaena rosea Nees. BATU CAVES, on quarry face. An African grass introduced into Selangor in 1901 and now widely distributed in the Peninsula in open and waste places.

GNETACEAE.

Gnetum cuspidatum Bl. GUA PANJANG, KELANTAN. Not uncommon in the Peninsula in lowland forest. It seems probable that this and probably other species of *Gnetum* are not uncommon on the limestone, but they grow on the most inaccessible and precipitous faces and are very difficult to collect.

CONIFERAE.

Podocarpus polystachyus R. Br. GUA PANJANG, KELANTAN. BUKIT CHERAS, PAHANG. BUKIT TAKUN, SELANGOR. Common in the Peninsula near the sea. Perhaps commoner on the limestone than the records indicate.

CYCADACEAE.

Cycas siamensis Miq. SETUL. LANGKAWI. PERLIS. UPPER PERAK. PAHANG. Apparently confined to limestone in the Peninsula but often cultivated. Commonest on the north-western limestone, scarce in Pahang and very scarce or absent in Kelantan.

GOLD COINS OF THE NORTH-EASTERN MALAY STATES

By ANKER RENTSE.

(Plates XIII—XIV).

I. The so-called Kijang coin.

In his paper, "Coins of Kelantan", (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, part II, Aug. 1934), Dr. W. Linehan describes the gold coin known as the "*kijang*" in Kelantan, of which he writes:—"Plate X (a) and (b) Figs. 2 show a coin with the inscription on one side *Malik-al-'adil*, "The just Lord", and on the other side the representation of an animal, which according to Kelantan folk is a *kijang* (barking deer). It is not unlikely that their assumption is correct". Further Mr. Linehan suggests that it is probable this coin is of Kelantan origin.

In Sir J. A. S. Bucknill's "Observations upon some coins obtained in Malaya and particularly from Trengganu, Kelantan and Southern Siam" (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. I, April, 1923), I find that the "*kijang*" coin was then a puzzle to Numismatists. Mr. Moquette suggested that the animal resembled a deer (?), Dr. Codrington thought that it was intended to represent a maneless lion; but Mr. Moquette remarks later on, "what the animal may be I cannot guess, but I never saw (on a coin) a lion with horns, I am certain, however, that this coin is not Achinese. I do not see the sun or moon". Further one learns that others have designated the animal a horse as well. Lieut. Col. Gerini describes a "*kijang*" coin in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for Great Britain and Ireland, 1903, Art. XIII, pp. 339, 343, commented on by Dr. Codrington (the coin was found in the grounds of a Siamese Buddhist Monastery) as an imitation of some Southern Indian fanam (the India Coin). The photograph reproduced in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. I, April, 1923, page 204, shows a fine specimen, almost similar to the one shewn by Dr. W. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, part II, plate X, fig. 2).

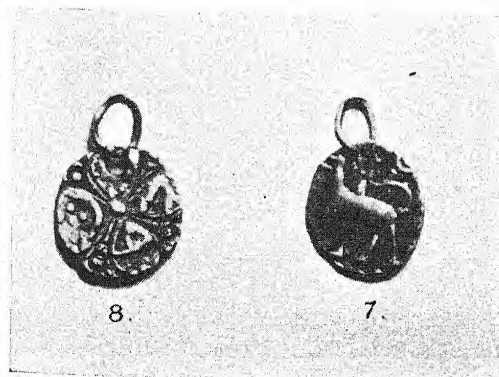
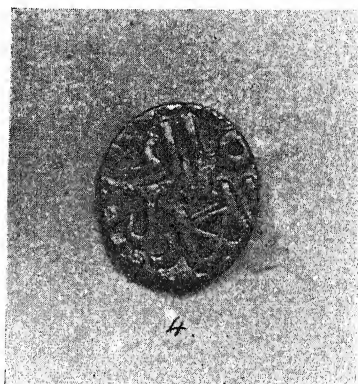
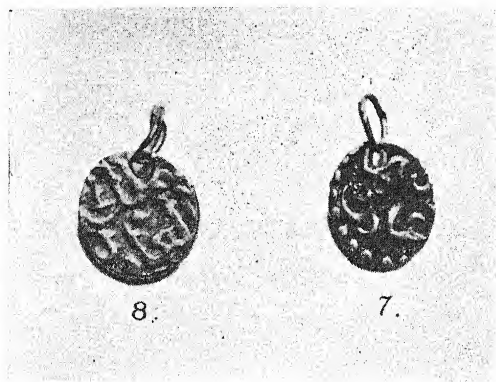
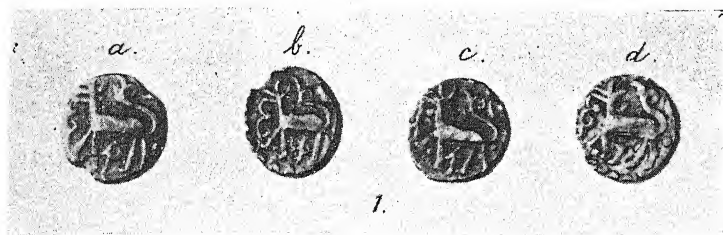
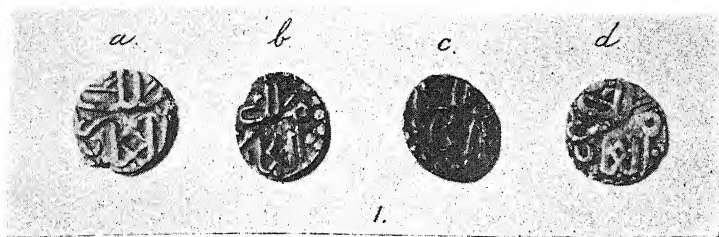
The few specimens of this rare coin available, at the time when Dr. Linehan and myself were comparing notes, were rather poorly struck. Since then I have obtained further specimens showing a clear picture of the animal, and I find that there are at least seven distinct types, the animal being pictured in different postures. The following details of each of these types will assist in the further study of the origin of the coin.

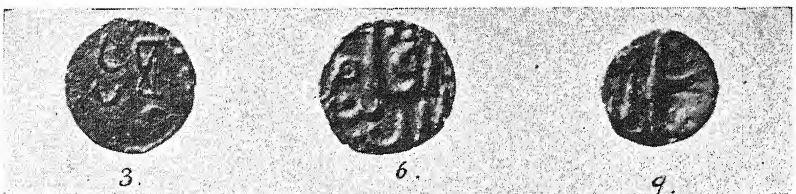
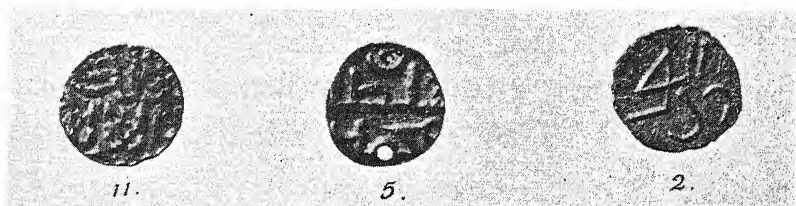
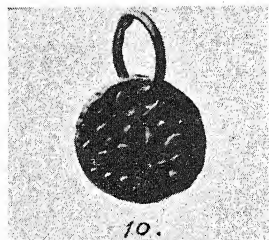
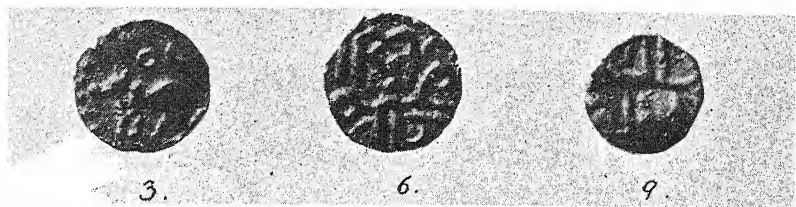
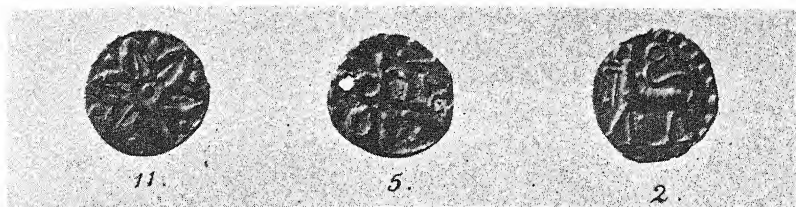
TYPE I. Plate XIII Fig. 1. (a, b, c, d).

This type I think is the original coin. The animal is pictured with:—

- (a) a salivary flow from its mouth. This is more likely to refer to the sacred bull of India than to a *kijang*. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the ancient hindu

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XVII, Part I,





Rentse : Gold Coins from Kelantan.

mythology, as one finds it in Kelantan, a salivary flow from the mouth of certain gods and demons in the Kelantan shadow play indicates supernatural power.

- (b) The horns on the animal's head look more like those of a bull than like antlers of a *kijang*.
- (c) On the back of the animal is a very distinct suggestion of a hump, which also points towards the idea of an Indian bull.
- (d) The tail is long and tasseled like a bull's tail, whereas the *kijang* has a touch of a tail only. There is a sign like a crescent behind the tail.
- (e) The long, towering neck of the animal would, however, point more to a *kijang* than to a bull.
- (f) It may also be noted that the sexual organ is very clearly shewn, an idea which points towards Indian cult. It will be noted that there is no trace of this on the illustrations of the other types mentioned below.

The four coins of this type were found in Kelantan and Patani.

The inscription on the reverse of this coin reads :—

Malik al-'adil.

(Arabic : the just Lord).

TYPE 2. Plate XIV Fig. 2.

This coin was found in Patani, at the site of the old capital, Gersik, and was presented to me by Tengku Seri Akar Raja of Kelantan, the eldest son of the late Raja Abdul Kadir Kamarudin of Patani, who, after serious differences with the Siamese, retired to Kelantan, where he died a few years ago. I regard this coin as locally minted, and I should not be surprised if the minting was done by a Chinese goldsmith, as the attempt at Arabic script on the reverse, *al-'adil*, is so poor and strange looking, that I can hardly believe a Malay to be responsible for it, especially considering the great pains the maker evidently took to produce an elegant coin.

Comparing this type with that previously described, we find :—

- (a) the salivary flow ;
- (b) the horns of a bull ;
- (c) no signs of a hump, but what appears to be a belt round the body with two curious balls attached ; whatever the significance of this may be, it seems strange.
- (d) The tail of a bull, but the tassel rather curious, especially when compared with the crescent-like sign next to it. Perhaps it is meant to represent the sun and moon.

- (e) The long neck resembles a *kijang* rather than a bull.

This type was described by Bucknill, J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. I, April, 1923, Plate III, fig. 8.

The inscription on the reverse of this coin reads:—

al-'adil.

(Arabic: the just).

TYPE 3. Plate XIV Fig. 3.

This type came from the same source as fig. 2. In view of the nature of the inscription on the reverse, *al-'adil*, I believe that this coin, too, was minted by people not completely conversant with Arabic script. The animal pictured here is entirely different in shape from the types previously described (fig. 1 and 2), in fact one would rather feel inclined to say it looks more like a rhinoceros than anything else. But we have the other variations of these coins to guide us, and a close examination reveals that:—

- (a) the salivary flow from the mouth is absent;
- (b) the horns are like those of a bull;
- (c) the hump on the back points to the idea of the Indian hump-backed bull;
- (d) the tail is not very clear. It may be doubtful whether it is the end of a long tail shewn, or it is meant to be a crescent, as the sign shewn next to it resembles the sun.
- (e) the short neck indicates a bull rather than a *kijang*.

The inscription on the reverse of this coin reads:—

al-'adil.

(Arabic: the just).

TYPE 4. Plate XIII Fig. 4.

This coin was found at Sungei Batu, Kedah, and is mentioned by Mr. Ivor H. N. Evans in J.F.M.S. Museums, Vol. XII, part 3, 1926. It was then covered on one side by a silver shank, which, when removed recently by Mr. C. H. Dakers, M.C.S., revealed an interesting portrait of the animal, entirely new to me. On all the *kijang* coins, I have seen hitherto the animal faces the left side, whereas it faces the right side of the coin in the present specimen. Compared with the above mentioned types we find:—

- (a) the salivary flow;
- (b) the horns of a bull;
- (c) the hump like that on an Indian bull;

- (d) the tail is different to the other types here mentioned, a long hanging tail without appendage ; and here it appears to be evident that the signs shewn on top are the sun and moon ;
- (e) the long, towering neck like a *kijang*.

The inscription on the reverse of this coin reads :—

malik al-'adil.

(Arabic : the just Lord).

TYPE 5.

The coin illustrated in " Coins of Kelantan ", by W. Linehan, J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, part II, plate X, fig. 1.

The animal shewn here is much the same type as No. 3 in the present pp., but is very poorly done. There is :—

- (a) no sign of salivary flow ;
- (b) horns of a bull ;
- (c) a hump like the one on an Indian bull ;
- (d) the tail is not very clear, but there are signs to be seen of a long and upright tail ; the sun and the moon on top ;
- (e) the short neck of a bull.

The inscription on the reverse of this coin reads :—

al-'adil.

(Arabic : the just).

TYPE 6.

The coin illustrated in " Coins of Kelantan ", by W. Linehan, J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, part II, plate X, fig. 2.

The animal is much like the types under 1, 2 and 4.

The illustration shows the following :—

- (a) the salivary flow ;
- (b) the horns of a bull ;
- (c) the hump of an Indian bull ;
- (d) a long and upright tail, but with the sun at the end of the tail instead of tassels, and a crescent behind the tail ;
- (e) the neck is bent slightly forward and may just as well indicate a bull as a *kijang*.

The inscription on the reverse of this coin reads :—

Malik al-'adil.

(Arabic : the just Lord).

TYPE 7. Plate XIII Fig. 7.

This coin was found in Kelantan. The animal here resembles more or less the one on the coin described as type 2. We find the following :—

- (a) no salivary flow ; it was possibly meant to be there, but cut off in the minting process, as it will be noted, that the animal's mouth is rather close to the edge ;
- (b) the horns of a bull ;
- (c) a very clear hump of an Indian bull ;
- (d) a long tail and above it the sun and moon ;
- (e) the long neck of a *kijang*.

The small ring indicates that this coin has been used as an amulet of the kind given to children to wear as a protection against evil influence.

The inscription on the reverse of this specimen reads :—

asma 'adil.

(Arabic : brave and just).

The weight of these bull coins varies from 8-9 grains.

It was noted that Dr. Codrington suggested the two coins described by Bucknill to be imitations of some Southern Indian Fanam. These coins (figs. 7 and 8, Plate III, J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol., I, 1923) are similar to those described above as type 1 and 2. As regards Bucknill's coin fig. 7 (my type 1) I am doubtful whether to call this an imitation, I am inclined to think that this was the original coin introduced into Malaya either minted by a Malay Ruler or brought by some foreign traders, possibly Indian. I have had no opportunity to consult numismatic experts on Indian coins ; but I hope my present observations will be duly criticized and that further evidence as to the origin of the coin will be brought forward. Mr. C. H. Dakers, M.C.S., has drawn my attention to "Ceylon Coins and Currency", by H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., B.A. (Oxon.), F.R.N.S., Colombo 1924, in which the bull is pictured on fig. 91-96, plate IV. But this representation seems different to that found on Malayan gold coins and is possibly the prototype. It looks definitely like a bull in a kneeling position, shows no signs of salivary flow, the tail is hanging down, while the sun and moon are pictured on top. Dr. Codrington is probably right in his assumption that Bucknill's fig. 8 (my type 2) is an imitation, and it is not unlikely that the other types described in the present pp., 2-7, are imitations of type 1.

There is reason to believe that the types 2-7 were minted in the Northern Malay States, Kedah, Patani, Rahman, Jering, Sai, Legoh, Kelantan or Trengganu by various rulers. There is evi-

dence of ancient gold mining in most of these states, so it is likely that local gold was used in the coinage, and that the minting was Malayan.

The local name for all the various kinds of gold coins, *mas-dinar* (gold-coin), indicates that they originated even further West than India, as *dinar* is a Persian word for petty money derived from the Latin *denarius*, so there is reason to believe that Moslem (Indian) traders introduced the gold coinage in the Northern Malay States.

Mr. C. H. Dakers very kindly brought the following to my notice :—

“ Mr. W. W. Skeat made the following notes on the East Coast (see The Indian Antiquary Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the F.M.S. by Sir R. C. Temple, Bart. Bombay 1914, page 49) :

“ Patani Jering. I bought at Jering some gold dinar, there called mas kupang (gold kupang), which were brought round by an old Haji. He said that they had been dug up in a bottle at *Bukit Kuwong* about 18 to 20 years ago (writing in 1899) by a Siamese, and that as they were considered treasure trove, half of them had gone as usual to the Raja and half to the finder. Traditionally they are supposed to have been struck by *Raja Merkah* after his conversion to Islam. Another kind, struck on one side only, is said to have been minted by his wife after his decease. The traditional diameter of coins of this kind is alleged to be that of blossoms of the *tanjong* tree, but the two I bought were a little smaller. One of them had a rude figure of a bull on it, and the other that of a horse and both had Arabic inscriptions. One of them had had a small eyelet-hole to the edge of the coin, which was intended (I was told) to enable it to be worn round a child's neck to benefit the child's eyes ”.

“ The coin which he thought had the figure of the horse was probably a specimen of your figure 2. At any rate Mr. Skeat later writes to Sir R. Temple, (13th March 1904) evidently dealing with the same coins, to the following effect (op. cit. p. 41) :

“ ‘ I secured also two small coins from the East Coast with bulls on them, apparently not yet recorded, but in shape and size resembling some Sumatran Coins ’.

“ Here we have an independent opinion that the figures on this series represent bulls. It is also most significant that Mr. Skeat was not told that they were Kijang though he made “ exhaustive enquiries on the spot.”

There have been so many suggestions as to the nature of the animal that one should not add to the difficulties ; but I think attention should be drawn to a fabulous creature in the Kelantan

mythology, the *Wilmana*, the steed of the gods, pictured in the Kelantan shadow play. It is said to be a mixture of the deer; rhinoceros, ox, horse, fish, tiger, bird and elephant. However, I do not think that the animal stated on the coin is meant to represent the *Wilmana*.

Dr. W. Linehan has drawn my attention to the legend related in the Malay Annals of the creation of Malay Royalty, and I think it is most probable that the animal represents the sacred bull of *Shiva*, the *Nandi*, who appeared at the hill *Siguntang* near *Mount Mahameru* in the hinterland of Palembang in Sumatra, carrying a young Raja on its back, a descendant of the Great Alexander. The bull vomited foam out of which sprang a heavenly herald, *Batala*, who proclaimed the young Raja as King with the title *Sang Sapurba Trimurti Tribuana*, the traditional ancestor of Malay Royalty.

II. Other gold coins from the Malay States of Kelantan and Patani.

The coins described Dr. W. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, part II, plate X, fig. 3) and myself (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, part III, plate XVIII, fig. 1 and 2) show that the Malay Rulers of the North-eastern states minted gold coins. The inscription on these coins reads *Al-julus Kelantan*; it is therefore easy to assume that various other gold coins of different kinds but similar in size, weight and general make-up, found in Kelantan and Patani, have been minted there as well, especially with the fact in view that these coins do not appear in other places.

Unfortunately the coins, apart from those the inscription on which mention is made of Kelantan, give no information as to the country of origin, a few give the title or name of the ruler, which, however, at the present stage of our knowledge of local History has not been of much assistance. In Kelantan the most common gold coin found is the one with the inscription *Al-julus Kelantan*, next to that comes the so-called "*kijang*" coin. One point worth mentioning is that the gold coins found in the North-eastern Malay States are of a different appearance from those found in Johore, for example octagonal coins are not found in the North-eastern States, except in Trengganu, from whence I have seen a few specimens undoubtedly of Johore origin as shown by the inscriptions *Sultan Abdul Jalil* and *Sultan Sulaiman*.

Trengganu had relations with Johore, and it was to be expected that Johore coins would be found in that state. But the States of Kelantan, Legoh, Rahman, Sai, Jering and Patani which forms one group with Kelantan to the South and Patani to the North have been rather isolated from the rest of the Peninsula, and have passed through a History of their own, of which unfortunately very little is known so far. At one time (about

1600 A.D.) we know Patani as a powerful kingdom ruled by a queen, Nam Chayam, and it is almost certain that Kelantan, Legeh, Rahman, Sai and Jering were just provinces under Patani rule at that period. A flourishing trade in gold, tin, ivory, spices, etc. was carried on and we know that gold coins existed as a medium of exchange. A coin (now in Perak Museum), to which Mr. C. H. Dakers drew my attention, was discovered in Kedah by Mr. Ivor H. Evans (Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. XII, part 3, page 80), it bears the inscription, *Sultan Mustapha Shah*. Mr. Dakers writes, "The Mustapha Sultan coin is not the right style for the 15th century and does not fit in with the known coins of the Malacca Sultan so I am hunting for a late 16th or 17th century man". In my "History of Kelantan" (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, part II, page 48) a ruler of Patani of that name is mentioned, so there is a possibility that this coin was minted in Patani.

The coins described below I have collected from various places in Kelantan and Patani. Some of them have been found in the soil, others have been obtained from Malays who inherited them from their forefathers, they were used as amulets. The *masdinar* is also used in magic art e.g. in teaching birds to talk: *burong tiong* (the Javanese minah, *eulales javanensis*) and *burong barau*. A common Malay belief is that if one rubs the tongue of these birds with a *masdinar* regularly, they will learn to imitate human speech.

Fig. 5, Plate XIV

A circular coin, which has been used as an amulet. It was found in Kelantan; weight 9 grains.

Inscription on the obverse,

Sultan Mohamad

and on the reverse,

Muttakil Shah

In the History of Kelantan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, part, II, page 50) a Sultan Mohamed is mentioned in the traditional tales as a ruler of Kelantan. It is there stated that Sultan Mohamad sent a white elephant as a gift of honour to placate the King of Siam.

Fig. 6, Plate XIV

A circular coin, found in Kelantan; weight 9 grains.

The inscription on the obverse,

Aqam-u-'din

and on the reverse,

Malik-al-'adil

Translation of both sides of coin:—(Arabic) the just ruler who established religion.

Fig. 8, Plate XIII

A circular coin, which has been used as an amulet. It was found in Kelantan; weight 9 grains.

Obverse,
a picture which appears to represent a flower or four leaves (much like a four-leaved shamrock). In the leaves will be seen some Arabic writing, which unfortunately has been damaged when the fourth leaf was pierced for the ring; but of what is left it appears to me that the inscription was intended to be, '*adil Shah*'. I am illustrating another type (fig. 11) already described by Dr. W. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, part II, plate X, fig. c) as the *dinar matahari*, "the sun coin", as I venture to suggest that there is some connection between these two types. The one may be an imitation of the other. In Dr. Codrington's "Ceylon Coins and Currency" (Colombo, 1924) fig. 96, plate IV, shows a coin with a bull on the obverse, and on the reverse an eight-pointed star much like the one here pictured on fig. 11, which, however, only shows six points. The picture represents the sun, the points being the rays of the sun. Sunworship was universal in the older forms of religion. We get the representation of the sun commonly on e.g. the drums of the bronze age.

Inscription on the reverse,

Malik-al-'adil

same inscription as on fig. 11.

Fig. 9, Plate XIV

A circular coin found in Kelantan.

Inscription on the obverse,

Shah 'adil

and on the reverse,

Malik-al-'adil

In type the appearance of this coin reminds of the one described by Bucknill (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. I, plate III, fig. 3); but there the inscription on the obverse reads *Shah alam*. There was much speculation about that coin, which came from Trengganu. Sir J. A. S. Bucknill writes, "Personally I thought it might be from Atjeh (Acheen) in North Sumatra but Mr. J. P. Moquette of Weltevreden, Java, points out that "*Malik-ul-Adil*" does not occur on coins from that place, though "*Sultan-al-Adil*" is common on coins from Atjeh and Borneo; but he cannot guess its provenance. Mr. Allan of the British Museum and Mr. Howland of the American Numismatic Society were equally doubtful, though the latter suggests it belongs to some Malay Peninsula state. Mr. Valentine thinks it *does* come from Acheen as the name "*Shah Alam*" occurs on some of the gold coins of that locality in a longer legend "*Paduka Shah Alam*" (see Millies Plates XVI). Mr. J. Schulman of Amsterdam is, however, certain that

it is *not* from Acheen, but thinks it emanated from some small South Indian State (possibly Beejapur) owing to its type and characters. But Mr. Gravely of the Madras Museum is disposed to think it was issued by one of the Mughal Emperors. The mere finding of coins in a particular place, it need hardly be pointed out, is not of much value in fixing where they were minted but the fact is that we are still somewhat ignorant as to the coinage of the native States of Malaya ; and very slender reasons have been at times assigned for attributing a specimen to a particular locality”.

The present find of another coin in the same locality as that where Bucknills was found, very similar in appearance to his, and of which the numismatic experts seem doubtful whether it originated in Sumatra or India, affords a slight indication that the two coins were minted in the North-eastern Malay States.

Fig. 10, Plate XIV

A circular coin found in Kelantan ; weight 9 grains. The ring indicates that it has been used as an amulet.

The inscription appears difficult to read. Local arabic experts seem to agree to the following :—

on the obverse :—

Dama Shah

and on the reverse :—

Binaqdi sahibibi

Translation of both sides of coin :—(Arabic). May the Ruler and his currency perpetuate.

My thanks are due to Dr. W. Linehan, M.C.S., and Mr. C. H. Dakers, M.C.S., for their helpful assistance and to Mr. Dakers for supplying me with the photograph of the type fig. 4 ; also thanks are due to Dato' Seri Setia Raja (Nik Ahmad Kamil), Kelantan, for assisting me in deciphering the arabic inscriptions.

Postscript :—Since this pp. was completed I have received a message from Mr. W. W. Skeat giving his entire support that the so-called *Kijang* coin is being rightly identified as a bull coin.

CEREMONIAL OPENING OF A NEW CHINESE TEMPLE AT KANDANG, MALACCA, IN DECEMBER, 1938.

By S. M. MIDDLEBROOK, M.C.S.

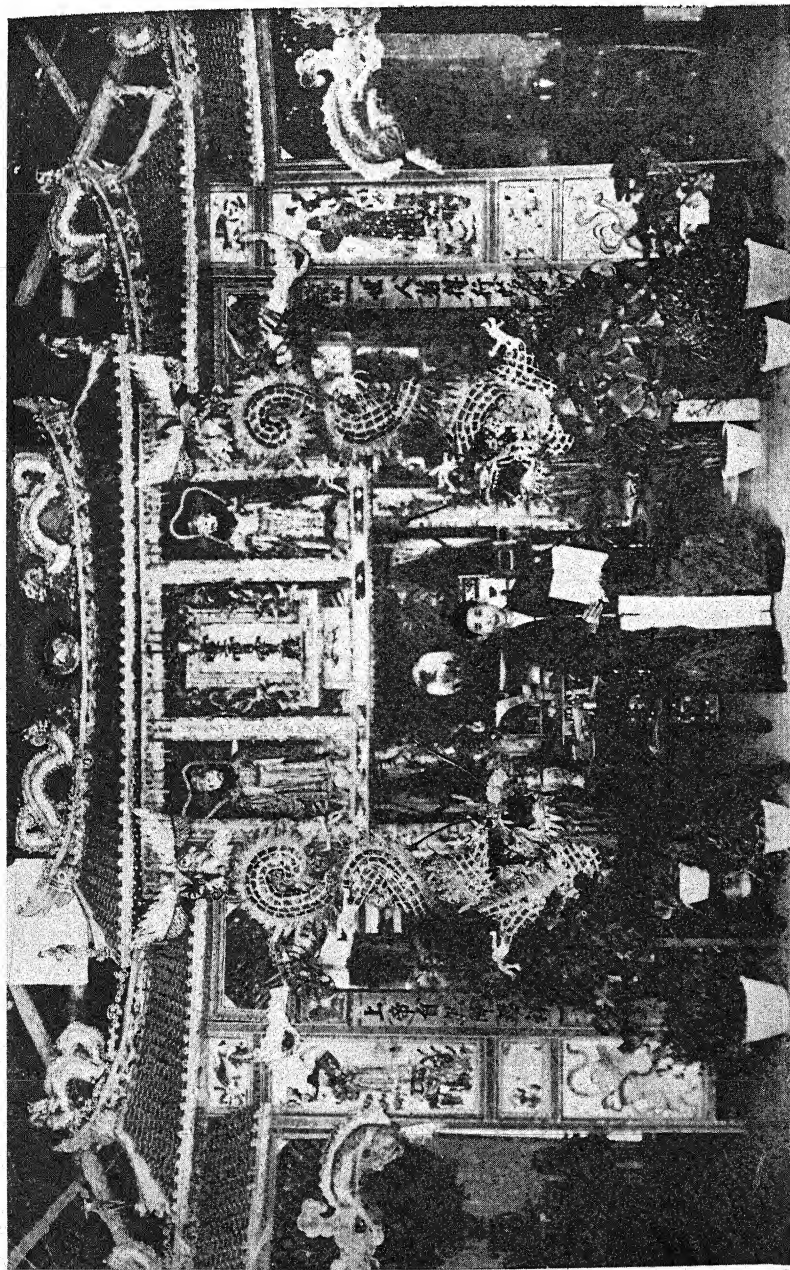
(Plates XV—XVI).

The Cho Cheo (praying) ceremony connected with the dedication and opening of the new temple of His Holy Grace Dato Choo Ong Yah is now being held at Kandang, a village four miles from Malacca. The temple replaces one built ninety-seven years ago.

This god or Dato is the eldest of Five Brothers all of whom are worshipped by the Chinese in Malacca. Originally it was the Hokkiens only who worshipped them but owing to their growing reputation for divination their popularity has extended to Chinese of the other clans as well as to those born locally. This particular god at Kandang was brought from China—so the story goes—more than 200 years ago by a crew of fishermen from the Chiang Chew district of Fukkien. He was first housed in an attap shed which on one occasion was burnt to the ground, the Dato himself being miraculously saved. Then nearly 100 years ago he was moved to the present site. From the beginning of his existence in Malaya he has revealed marvellous powers: not only did he manage to escape from the fire which destroyed his first home, but when his second temple was built he also succeeded in upsetting the original plans as to the site and in choosing the one he wanted himself. When the ground was first marked out stones were put on the corners of the site, but during the night they were moved to a new position some distance away. The next day they were moved back again but the following night the same thing happened. From this it was clear to those building the temple that it was the god himself who had moved the stones and so they decided on the second position which the Dato evidently preferred. In this he showed his perspicacity because the second site was dry instead of swampy and it had a clear view of Mount Ophir rising in the distance—the luckiest of good omens. To the Chinese a mountain stands for water and therefore wealth: 'water and mountain' is a term they have for a kingdom. The power and status of parents in law (most important of relations!), are shown by the fact that the father in law is called 'the big mountain' and the mother in law 'the big water'. A successful financier is said to be 'sitting on the mountain' and when wishing anyone a long life it is usual to say 'may your life be as big (long) as a mountain.' So the Dato had good reason to disturb the stones when such a lucky place for his home was nearby. This was the temple which is now being replaced.

The god at Kandang, being the eldest of the Five Brothers, is the most respected by the Chinese. As a mark of honour whenever an important occasion occurs, such as the present dedication ceremony, the four younger brothers are brought to stay with him. These in turn have their own seniority depending

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XVII, Part I,



The Taoist Priest sitting in the room of Holiness: The Palace of the Jade God.

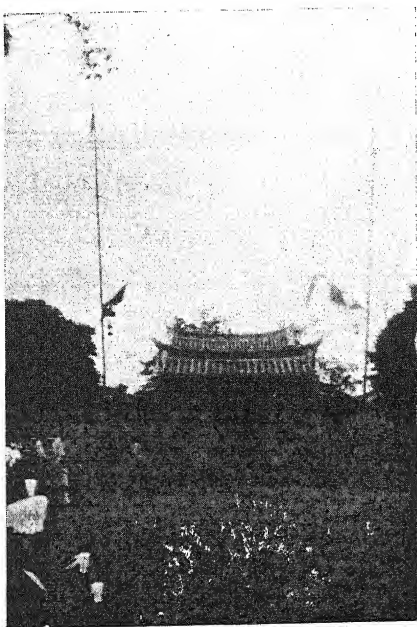
Middlebrook: A New Chinese Temple



The entrance to the Kandang Temple.

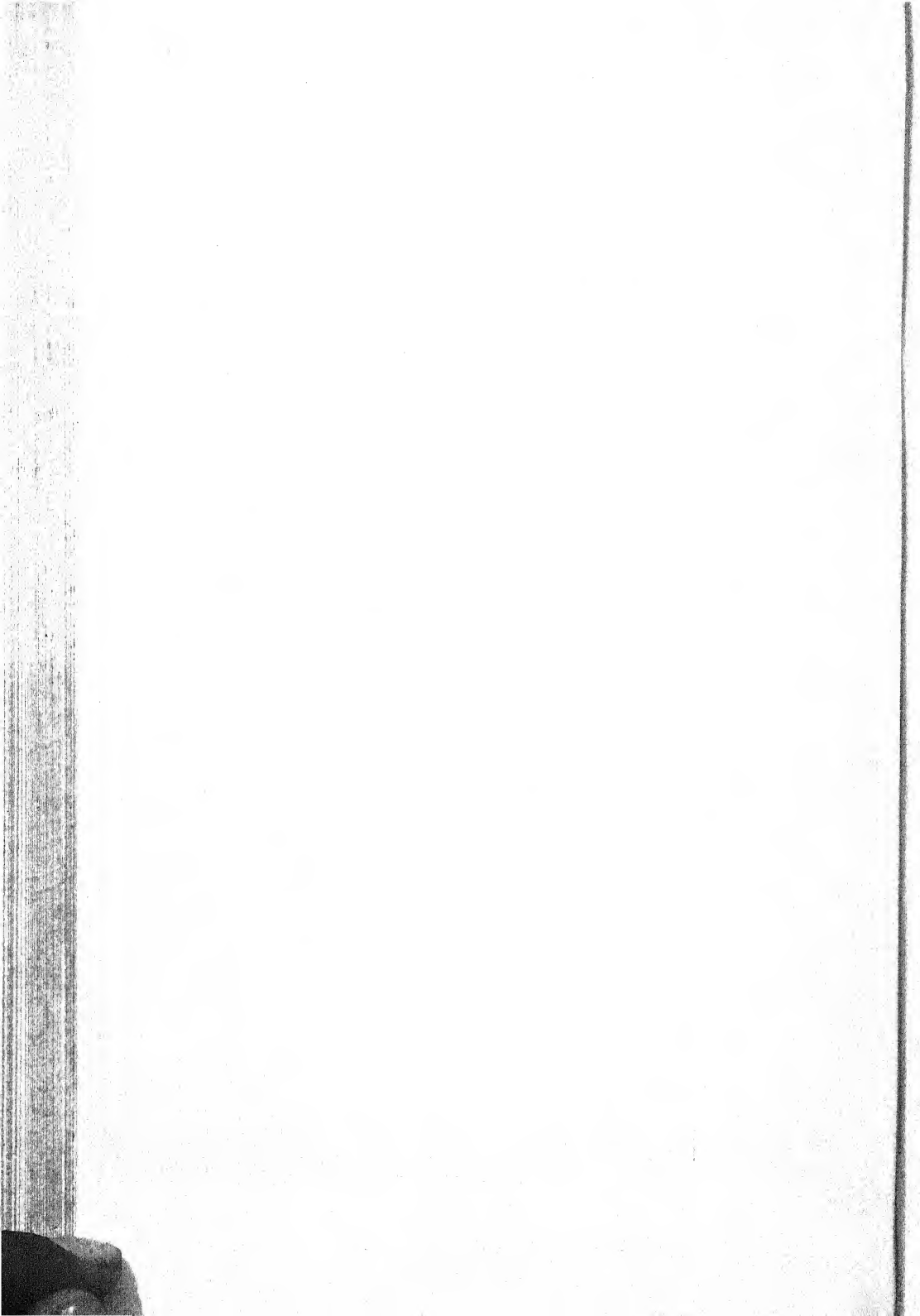


MUI HOO—decorating a Chinese House in Heeren Street.



The two bamboos planted before the Temple.

Middlebrook : A New Chinese Temple



on the length of time they have been in Malacca. All of them are called Datos in the same way as their elder brother. In China they would be called 'fatts' or Buddhas but it is the custom amongst the Chinese in Malaya to give their gods the Malay title of Dato. This is meant to be a mark of respect to the local spirits, which after all are the owners of the soil and unless they are flattered in this way can do incalculable harm. From the time of their first arrival in the country Chinese immigrants have brought their gods with them as a protection against the unknown dangers of a strange land. Some carried ashes from incense sticks burnt in their ancestral temples and others crude carvings which they themselves had made of the more familiar gods which they worshipped in their own villages. It was in this way that the worship of well-known gods in China was perpetuated, for these relics were placed in special buildings and in course of time temples were built to facilitate their worship.

The second Dato in order of importance is Tee Ong Yah who lives in a temple at Bandar Hilir. He is distinguished by his black face. He was brought by a Beh Hang Hokkien from China over 100 years ago and there are two stories as to how his face came to be black. The first is that he extinguished a raging fire which endangered the lives of a number of people, and displayed great personal bravery in doing so, and the second is that two messengers were sent by the Almighty to his Yamen (official residence) with two packets of poison. At this time he was the Ruling Governor of a district in China and the messengers told him that the Almighty had sent them to poison all the wells because the people were wicked. But the Governor was filled with pity for the people and drank the poison himself. That is why his face is black and his eyes protrude. In memory of this unselfish act his temple is called 'The Court of Perfect Bravery.' The small Dato originally brought from China is still preserved in the temple and stands on the right hand of the Dato. It is a small piece of wood, resembling a miniature gravestone, but the original Chinese characters have disappeared. There is a second tablet in a hall behind on which the names of the first immigrants to worship at the temple are recorded. These are headed by one Chiew Bien and it was probably he who brought the god from China. This Dato has been remarkably successful during the last twenty or thirty years in prescribing medicines and he is becoming increasingly popular. As a result of this success the fame of the original worshippers has grown and each year, on the anniversary of the god, offerings are also made to them.

The third Dato is Oon Ong Yah and he lives at Kubu Lane. Until 1919 he was housed in an attap shed but in that year the present brick temple was built. He has red whiskers and a blue face and is said to have been a Commanding Officer in the Army—no doubt the Chinese impression of a choleric colonel! His temple is called 'The Place of Celestial Virtue' which is hardly in keeping

with his former task of suppressing the barbarian tribes harassing the kingdom. He has the reputation of being a just official and on the dais in front of him stands a mandarin's desk, with a seal, pen, ink pad, and a bunch of wooden tokens given to messengers to prove their identity when calling people to the court. The fourth god is Lee Ong Yah who lives at the main Hylam Kongsi in the town. His temple is called 'The House of the Unbribeable Feudal Noble' but there is no information as to how he reached Malaya or got his name.

The fifth Dato lives with his brother Tee Ong Yah at Bandar Hilir. He is the youngest of the gods and was only carved in 1933. Towkay Ee Kong Guan of Malacca paid for this to be done by a special craftsman in Singapore and the ceremony of 'humanising' him was performed in this temple. When he arrived he was of course just a piece of carved wood but after the priest had said prayers and recited certain verses his eyes, ears, nostrils, lips and finally his legs and stomach, were painted with a vermilion pen. This brought him to life as a god. There is now a proposal to build him a temple, but apart from there being insufficient money it is considered necessary that as the youngest brother he should pay his respect to his elders for a few years. Another reason why no active steps have been taken to provide him with a home of his own is because he is known to be quick tempered and hasty. So his worshippers are by no means anxious to build him a temple until experience has calmed the hot blood of his youth. If they did they would have to consult his wishes, and who knows what dreadful decisions he might give! It is safer to let him live where the sweetest tempered brother can calm him down in his angry moments and if necessary overrule him as the master of the house.

Every fifteen years or so the Five Brothers intimate, usually through the eldest brother at Kandang, that the time has come for a general clean up of the evil spirits in Malacca. This intimation is made through the person of the medium attached to the temple. This man gets a living selling joss sticks and paper as well as candles. He also receives money offerings from the worshippers in the form of ang pow (red packets) varying from fifty cents to two dollars. This is a sort of fee and in return he will fall into a trance and answer questions put by the worshippers to the Dato. If his replies speak of pestilence, disease, war or ill luck, then worshippers know that something drastic is needed. They will then, by question and answer, find out what the Dato's wishes are and if he prophesies disaster and trouble generally the managers of the five temples call a meeting of their members to arrange for a 'grand cleansing ceremony', more usually known as a 'Wangkang'. The object of this is to capture all the bad spirits which are overrunning the town, and so bringing evil influences to bear, put them into a large model junk which is drawn through the streets of Malacca, and float them out to sea.

This procession is peculiar to Malacca and when it takes place thousands of Chinese come from all over Malaya to witness the ceremonies. It is believed to have been performed in Manila and also in Sarawak, but never in any other town in this country. It is only staged in two large districts in the province of Fukkien in South China, and it is immigrants from these areas who brought this form of worship to the South Seas. It was first performed about 100 years ago in Kandang at the temple which is now being rebuilt and it may possibly be the oldest Chinese religious ceremony in Malaya.

The present ceremonies in connection with the opening of the new temple will last for two weeks. Although not so important as a Wangkang Festival, they have for their object the blessing of the good spirits and the destruction of the bad, also the peace and prosperity of the inhabitants of Malacca, so they are similar in intention.

The temple is of course en fete and there are numbers of hawkers stalls as well as a wayang, which performs religious plays only, in the grounds. At the entrance stands a temporary archway with the characters signifying ' Ceremony begging for blessing ' at the top. On the right post is written—' It is the intention to have the ceremony according to custom and to say prayers for the benefit of all ', and on the left hand post—' After the new temple has been built we must remember the history of the old one '.

In all ceremonies of this nature it is of the utmost importance that every care shall be taken in selecting the date and the actual time of each ceremony. The Committee of Management consults a necromancer and alternative programmes are submitted for the approval of the Dato himself. Each of these is subjected to the test of ' casting the sticks. ' In this particular case bamboo tallies were used—these are two pieces of bamboo root cut bean shape, with a rounded and a flat side, and they are thrown into the air and allowed to drop to the ground. If one falls flat and the other on the rounded side then the Dato is in favour of the proposal, and if the tallies fall in this position three times in succession it is the best possible omen for the future ceremonies. As they last for a fortnight and as the same officials are on duty all the time, there is a danger that ' unlucky days ' in the horoscopes of the officials and of the worshippers may conflict with the good luck it is hoped to bring to the temple. So the necromancer is again consulted and instructions are given in the programme as to which officials and worshippers are taboo for particular ceremonies. For instance at the initial ceremony of ' digging the soil ', when it is necessary to placate the God of the Earth, persons born in the Horse Year who are now twenty-one and those born in the Snake Year who are ten years old are told that they cannot attend. If they do the bad luck which is bound to follow them on this particular day will cancel the good luck brought by the ceremony.

In the case of worshippers it is not necessary to inform the management but any official who is affected must give at least seven days notice to the Chairman so that other arrangements can be made for his duties to be performed. There must always be a full complement of officials at every ceremony, no matter what time it takes place. Similarly the programme is followed strictly, whether a ceremony is timed for as early as 5 a.m. or as late as midnight.

Before taking part in the initial ceremony each official must bathe himself carefully, then wear a new suit and a new pair of shoes. They must also be vegetarian as a penance during the period of the festival. There must be no cursing, drinking of spirits, quarrelling or grumbling, because this is sure to anger the Dato and so please the evil spirits. Besides sooner or later the god will punish the wrongdoer. There is also a taboo on women until the last day or two when the main events are over. However, a praying table is placed outside the building facing the main door where they are allowed to worship, but under no circumstances may they enter the temple.

The second ceremony is the invitation to the Four Brothers to witness the ceremonies. They are brought in procession through the streets with gongs and cymbals beating and attendants carrying their banners. These announce that evil spirits will be dispersed, and that the 'inspection' of the streets is being carried out by the Ong Yahs on the behalf of the Almighty. For the next two weeks they remain in a position of honour in the temple. After their arrival the third ceremony of 'sending out the soldiers' is carried out. Each of the Datos has his own bodyguard of fighting men and these are despatched by the eldest brother to their camps in the heavens which lie to the East, North, South, West and Centre. Their task is to mass the heavenly armies to guard against any attacks which might be made on the temple by the evil spirits. Special officials called samtans or chanters, ten of whom are on duty in the temple during the day and ten at night, read special verses. There is a verse for each bodyguard and it details what they have to do. The bodyguard must call the army which lies in its own area, the armies being of different size and serving a Dragon Emperor of a distinguishing colour. The verses are the same, the only differences being the size of the heavenly armies and the colours of the Dragon Emperors. This is the special chant for the Eastern Army:

'To the East, the bodyguard is to call the Kiu Yee army of the Eastern tribe to rally with its horses. The Kiu Yee army consists of 9,000 horses and 90,000 men. Every soldier puts on his helmet and coat of mail and each has a blue banner and a fiery sword in his hands. Soldiers from Heaven and Earth are called. Soldiers from Heaven are on my left and soldiers from Earth are on my right, whilst Fire soldiers are in front of me and Water soldiers are behind me. When I give

the order, Heaven and Earth will move, and my warrant and seal will be ready on the altar. I command the blue Dragon Emperor of the East, who is the Blue-eyed General, to brandish his knife and sword ; to take his position in the East and guard off all devils, so that they cannot come near my altar'.

With the gods and their attendants in position, and the soldiers at the head of the Heavenly Army, everything is ready for the fifth ceremony—'the planting of the two bamboo trees'. These are to act as a signal to all the heavenly spirits to attend the opening of the temple and the feast. First the ground around the temple is blessed then two holes are dug, one on each side of the main entrance. In each of them are put thirteen cash to ensure good luck. They must be of the kind with a hole in the centre and there must be one for each month in the year. This year has an intercalary month and so corresponds to the western Leap Year. The bamboos, which have been selected previously, are then planted. Great care must be taken to see that they are as near alike as possible. They must be of the same height, in this case about fifty to sixty feet, and they must have a similar number and type of fronds at the top. About eight feet from the ground are hung large lanterns which are lighted at dusk and kept burning all night. It will bring great misfortune to the temple if they go out. The lights are to show the way to the heavenly spirits, who see the light and after hovering round it slip down the bamboos into the temple. The higher the bamboos and the stronger the lights, the more spirits are attracted and the greater the luck to the temple. Just above the lanterns are attached smaller bamboos tied in such a manner as to resemble the spar of a ship. On these are fixed two banners, one of which bears the title of the Ong Yahs and the other is a centipede flag. The swaying bamboos are for the symbolic purpose of sprinkling holy water over the temple grounds and on to the heads of the worshippers, so bringing peace and harmony to all.

An incident happened during this ceremony which caused consternation among the committee. In order to protect the fronds at the top of the bamboos from injury, they were wrapped in sago palm leaves and by mistake one of these was not removed when it was hoisted into the air. Once it was erected it would have meant bad luck to take it down again, so it had to remain where it was. However, much to the relief of the committee the sago palm fell off some hours later. They were therefore saved from the criticisms of the worshippers who would have accused them of being careless, and what might have been a bad omen turned out to be a lucky sign and a further proof of the power of Choo Ong Yah. Was it the god himself who had shaken the tightly bound leaf and made it drop to the ground?

As we have said, the rear portion of the temple is occupied by the Five Brothers and their attendants. In the front has been

erected a special Room of Holiness. Immediately inside the door stand two mythical figures, one resembling a tiger and the other a unicorn. This last is of great power in warding off evil spirits and according to legend such an animal has only once appeared on earth, when Confucius—the greatest Chinese who has ever lived—was born. Both beasts have fierce looking warriors on their backs, brandishing many pointed spears. This room is dedicated to the Almighty, the Taoist God, and his altar stands at the back decorated with beautiful embroidered cloths which have been lent by the worshippers. Offerings of fruit, cakes, sweets, red bags of rice, are piled high on the table. Large red candles and joss sticks, half an inch in diameter, burn in stands placed in a semi-circle. Brilliant paper flowers cover everything and dragons with glittering scales coil round the pillars.

The decorations as well as the two mythical figures at the door of the temple are also offerings to the Taoist God and at the conclusion of the ceremonies they will be burnt. Actually it is only the coloured paper which is torn off: the framework is kept for future use.

In this part of the temple are kept the Teo Tian Soo or squares of red silk, which are later given to subscribers to the new temple. These will be hung in their houses above the family altar, as a permanent protection against evil spirits. On them is the figure of Teo Tian Soo riding on a tiger; he is the 'Jade Emperor', the god who in Taoist belief occupies the position of Supreme Ruler in the unseen world. A disciple of Lao Tsz he was first employed by one of the Tsh'ing Emperors to fight the evil spirits. The fact that he can 'ride a tiger', the fiercest of beasts, shows that he is unafraid. Subscribers to the ceremonies are also given a set of Mui Hoo, coloured strips of paper on which lucky characters are written. They are hung on the lintels of the doors to prevent any evil spirit entering the house.

Round the walls of the temple and also propped against the altars stand lengths of sugar cane. These are a special feature in Hokkien temples at festival times and have a particular significance. At the time of the conquest of China by the Manchus, when people were commanded by Imperial decree to wear the queue as a badge of servitude, many Hokkiens refused and were attacked by soldiers. Most of them fled into the sugar cane which abounded in the province of Fukkien, and so avoided being killed. Now the Hokkiens have a saying—'amongst the sugar cane we are safe.' So sugar cane has become a sign of bravery and independence and it is used on such occasions as this as a symbol of those qualities.

In the rear part of the temple are put the offerings to the Five Brothers. In front of the eldest is a high trestle on which have been placed numerous small red bags of rice and bundles of tiny faggots.

These are for his own personal use and that of his army. Being vigorous men and having before them the difficult task of fighting off the evil spirits, the soldiers like lots of good food. Therefore worshippers bring bags of rice and firewood so that it may be cooked for these hard worked attendants, but as the bags and bundles are too big to put on the altar they are stored in a special room behind. But for each bag of rice brought and each bundle of firewood, the donor can place one tiny red bag of rice and one bundle of faggots before the eldest Ong Yah. The rice stored at the back is then used to give free meals to the worshippers and to the officials on duty.

In front of the four younger brothers and their attendants is a large square table on which are piled fruit, cakes, sweets, and towering pagodas made of coloured sugar; some of the food is cooked and some not, but all is vegetarian and tempting to the eye and to the palate. At each side stands a red bucket filled with earth on top of which rests a small bowl with a burning wick floating in oil. In the soil are stuck a pair of red scissors, a ruler, a mirror and a sword made of Chinese cash. These represent the guiding principles of the Taoist faith. With the scissors you 'cut your coat according to the cloth you have': with the ruler you 'measure the standards necessary to life and live accordingly': with the mirror 'you let your actions and your conscience be as clear as the glass into which you look': and with the sword 'you cut down that which is bad and face the world with principles as shining as the blade.'

In the centre of the table stands an attendant god, Lee Loh Chia, his left foot resting on the wheel of 'fire and wind' and his right arm holding a spear ready to thrust into any evil spirit which may have ventured inside the temple. It is his duty to protect the good spirits which have come to attend the feast. For this task he must have special qualities and it is said that he can travel more quickly than the eye can see. To help him in his search he carries in his left hand a luminous ring which is more discerning than an X ray and he is able to see any evil spirit no matter how carefully it may be hidden.

The musical instruments which are used in the temple services are also put on the table ready to be blessed by the priest. They include the horn used to frighten away all bad influences. This must be taken from the head of the finest bull in the herd if it is to serve its purpose.

Finally, at the front edge and in the centre is a small bowl of holy water in which floats a sprig of pomegranate. This is in blossom and is used by the priest to flick the water over the articles on the table and on the altar during the ceremony of blessing.

The sixth and most important ceremony takes place on the seventh day—the marking of the eyes of the centre beam of the temple. The actual painting takes only a few minutes but as the

officials have to follow an exact sequence of prayer the ceremony lasts for about six hours. The beam has previously been painted red with an inscription in gold letters running its length: this calls for the blessing of the heavenly spirits on all persons in Malaya regardless of race and creed. The reason for this universality is partly as a guarantee of peace to the country as a whole and partly because some of the money used to build the new temple was subscribed by non-Chinese, including Europeans. The high light of the ceremony is the touching of the eyes of two phoenix and of the Pat Kwa which also decorate the beam. The latter are the 'eight diagrams', the formula on which all Chinese fortunes are based, and the two phoenix are regarded with special significance as the most splendidly decorative of all mythological birds. The comb of a red cock is cut slightly and a pen is dipped in the blood and used to paint the eyes of the phoenix and to touch the Pat Kwa. This is done to bring life to the beam and so to the temple and to bring blessing on all mankind.

There follow a number of ceremonies which last for three or four days. The priest constantly beats his drum to call the good spirits to listen to his prayers, and on one evening a special altar is built on the edge of the river when lights are floated out over the water to attract the attention of those spirits who live in the sea. On another occasion the ghosts of all those who have either been drowned or buried at sea are invited.

On the ninth day the soldiers of the Ong Yahs will be reassembled and given a feast as a reward for the successful way in which they have gathered together the heavenly armies and safeguarded the temple against the attacks of the many evil influences. Then for three days the temple will be sealed: during this time the priest visits the house of everyone in Malacca who has subscribed more than a certain sum to the ceremonies. He prays to bring peace on the household and afterwards purifies the house by burning incense, receiving in return a small gift of money. The temple is sealed partly to enable the priest to perform this personal act of blessing and partly to give the exhausted officials a needed rest before the final festivities. These consist of formally reopening the temple and of uprooting the bamboos, after which the four visiting Dato are returned to their own homes. His Holy Grace Dato Choo Ong Yah will then be alone in his new home, surrounded by friendly and good spirits, his temple blest and all evil spirits driven far away. Let us hope that he will be satisfied and that peace and prosperity will be the permanent lot of Malacca and its peoples.

NOTES ON THE MEANING OF SOME MALAY WORDS.

PART III. (KEDAH WORDS).

By J. A. BAKER.

Introductory Remarks.

The following list of words has been compiled in Kedah and is composed chiefly of words which are not defined in Wilkinson's Malay-English Dictionary¹ or which are given a different meaning in that work; in a few cases, however, I have included words already recorded, with no other intention than to illustrate their use by some additional examples. As far as my knowledge goes I have tried to confine myself to words the use of which is characteristic of the dialects spoken in Kedah and neighbouring territories, but limited experience of Malay usage in other parts of the country has no doubt led me frequently into the error of including words and meanings which are current over a much wider range.

2. To prevent misunderstanding it should be pointed out that two languages, Malay and Siamese, are spoken in Kedah and in some of the inland districts it is not uncommon to meet a Malay whose only medium of intercourse is Siamese. This is, naturally, more common in southern Siam where there are considerable numbers of Malays or 'Sam Sam' who speak only Siamese, though they remain Muslims and retain many Malay customs. There are several such communities in the neighbourhood of Singgora. With these people and their language this paper is not concerned, but a number of Siamese loan-words (by which I mean words used in modern Siamese; whatever may be their ultimate origin) are current among Kedah Malays wholly ignorant of the Siamese language, and these are as much a part of the Kedah Malay dialect as are the Arabic and Sanskrit loan-words which form an integral part of classical Malay. Thus in Kedah the word *lau* is used to refer to a fowl-house, and *rĕban*, the equivalent word in the Riau—Johore vocabulary, would not be an intelligible substitute to any but the travelled or educated*. The Malay-speaking peasant says *lau ayam* where the Siamese-speaking peasant says *lau kai*. I have included one or two words of this kind, but only such as are genuinely merged in the Malay language in Kedah. They may ultimately disappear with the spread of standardised education but at present they are part and parcel of the vernacular, and several of them already appear in Malay dictionaries (e.g. *lau*, *sut*, *koï*).

3. Not only are two languages spoken in Kedah but there are at least two dialects of the Malay language current in the State (though not among the same people). These dialects have certain

**Rĕban* in Kedah has another meaning, 'falling down' (= Joh. *rĕbah*).

points in common†, but they are very easily distinguished both by their vocabularies and their phonetics. The first is that spoken in most parts of the coastal districts (including Alor Star) in most parts of Perlis, in Penang, Province Wellesley and many parts of North Perak. Throughout this area there are differences in accent and in the use of some purely local words (the Perlis intonation is often a subject of mimicry among the Malays in Kedah) but the main features are the same. An excellent general account of this dialect is given in an article entitled "Penang Malay" by HAMILTON². Touching all the main points his description is applicable to Kedah.

4. The second major dialect is the same as that which is spoken (again with local variations) in Patani and Kelantan. This dialect is current throughout large tracts in the interior of Kedah from Baling to Kuala Nêrang, and in some other localities which have been colonised by men from the inland districts. Its presence is adequately accounted for by a study of the old trade routes. One of these has been described by HAMILTON³ and others can be traced on the map. The Patani-Kelantan dialect has a very peculiar phonetic system, includes in its vocabulary a large number of words not current in the speech of the west-coast, employs different pronouns in colloquial speech and does not make use of 'apa' to form plurals in the manner characteristic of the dialect spoken in Alor Star and Penang (*sahaya apa, depa, etc*). The Kelantan form of this dialect is well described in accounts given by BROWN⁴, PEPYS⁵ and STURROCK⁶. Some words (e.g. *ayok*) recorded, in Wilkinson's Dictionary, quite correctly, as used in Kedah, actually belong to the Patani-Kelantan dialect, and are not understood in Alor Star except by those who are accustomed to mix freely with the Malays of the interior. In recording words current only in those parts of Kedah where the Patani-Kelantan dialect is spoken I have added a note to that effect.

5. I have given the origin of words wherever it has been known to me, but many others no doubt have foreign roots which I have not been able to identify. All of them, however, are used in the common speech of Malays living in Kedah.

†Some of these are very striking, e.g. (i) The use of *dan* (having time for) in place of the Johore *sempat*. (ii) The use of *la'ni* (now) in place of *sêkarang*. (iii) Similar words (Alor Star, Penang *ular danu*; Pat. Kel. *ganu*) for the rainbow (Joh. *Pilangi*). (iv) The use of *dêras* to mean "loud" (*bunyi dêras*) as well as 'fast'. See note on p.23 of C.C. BROWN'S "Kelantan Malay". (v) The use of *têriak* to replace the Johore *tangis* (to weep). (In the Riau-Johore dialect *têriak* means 'to cry out'; throughout Kedah, Penang, Patani and Kelantan it means 'to cry'). (vi) The use of *bujang* to denote always a widow or divorced person; whereas in the Johore dialect it more often means unmarried and a widow is called *janda*.

There are several other words and phrases in common but the differences are even more numerous.

ARGUS :—W. D. says “ *argus* (Pen) Rabbit ” and HAMILTON² gives the same meaning. I have found, in Alor Star and Penang, that the name is applied to the guinea-pig. In both localities the animals were described to me as being like small rabbits (*arnab*) but inspection shewed them to be guinea-pigs. Both rabbits and guinea-pigs often come up for sale in the Wednesday market at Alor Star, the former under the name ‘ *arnab* ’ and the latter under the name ‘ *argus* ’. Guinea-pigs are popular as pets both in Kedah and Penang. HAMILTON² derives the word from the Hindustani “ *khargosh* ” which, he says, means a rabbit. If this is so, the present usage must have arisen through confusion of the two animals. Though Malays describe them as similar to rabbits (*sa'akan akan arnab*) they nevertheless distinguish them clearly, and anyone ordering an ‘ *argus* ’ would receive a guinea-pig.

BALAN :—W. D. says “ *balan* I main piles of a dam ; damming ; blocking the way ”. In Kedah commonly used in two senses which are, however, related :

- I. to ram *e.g.* of a boat ramming a snag or rock and
- II. to “ butt in ” on someone else's conversation or occupation.

BANG :—To intend the ear, listen attentively, especially by putting the hand to the ear or by putting the ear close to an object (as a doctor to his patient).

BOROI :—“ Pot-bellied ”—not simply fat but having a projecting paunch. (Correct spelling doubtful).

BO', BOK :—In Kedah the usual word for a “ mattress ” (*tilam* not being generally current though known, of course, to the educated). It is a Siamese loan-word. Mc. FARLAND⁷ gives an example of its use (*op. cit.* p. 123).

CHANG :—Firm, taut—a variant of *chêkang* esp. *tetek chang*=firm breasts with projecting nipples.

CHAM :—A shallow scoop-basket such as that used by coolies for carrying earth=(Joh) *pongkis*. *Cham* is the word always used in Kedah to describe this kind of basket.

CHENGIL, CHENGGE :—Severe, strict, forbidding *e.g.* of a school master or employer who is difficult of approach. W. D. gives “ *chêngi* II (Batav) cruel=*bêngis*. Evidently allied to the word given next below.

CHENGIS (pronounced *chênggeh*) :—Pungent, harsh in odour, especially of durians having this character. W. D. gives “ *chêngis* I odour that puts one off, smell that spoils appetites (fig) sour looks that prevent friendly advances ”.

CHĒRUAK :—To throw away water with a swinging motion as, for example slops are thrown out of the window, not used for throwing solid bodies.

CHUCHUR :—W. D. gives "*chuchur* III (Pen) cake of hard pastry = (Sp) *kueh* . . .". This is rather misleading: the sweet meats described as '*chuchur*' in Kedah are fritters made from banana, jak fruit, sweet potato, etc.

GEBANG :—To sit talking and spinning yarns (usually giving a little rein to the imagination). Very similar to *sembang* (for which see W. D.).

Budak-budak dudok gebang tang titi = the boys were chatting on the bridge.

W. D. gives "*gebang* I *chakap gebang*: (Pen) boastful talk, "buck"; = *bərbual*". This is not the meaning in Kedah.

HAMILTON² gives *gebang* (*běrgembang*) as equivalent to Singapore *bərbual* and translates 'to yarn' (misprinted 'yearn').

GENUAK :—Packed closely, "packed like sardines."

Orang itu bėrgėnuak dalam pėrahu = they were packed together in the boat like sardines.

Not given by W. D.

GERAK (Baling), GERAT (Sok) :—A harrow = *sisir*. Only used in the inland mukims where the Patani-Kelantan dialect prevails. It is generally a wooden harrow. The two spellings which I record seem to represent an actual variation in pronunciation as between the localities cited but C. C. BROWN says "The Western pronunciation of final -ak is reserved in Kelantan for words ending in -ab, -ad, -ap, and -at" (Kelantan Malay p. 8) so perhaps *gėrat* is the more correct spelling.

GERIAK :—To clear the throat forcibly before spitting. Probably a variant of *gėrėhak*.

GEREK :—A bicycle. Widely used in Kedah by all classes. *Naik gerek* to ride a bicycle. I have not been able to trace the origin. W. D. gives "*gerek* II (Java) spokeless wheel; solid wheel used on primitive native carts", but this hardly suggests a bicycle. cf. also *lerėk*, *gelek* which seems to have allied meanings.

GUE :—To stir, mix e.g. *gue nasi* = to stir rice. Almost certainly a phonetic corruption of '*gaul*'; *gaul* however is often spoken with an inflexion resembling '*gai*', which form more closely follows the normal Kedah pronunciation of written Malay. However '*gue*' has a parallel in *haus* which is colloquially rendered '*hueh*'.

HEBIAR :—A spiteful garrulousness, a fussy kind of talkativeness, inability to mind one's own business.

Mulut hang sangat hebiar = you are an interfering old chatterbox.

HIMBAU :—The action of throwing or swinging an object so heavy that it must be held with both hands.

W. D. gives “*imbau* II to throw a stick (with an underhand swing or jerk), e.g. to knock fruit of a tree”.

In Kedah *punggal* is used to denote this latter action.

IRING :—*Duduk mēngiring* to lie on one's side. A very common usage. The following example occurs on p. 81 of the Hikayat Raja Budiman.⁸

Awang Sibunchor pun bērnang-lah tērkadang tērlēntang, pēnat tērlēntang, mēniarap dan mēngiring = A. S. swam awhile on his back until he was tired when he changed to breast-stroke and side stroke.

W. D. gives the more classical meanings including “Indian-file” and “escorting ships in the wake of a royal vessel” but he also quotes from the Marong Mahawangsa “*sa'bēlah iringan kanan*” = “behind but slightly to the right”. This is suggestive of the use given above which, however, is probably not confined to the sphere of Kedah-Penang influence.

JĒRIT :—To sip, a sip.

Minum sa'jērit, jērit sadikit = take a sip

JINGKEK :—To hop on one leg. W. D. gives “*jengkek* (*mēnjengkek*) : to stand on tiptoe”. There is a well-known game called “*tauk jingkek*” which involves hopping.

KATU :—The winged forms of a termite which appear periodically in large numbers and swarm round the lamps.

KĒJAP :—To consolidate, to ‘firm’ by pressing.

Kējap tanah = to consolidate the soil.

Kējap pakaian = to press down clothes tightly when packing a box.

W. D. gives “*kējap* II (Ked) fixed in firmly or tightly : (of a bargain) settled. See *kējat*.”

KĒLEK : to return, go back—only used where the Patani-Kelantan dialect prevails. Besok ‘nak kēlek = I’m going back to-morrow.

Kēlek hidup = to revive (*balek hidup*).

Given by STURROCK⁶ the Kelantan equivalent for ‘balek’ (op. cit. p. 3) W. D. gives two quite different meanings (I a stiff bow II to fuss).

KELEPIR : (pronounced *kələpiar*) to shake the hands or legs or give a flick with them as a man does when endeavouring to shake off an insect or leech cf. *kətek*. W. D. gives only a quite different meaning (testicles).

KENCHIT :—The form of diarrhoea in which there is a slight involuntary passage of fluid.

KOI :—I *koi-koi* gently, carefully, gradually. Used in Kedah in a variety of contexts :

Jalan *koi-koi* = go carefully.

Dia *bəjalan koi lambat* = his speed became gradually slower and slower.

Dia *koi-koi ləga* = he is recovering by degrees.

W. D. gives “*koi* I take care, go quietly. A warning cry used by mahouts to elephants (from an Indo-Chinese tongue; cf. the passage in the Malay Annals about the Indo-Chinese ruler of Pahang: “Kata-nya pada sēgala orang bērgalah itu, ‘Koi-koi’, erti-nya pērlahan-lahan he said to the polers, *koi-koi*, meaning ‘take it easily’).”

Maharaja Dewa Sura’s instruction would have been at once understood in Kedah.

This is another Siamese loan-word. In Siamese “*khoi-khoi*” means gently, softly or gradually and corresponds closely with the Malay *pērlahan-lahan*. ‘*Khoi-khoi pai*’ is used in modern Siamese as the equivalent of ‘*jalan plan-plan*’. For examples of its Siamese use see McFARLAND⁷ pp. 93 and 141. This word also occurs in the Patani-Kelantan dialect and may often be heard on the lips of raftsmen in the inland districts, but it is pronounced something like “*ko’r-ko’r*”. STURROCK⁶ gives it as ‘*kohor*’ and BROWN⁴ as ‘*kēha*’. BROWN tells us that in Kelantan final “-ai” is pronounced as “-ar” rhyming with the English tar (op. cit. p. 8) so that “-oi” would presumably become “-or” and from BROWN’S own examples of its use (op. cit. p. 23) there is little doubt that ‘*kohor*’ or ‘*kēha*’ in Kelantan, and ‘*koi*’ in Kedah, are the same as the Siamese word which McFARLAND⁷ transliterates “*khoi*” (the pronunciation of which is roughly the same as in Kedah).

KOI :—II. *tanah koi* a lump of hard earth baked by the sun.

No such meaning is given by W. D. under the words *koi*, *kue*, *kui*, or *kul*. However, in the Hkt. Raja Budiman⁸, which contains much Kedah and Penang dialect, there occurs on p. 29 the passage: “.....jika tidak Mek buboh Awang Sabunchul nēschaya Mek ku-sumpah mēnjadi tanah koi” = “if you don’t give him the name Awang Sabunchul I swear that you shall

become a clod of hard earth". The word is written كوي. Here again there is a Kelantan form which BROWN⁴ spells "ka" giving the example.

"...tanah ka' mutisan dēbaroh" = the clods on the padi fields were bleached white (op. cit. p. 49).

KOKONG:—To ride 'pick-a-back', not sitting on the shoulders (Kedah 'tanggong', Sel. *sompoh*) but with the legs clasped round the back or hips. As in some games e.g. *main botol*. A variant of *ko'kok* (which is given this meaning by W. D.).

KURAI:—Used metaphorically for "funk" or "showing the white feather"—slang, but very common, especially on the lips of spectators at a match. The metaphor has its origin in contests of fighting fish, always a favourite pastime in Kedah and Siam. When the fish are frightened their stripes show up (*kurai* = stripe).

KUT:—I—probably, likely enough, no doubt, perhaps, may be. Very commonly used in Kedah idiom to express varying degrees of probability or expectancy.

Nanti kut -kut dia mai = I expect he'll turn up shortly.

Kut kalau hujan mai sat lagi = it'll probably start raining in a minute.

Dia makan kut = perhaps he's feeding.

Masa hujan kut mana pun di-angkat tangkul ada juga ikan = when there's rain you're likely to get a catch wherever you lift your net.

Its force is similar to that of 'gērangan' in literature, but is wider in scope. Placed in a position of emphasis it denotes probability; at the end of a sentence it denotes possibility.

W. D. gives "kut" II (Pen) perhaps, possibly". HAMILTON also gives some examples in his "Penang Malay"²

II. = *ikut*. vide W. D.

LEGA:—I.—free, unconstrained e.g. the feeling of relief (*rasa lega*) when some of the occupants get out of a closely packed car giving the others room to stretch. This meaning is given by W. D.

II.—recovery, return to health—applied to recovery from any ailment be it fever or boils. Corresponds to "sēmbōh" in conjunction with which it is sometimes used (*sēmbōh lega*).

LENA:—W. D. gives "lena sound asleep; (Kedah) fast asleep = Joh. *lěnyak*, *lěnyap*, *lělap*."

In the language of an illiterate Kedah peasant who has not been outside his own state *lena* is used verbally and means "to sleep". *Tidur* is also used but means 'to lie down', 'to rest lying down', or simply 'to repose.' *Baring* is used only by the educated, or those among the uneducated who are accustomed to contact with Malays from other parts of the Peninsula. Hence it is more commonly heard in Penang than in Kedah. The different meaning given to the word *tidur* and the use of *lena* as the normal expression for 'to sleep' will at once strike anyone coming to Kedah from say, Johore. The plain statement 'I was asleep' is in Kedah rendered "*Sahaya dudok lena*", a man wishing to convey that he slept more soundly than usual will say '*sahaya lena jërap*'. However, with the spread of vernacular education and the opening up of the country the primitive Kedah meanings of *tidur* and *lena* tend to become obscured. In the printed edition of the Hikayat Raja Budiman (concerning the authorship of which see note under "Literature Cited." *infra*) we can see how the values of the words slowly change under the play of cosmopolitan influences. On page 30 there is the following passage: "Maka Lela Muda pun bërbaring-lah kuda hijau di-sabèlah kiri dan Sèlamat di-sabèlah kanan; ada pun Sèlamat itu bëlum sampai kèpala-nya ka-bantal sudah mëndëngkor dahulu, dan Lela Muda itu tidur tiada mahu lena" which evidently means "Lela Muda lay down with the green horse on his left and Selamat on his right; Selamat was snoring before his head reached the pillow, and Lela Muda reposed but felt no desire for sleep". Here the introduction of *baring* for 'to lie down' relegates *tidur* to the position of 'to rest' while *lena* still retains the meaning "to sleep". Elsewhere in the same work *lena* is used sometimes as a verb meaning "to sleep" and sometimes as an adverb meaning "soundly" (Joh. *lënyap*), and sometimes both uses may be found within one and the same sentence *e.g.* "Wahai, abang Sèlamat tidur sa'malam sangat-lah lena, sahaya tiada mahu lena sërba salah, di-bawa mëniarap tiada boleh, dan di-bawa mëlëntang pun dëmikian juga"; this might be freely translated "You managed to sleep soundly enough last night, but I couldn't get to sleep at any cost though I tried lying on my stomach and lying on my back".

LIGAN:—To chase, run after (= *këjar*, *hambat*).

This is the word now almost invariably used colloquially though I have been told that is a relatively 'modern' word. If so it has certainly become firmly established.

Ligan orang itu suroh dia balek = go after him and tell him to come back.

Ligan pënyamun = to chase a thief.

It is even used for hunting wild beasts *e.g.* *ligan babi* (to chase the wild pig).

W. D. gives "*ligan* I (coll) to pack off ; to chuck out. Esp. of a man divorcing his wife".

LIT-LIT :—I.—*panas lit-lit* glaring heat.

Sahaya jalan di-padang dalam panas lit-lit = I was walking in the field in the full heat.

cf. *mērlit* of which this perhaps an abbreviated form.

II. *pēlita lit-lit* a lamp sputtering ready to go out.

LOCHEH :—To squeeze the 'glans penis' out of the prepuce as is done before the prepuce is cut at circumcision.

LOK-LAK :—unseemly or ill-bred behaviour. *Pērangai lok-lak* is a euphemistic expression similar in meaning to '*korang ajar*' slang.

LULUR :—To suck. Especially of sucking a durian pip (*mēlulur biji durian*) and of sucking the thumb as young children do (*mēlulur ibu jari*). Not, however, generally used of the rather different action of sucking a sweet (= *kulum*).

W. D. gives "to swallow whole" which is not the meaning in Kedah.

MAKAR :—To make people laugh esp. by clowning or amusing behaviour. The connexion with the classical usage (wile, strata-gem) can be discerned, but in Kedah the word is colloquially applied to anyone who keeps his companions amused.

MANDOK :—bashfulness, shyness. The word is applied to diffidence in strange company or in the presence of social superiors, but does not cover the feeling of shame associated with a fault or misdemeanour (*malu*). cf. W. D. *bandok*.

MATA :—kind, type.

In addition to its many other meanings *mata* is used by the Kedah villager in contexts where "*macham*" or "*jēnis*" would serve in more formal language :

Lauk tiga mata = three kinds of '*lauk*'.

Bēbērapa mata padi = several types of rice.

MĒNĒRU :—issuing forth in a stream, streaming along e.g. itek itu bējalan mēnēru kēluar daripada lau = the ducks came streaming out of their house. Also of school boys rushing out from school cf. *mēnirai*. Not given by W. D.

MĒRITEH :—hopping about. Particularly of tops which execute little jumps when spinning very rapidly (gasing dia mēriteh sangat). Not given by W. D.

MĒRLIT :—shimmering, glinting.

Used, for example, to describe the effect caused by a shoal of fish close to the surface of the water or light glinting suddenly from an animals eyes at night. Not given in W. D.

NGOK-NGEK :—Onom, squeaking and rattling *e.g.* of an old car.

NAHI-NAHI :—to have the intention to do something which one is prevented from accomplishing.

Nahi-nahi sahaya 'nak përgi pëkan tětapi ada sa-orang kawan panggil ka'rumah dia = I hoped to go into town but I was called to a friend's house.

Nahi in Arabic means " forbidden ".

PANGGONG :—to raise the body from a bending or reclining position, sit up a little, look up.

PĒLĒMAH :—to lie, to make false insinuation, distort the truth. A very common colloquial word. In everyday Kedah usage ' he is lying ' is usually rendered either " dia pĕlĕmah " or " dia chakap karut ".

REPET :—I. to babble, talk incoherently (*mĕrepet*). *vide* W. D. under *repek* which is the Perak form.

II. Dreaming lightly and inconsequentially as a man does in the semiconscious state before waking in the morning. Not used of the dreams of deep sleep (*mimpi*).

RUBOL :—to mend a fishing net (*mĕrubol pukat, mĕrubol jala*). The instrument used is a specially fashioned bamboo "needle" called *chuban*.

Evidently a Kedah variant of *bubul* which is given by W. D.

SALONG :—a large black jungle millipede often collected for used as a bait. The name is used by Patani Malays in the inland districts.

SEGOK :—unsuitable, inconvenient.

Kain itu segok pada mĕmbawa kreta = a sarong is awkward when driving a car.

W. D. gives "*segok* (Pen) jarring, inharmonious (= Sp. *janggal*) HAMILTON'S definition² is 'awkward, out of place, not in keeping with the surroundings' ". This is the Kedah usage.

SĒMAWA :—to offer (cigarettes, food or anything else)."

W. D. gives "*sĕmbawa* (Pen) inviting for form's sake ; an invitation that is not meant to be accepted".

This specialised meaning certainly does not attach to the word in Kedah. *Sĕmawa dia rokok* means simply "offer him the cigarettes".

HAMILTON² gives *sĕmbawa* as meaning "to invite in".

SĒMILU:—a sharp flake or sliver of bamboo: a Kedah variant of *sĕmbilu*, which form is given by W. D. A sliver of this kind is used as a knife for cutting the umbilical cord at birth.

SĒNĒRIH:—to brush past (=Joh. *sengget*).

Kreta sahaya bĕrsĕnĕrih dĕngan lancha kĕna kĕmek sayap = my car touched a rickshaw and the mudguards were dented.

Kĕrbau dia sĕnĕrih pokok gĕtah mĕrosak kulit = his buffalo rubbed up against a rubber tree and spoilt the bark.

SENGGIANG:—to sit leaning to one side resting on an elbow (*dudok bĕrsenggiang*). The posture of a man who is in contemplative mood, or who has a boil which prevents him sitting upright. Not given by W. D.

SENTAP:—I. to shrink—of clothes after washing e.g. baju sahaya bĕrsĕntap = my jacket has shrunk.

Kĕchut, elsewhere the more usual term, is used in Kedah but generally refers to the shrinkage of skin such as occurs after bathing, or round a healing wound.

II. To spring back, recoil, jerk. So defined by W. D. who gives it as a Kedah form of *sĕntak*.

SĒRGUM:—hair coming forward down over the forehead (*rambut sĕrgum*). Used to describe the hair after bathing. Not given by W. D.

SĒNGKĒLA:—an itch in the groin and lower part of the abdomen. A well-known complaint among the Malays. Probably derived from the meaning given by W. D. (hobbles, fetters) as the rash tends to encircle the abdomen.

SINTING:—to roll up, especially of rolling up sleeves (*sinting tangan baju*) or trouser legs. (= *singsing*).

W. D. gives only "*sĕluar sinting* short trousers Ind. Meng".

SUT:—The very end; used in certain idioms e.g.

Sampai sut jalan = to the very end of the road or track, as far as one can go.

Sampai sut = miles and miles away, 'the edge of beyond',

This is a Siamese word, W. D. gives '*sut* II (Ked.) rear, kind-most, fag-end'. STURROCK⁶ gives a Kelantan expression "*sut dah*" = it is finished" (op. cit. p. 7). I have not heard this use.

TAMBOK :—The kind of mud found in mangrove swamps or on river-banks. Not given by W. D. with this meaning.

TANGLAK.—to do or carry out openly something which it would be tactful to conceal. Thus: *bawa tanglak* means to be carrying exposed to view any object (such as a bottle of whisky) which it would be seemly to wrap up.

Jangan-lah tanglak sangat makan = don't make a display of the fact that you're eating (during the fasting month).

Not given by W. D.

TĒBIANG :—to persist in, keep on doing (usually of some misdeed) *e.g.*

Aku dok kata jangan buat, hang dok tĕbiang buat juga = I am always telling you not to do it but you do it all the same.

The Kelantan form is *tĕbing* and BROWN⁴ gives, among other examples of its use:

Orang royat 'dah tak 'leh kĕdia, dia tĕbing juga minta = "he has been told he can't get it but he goes on asking all the same" (op. cit. note on p. 41).

W. D. gives the spelling *tĕbeng* for the Kedah and Trengganu form and *tĕbing* for the Kelantan form. The meaning given is "to persist in a certain course of conduct; to be mulish, to overdo."

TĒLONDEH :—slipping down esp. *kain tĕlondeh* a sarong that has come loose and is beginning to slip down. Given by W. D. (*londek*).

TĒRA :—way, method, style.

Tĕra ini = like this.

Buat tĕra sahaya tunjok tadi = do it as I showed you before.

TĒLAJAK :—too far, past the proper spot.

Sudah tĕlajak = we have overshot the mark. W. D. gives *tĕlajak* (Ked.) exceedingly = *tĕrlampau*.

BROWN has a note on the use of this word in Kelantan (op. cit. p. 90).

TIAN :—*mandi tian* an antenatal rite in the seventh month of pregnancy. Substantially similar accounts of the ceremony have been given by Malays from Alor Star and Bagan Tiang (N. Perak). In outline it is as follows: The prospective mother bathes, rubs her body with various magically potent materials and then allows an egg to fall from between her breasts, treading on it

when it has broken on the ground. Afterwards she lies down with her knees raised. A coconut is placed at each foot and a third is rolled over her abdomen; then she kicks away the nuts placed at her feet. Subsequently the recumbent woman is rocked in a manner similar to that customary in other parts of the peninsula, and a garland is prepared by threading a string with turmeric, sweetflag and parched rice; this is passed round her abdomen. The rite ends with a feast at which prayers are said and *nasi kunyit* is served.

Strictly the term '*mandi tian*' refers only to the lustration but the whole rite is often referred to by this name.

W. D. gives "*tian* I Uterus. *Dalam tian* pregnant."

In Kedah the word *tian* is never heard except in connexion with this ceremony.

TEMUAK :—sated to capacity, sated to the point where one feels like vomiting (*běrasa tēmuak*).

UET :—To move about, wobble, waggle, *e.g.* of a leaf wobbling in the breeze, or of wagging the finger.

Jangan mēnguēt sangat = don't move about, don't wriggle.

Mēnguēt pungkor = to waggle the buttocks.

This word is everywhere known as a boating term (W. D. says "a sidelong push or movement *e.g.* with a paddle") but I do not think it has so wide a meaning in the southern states.

UTAU :—a sign or signal.

Usually of a signal given with the hand (such as placing the fingers to the lips to enjoin silence) but also applied to signals given with the mouth (*e.g.* a whistle) or otherwise (*e.g.* a blast on a motor horn).

W.D. records *utau* with quite a different meaning (flat iron).

LITERATURE CITED.

1. W. D. = "A Malay English Dictionary" by R. J. WILKINSON Mytilene 1932.
 2. "Penang Malay" by A. W. HAMILTON Journal Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society No. 85, March 1922.
 3. "An Old Kedah Patani Trade Route" by A. W. HAMILTON, Journal Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society No. 86 November, 1922.
 4. "Kelantan Malay" by C. C. BROWN. Papers on Malay Subjects (Second Series) Singapore 1927.
- 1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

5. "A Kelantan Glossary" by W. E. PEPYS, Journal Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society No. 74, 1916.
6. "Some notes on the Kelantan Dialect, and some comparisons with the Dialects of Perak and Central Pahang" by A. J. STURROCK, Journal Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society No. 62. December 1912.
7. "An English-Siamese Pronouncing Handbook" by G. B. McFARLAND. Bangkok 1929.
8. "Hikayat Raja Budiman" J.S.A.S.
W. E. MAXWELL, who was responsible for taking down this version, says that Dollah, the narrator, lived at Balek Pulau in Penang, and had learnt the story from an old blind man of Situl.
9. "The Achehnese" by SNOUCK HUGRONJE transl. A.W.S. O'SULLIVAN. Leyden 1906.

MALAYAN SPONGES.

By STANLEY G. WILLIMOTT, B.Sc., Ph.D. (Liv.), A.I.C., Ph.D.
(Cantab.)

The existence of sponges has long been known to Malayan fishermen but during the last five years a recrudescence of interest appears to have taken place. Until that time the position in regard to Malayan sponges was fairly summarised by Burkill¹ to the effect that "they are plentiful about the coasts of Malaya but the quality is not what is wanted, and the nearest industries in them are those of the Philippine Islands and Australia." With regard to the latter statement it is perhaps noteworthy that in the Gulf of Siam there is a still nearer sponge industry, although of much smaller dimensions than those cited by Burkill, but nevertheless capable of considerable development.

Early Work.

There is no reference to Malayan sponges in Vosmaer's², Bibliography and the only record of any investigation of local sponges (and this on sponges not of economic interest) seems to be that of Dr. R. Hanitsch³, a former Curator of Raffles Museum, Singapore. Some 90 specimens of siliceous and other sponges, collected between the years 1895-1905 by Fernandes de Fontaine, mostly from Blakan Mati with a few from deep sea localities, were studied. Hanitsch made microscopic measurements, with sketches, of certain structures including the following:—oxea, spheraster (large and small), oxyaster, calthrops, styli, tylostyli, strongyla; and related his findings to the classical work of Lendenfeld, Lindgren, Sollas, Dendy and Ridley. Unfortunately Hanitsch did not publish his work but he prepared a descriptive catalogue of his collection of sponges in Raffles Museum, Singapore. A few of these specimens, including the funnel-shaped *Echinonema* (Lendenfeld), were exhibited in the gallery; some were preserved in spirit and others dry. It is evident that Hanitsch's studies covered a considerable field and should be useful to anyone working in this group. I am indebted to Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie of Raffles Museum for drawing my attention to this work.

Uses of Local Sponges.

Interest in local sponges revived with a small but definite demand by commercial houses in Singapore. They were required for such purposes as :—the cleaning down of type-plates in printing works, the cleaning of paint work on railway carriages and rolling stock, similarly for motor-cars, as filters for water (Eiselt⁴) in cold storage plants, for the slates of school children (to a diminishing extent), and for domestic cleaning purposes and even as toilet sponges. For all such technical purposes the sponges required to be grit-free, of a size not much less than 7" x 8", and of reasonably compact shape. For such industrial needs it was not necessary

to bleach the sponges, which treatment nearly always had some weakening effect on the sponge tissue.

Interest having developed to this point, the Fisheries Department decided to test the London market and in July, 1935, a parcel of 30 ordinary unbleached Malay sponges was sent to a London firm, whose report was not encouraging. The texture was found to be coarse and weak with a great deal of sarcode present.

They considered that the lowest qualities of Bahamas and Cuban sponges to be as good, if not better, and these could be sold in London at no more than 6d. per pound. In these circumstances it was obvious that it would not be possible to market this quality of Singapore sponge in London as the cost of transport and other incidental charges would be more than the goods were worth. In view of this it was clear that, if the industry was ever likely to develop even as a minor one, it was essential to do two things. First, to endeavour to improve the quality of the sponge crop by adopting up-to-date methods of cleaning ; and secondly, to increase the supply of good sponges by experiments in artificial culture. These considerations will be taken up later.

An Undeveloped Industry.

It should be stated at once that there is no established industry in sponge-fishing in Malaya in the sense that it is understood in the older fishing grounds of the Mediterranean and the West Indies.⁶ Consequently, there is no system for the licensing of boats and for the issuing of fishing permits by Government. Nor are there any restrictions as to fishing seasons, methods of fishing, or taxation in any way of the sponge crop. It will be seen therefore that the production of sponges in Malaya is at present in a small and undeveloped state but the possibilities of production by cultivation and aquiculture are not unpromising and might be developed should sufficient demand arise.

Previous to the period indicated local sponges were occasionally fished and cleaned by the Malays for toilet use by the Asiatic population generally. It is noteworthy that cleaned and bleached Malay sponges, cut into small pieces and packed in cellophane, can be seen exposed for sale in a number of Chinese shops in Singapore, and retail sales appear to be increasing. Local sponges are obtained from the coral reefs and islands adjacent to Singapore, such as Sudong, Rhio and Ubin, and from the more distant Dutch Islands. They are also known to occur at scattered points on the East and West coasts of the Malay Peninsula, for example at Pulau Tioman and Pekan, though never in any great quantity. The winning of sponges from the sea and their preliminary cleaning is almost entirely in the hands of Malays from the islands who have always shown skill as fishermen and seamen. But it is perhaps significant that there is no specific word in Malay for

sponge, the term " gabus " being used also for a cork or stopper. Apart from the question of marketing, the industry would probably become a peculiarly Malay calling should local sponge-fishing develop.

On the other hand the collection, sorting, trimming and marketing in Singapore—still the entrepôt of so many tropical products—is exclusively in the hands of the Chinese. Up to the end of 1934 prices were very low, a large sponge being sold for only six cents. Recently there has been some improvement and an idea of the prices ruling today for Malay sponges, cleaned, grit-free but unbleached, can be obtained from the following table:—

TABLE 1.
Size and Price of Malayan Sponges.

Size.	Dimension Across Inches.	Price Cents.*
Large	10 × 12	30
Medium	8 × 10	20
Medium Small	6 × 8	15
Small	4 × 6	10
Small Toilet	2 × 1	10

*Straits Dollar = 100 cents = 2/4d.

Species and Habitat.

Practically nothing is known about the species of Malayan commercial sponges and such authorities as Vosmaer and Moore are silent on the subject. In 1937 a number of sample sponges were sent from Singapore to the British Museum and these were determined by Mr. M. Burton⁷ as being varieties of *Spongia officinalis* L. This species is divided into a large number of varieties and, owing to the inadequate literature on the subject, it is difficult to give names to any but well marked and well known varieties of the Mediterranean and West Indies fisheries. There would appear to be at least three varieties of Malayan sponges but, in Mr. Burton's view, it is quite impossible to give them names at present; in fact, names for these varieties may not have been established. The problem is worthy of further investigation.

Malayan sponges are usually found on coral flats in water which is about one foot deep at low tide. The Malays believe that a depth of one to six feet is the most favourable for the growth of sponges. At Pulau Sudong the Malays go so far as to state that at depths greater than two fathoms sponges cannot be located.

This opinion appears to be based on the experience gained by casual observation of the reef by naked diving, but it must be remembered that probably no greater depths than four or five fathoms have been examined. Frequently the reefs and coasts in these waters shelve down steeply to great depths and the dredge or beam trawl would seem to be the methods of choice for comprehensive examination of specimens beyond the reach of other methods of fishing.

It must be confessed, however, that the results of trawling by the Fisheries Department, at several points in these waters, have been very disappointing and no sponge beds of importance have so far been found. This experience of the Malayan Fisheries Department seems to be confirmed by that of Japanese spongers and later, in 1935, by sponge fishermen from the Dodecanese, who obtained only meagre results after considerable exploratory work, which was eventually abandoned as uneconomic.

The day temperature of the sea in the vicinity of the sponge reefs has been recorded and found to vary little outside the range 28° to 30° C. during the year.

Collection and Treatment.

The method of collecting the sponges by hand is the simplest possible and recalls the ancient method of wading into the sea, which was probably the first means of sponge-fishing employed on the Mediterranean.⁸ In that area the sponge has been practically exterminated in shallow waters. Hence this method, with the possible exception of the Gherbis and Kerkennah Islands and certain points along the coast of Tunis in the vicinity of Sfax, has practically disappeared.

In Malaya the method of collection being by hand, the Malay fisherman is able to take a catch of sponge from the reef only at favourable low tides, which may occur two to four times a month. The system of wading in to the sea up to the neck is not practised in the Malay Archipelago. The opacity of the water, the existence of strong currents, the confused and uneven bottom, and the possible presence of sharks render this method impracticable.

Even with the beds uncovered as at low tide it requires not a little experience to be able to recognise a true sponge in amongst the varied flora of the coral reef. In its natural habitat the sponge appears black, is of the consistency of tough beef liver, and exudes a characteristic but not unpleasant odour.

The fine, gelatinous substance with which the sponge is impregnated constitutes the flesh or sarcode and must be removed, leaving behind the skeleton of the animal which is the sponge of commerce. The individual results of sponge collection on the reef by Malay fishermen highly skilled at picking out true sponges, and by persons inexperienced at the work, are striking. The Malays collected anything from 12 to 20 sponges to the inexperi-

enced person's one or two. It is noteworthy that specimens of 'wild' sponges are fairly common as in other sponge-fishing grounds. Such sponges, which are neither flexible nor absorbent and tear easily, are always discarded as useless.

After the catch has been assembled, the sponges are threaded on to a galvanised iron wire and then placed in the sea for a period of about four days. The sponges are then beaten with stout sticks and afterwards thoroughly washed in sea water. After this they are sun-dried on the beach and are ready for sale as crude untreated sponges. The milky liquid from the sponge is believed to be the cause of the intense irritation to hands and legs frequently experienced by those engaged in the cleaning operations. The irritation lasts for one or two days and sometimes a type of rash is seen which, however, soon disappears.

Quality and Type.

The general texture of Malayan sponges, so obtained, is coarse; they are roughly spherical in shape though many are ragged and dark in colour since they are unbleached. Further cleaning is carried out in the crudest way. The sponges are immersed in dilute commercial hydrochloric acid to remove coral and shell, and the acid washed out by soaking in fresh water and drying in the sun. More than one thousand such specimens, examined by the writer, showed some improvement in colour and texture but the presence, in more or less degree, of sarcode (or 'dead meat', as it is known to the trade) was observed in most of the specimens. It was also evident that much siliceous matter still persisted.

At least one third of the specimens seen exhibit red staining (red roots) at the point of attachment to the reef. From an economic point of view it is well known that this is always an obstacle to ready sale in the market but it is a disability not easily overcome without increasing costs and damage to the sponge. By suitable treatment with oxalic acid solution or salts of lemon the red staining, due to iron salts, can be satisfactorily removed but, as with all other forms of chemical treatment, the sponge fibres are more or less injured in the treatment. Bleaching is usually carried out by some form of sulphur dioxide. It is perhaps noteworthy that the Malays hold the belief that red sponges usually grow over red coral and white sponges over white. From our own observations on the reefs there appears to be little justification for this idea which would seem to be a local prejudice or superstition. Red stained sponges are very common in Mediterranean fisheries where there is a persistent belief amongst the divers that the condition is due to disease. In this case the staining is again due to the presence of iron in the sponge fibres and can be removed chemically. This is not surprising in view of the well known fact that many of the sponge beds in the Mediterranean are known to flourish on iron-containing rocks and formations,

and during the winter rains are further exposed to water containing a considerable concentration of iron salts. Some investigation of the possible relationship between red-staining and disease has been made but the experimental data cannot be given here. However, it was found that apart from the fact that red-stained sponge tissue tears more readily than that of unstained, there seems to be little evidence in support of the contention.⁹

Methods of Cleaning and Bleaching.

Some laboratory tests have been carried out on the cleaning and bleaching of Malay sponges. A number of living specimens were collected at first hand and treated as already described for the removal of sarcode or ground substance. With thorough maceration in sea water it was found that the whole of the sarcode was easily removable in this first stage of cleaning, in conformity with general experience. Thus when properly cleaned the resulting sponges were found to be lighter in colour and cleaner in appearance than the average specimen of the Malay fishermen. All foreign matter accessible to manipulation, such as sand, coral and shell, was removed. Two well known methods of chemical cleaning were tried out. (Cf. Spons.⁵).

In the first method, the sponges are soaked for about 10 minutes in 5 per cent hydrochloric acid and then thoroughly washed in running water. They are then dipped in 3 per cent potassium permanganate solution until they acquire a dark brown colour (about 1 minute). After this the sponges are well washed in fresh water and placed in a solution of 5 per cent oxalic acid until almost decolorised. They are again thoroughly washed in clean water and placed in 10 per cent solution of ordinary washing soda until they assume a bright yellow colour or cream colour. A last washing to remove traces of chemical, followed by careful drying, preferably in the sun, completes the process.

In the second (Alexandria) method the sponges are soaked in 5 per cent hydrochloric acid for about 4 hours to remove all solid foreign matter possible, after which they are well washed until free from acid. The sponges are next placed in a solution of 0.5 per cent potassium permanganate for four minutes and again washed in running water. They are next treated with a solution containing 25 grams sodium thiosulphate (hypo), 50 grams conc. sulphuric acid, made up to 5 litres with water, and allowed to remain for a minute or two until the desired shade is obtained. The sponges are then thoroughly washed in running water and dipped for 3 minutes in 0.5 per cent solution of slaked lime, again well washed, and dried in the air.

The immediate result of chemical treatment along these lines was a noticeable improvement in colour and texture. In fact, in many cases, it was difficult to believe that as satisfactory results could be obtained with such apparently unpromising

material. The appearance of many specimens was improved by putting them through a process of judicious trimming. Of the two methods detailed above the latter gave the better results judged on the foregoing criteria. On the other hand, it was admittedly more costly and troublesome.

As already stated there are several species of Malayan sponge; one in particular by its shape, density and texture recalling the solid Turkey Cup of the Mediterranean although probably not identical. This gave a sponge of softer texture and more resilience on cleaning than the other varieties. Even with careful selection, cleaning, trimming, etc. the Malay specimens were still very much inferior to the average commercial sponges of the West Indies and Mediterranean. A persistent disadvantage of most Malay sponges seems to be their harshness of fibre and grittiness. This is perhaps explained by the size of the component fibres and the network of meshes, and the fact of the presence of sand or foreign particles embedded in the tissue. From these observations it is concluded that the Malayan sponges, while admittedly of inferior quality to those of other origin, can be greatly improved by the application of modern methods of collection and cleaning. This is an essential condition if the Malayan product is ever to be of interest and value to overseas as distinct from local markets.

Chemical Composition.

Since analysis of the composition of local sponges does not appear to have been made, determination of the proximate principles of specimens of cleaned Malayan, Honeycomb and Turkey Cup (Mediterranean), and Australian Reef sponges has been carried out and the data are summarised in Table II. for comparison. With the exception of the figure for mineral matter (as ash) it is seen from these data that there is little difference in composition between these different types of commercial sponge.

TABLE II.
Analyses of Cleaned Commercial Sponges.

Specimen	Malayan	MEDITERRANEAN		Australian Reef
		Honeycomb	Turkey Cup	
Species	<i>Spongia officinalis</i> L.	<i>Hippodamia</i>	<i>Euspongia officinalis</i>	
	%	%	%	%
Moisture	16.1	15.9	16.0	15.5
Ash	19.7	7.2	4.2	5.6
Protein (N. \times 6.25) ..	61.0	71.3	77.1	74.6
Fat	0.6	1.7	1.8	0.3
Fibre	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.
Undetermined	2.6	3.9	0.9	4.0

Experimental Sponge Culture.

As already indicated the second method available for improving the local sponge industry is by artificial sponge culture of selected types. Following the pioneer work of Oscar Schmidt, Buccich¹⁰ and Bidder,¹¹ H. F. Moore,¹² of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, working in the sponge grounds of the Florida Keys, showed that commercial sponges can be readily grown in their natural habitat from small sponge cuttings. In fact, the method has been developed to the point that it has long been recognised that the adoption of some form of sponge culture offers the only economic system for the prevention of a sponge famine in many of the older fishing grounds of the world.

Some practical experiments on sponge culture were therefore carried out at Pulau Sudong by the Fisheries Department. Live sponge, collected from the reef at low water, was cut into regular sizes and placed on wired cement triangles, 12 pieces to each triangle. The triangles were then placed on the natural sponge beds; four being located on the reef itself at distances of 12 feet apart, a fifth on the edge of the reef, and the last at Pulau Sudong village. In all cases the depth of water at low tide was about 1½ feet. A rough sketch map showed the actual positions (March, 1935).

When examined after an interval of eight months the cuttings were found to have consolidated themselves and to have grown from ½ to 1 inch since planting. Examined six months later they were still growing well, by which time the cuttings on the triangles had almost met when at the time of planting they were 1 to 1½ inches apart. One triangle could not be traced and there were a few blank spaces in others. The nails by which the sponge slips were attached had rusted but this did not matter since the sponges had gripped the triangles. Experiments at other points, such as Raffles Light, St. John's and the Redong Archipelago, where the water is clear and the slips could be placed below low tide level, are very desirable and have been considered. Even with our limited knowledge, however, it has been demonstrated that it is feasible to grow commercial sponges in accessible positions off the coasts of Malaya.

The Great Barrier Reef.

It may be useful to compare some of the findings of the Expedition, led by Dr. C. M. Yonge in 1934, to the Great Barrier Reef in regard to sponges.¹³ It will of course be realised that much more observation on the marine flora and fauna of Australia has been possible than at present is the case in Malaya; and the scale of potentiality is vastly greater. According to Professor T. C. Roughley of Brisbane,¹⁴ "Sponges are abundant and widely distributed throughout the Great Barrier Reef, with few exceptions

they are of no commercial value, and although much exploratory work remains to be done, none appears yet to have been found of a quality comparable with the renowned Turkey Cup sponge of commerce. Nevertheless, there are at least three varieties that give promise of commercial exploitation, and one of them is of such quality and texture that it appears to have distinct possibilities as a toilet article."

There are rumours that good quality toilet sponges are to be found in the Torres Strait and near Bowen. Mr. F. W. Moorhouse¹³ of the Expedition, who investigated the sponge resources of the Reef, described three distinct types :—The first is black in colour when alive and yellowish-brown when cleaned, found commonly on the reefs; the second, also black and coarser, occurring on the outer surf-beaten zone of the reefs; and the third, a brown specimen when alive and beautifully white when cleaned, strong and of smooth texture. The latter was a deep sea species obtained by the dredge at 12 fathoms and, unlike other varieties from the Reef, was elongated in shape and almost cylindrical. Moorhouse showed that these species readily adapted themselves to artificial cultivation from cuttings. The method employed was to suspend the small cuttings, threaded on a wire slung between two uprights driven into the sand, in such a way that they were never exposed to the air nor allowed to touch the sea bottom. The rapidity of growth may be judged from the fact that their lineal dimensions increased from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 times in the course of 18 months.

It is conceivable that further investigation may reveal the existence of rich beds over an extensive area which could be fished by any of the present-day methods, and in this event the production of such a new sponge ground would be great. With this consideration apart there are at present a number of striking points of similarity between the sponge situation in Malaya and in Australia, which may be summarised as follows :—

- (a) No organised sponge industry exists at present.
- (b) Several species, for the most part undetermined, are known to occur.
- (c) The species available are suitable for industrial needs but some are known to exist which may have possibilities as toilet sponges.
- (d) Although the potential resources have not been fully explored and the possible yield is unknown, the results up-to-date have been disappointing.
- (e) Artificial sponge culture of selected varieties is feasible.
- (f) Should a trade demand develop, it would provide a useful minor industry.

Conclusions.

Sponge fishing in Malaya is at present in a very undeveloped condition but has possibilities of becoming a minor industry of peculiar interest to the Malays. Such progress would appear to depend upon a number of factors, of which the chief are :—a detailed survey of all sponge-bearing reefs and beds in the Archipelago ; the introduction of modern methods of fishing, cleaning and marketing ; the development of the sponge beds by selective artificial sponge culture.

Acknowledgments.

My thanks are due to Mr. M. Jamieson, Government Analyst Straits Settlements, for his interest and permission to publish this investigation ; to Mr. W. Birtwistle, Director of Fisheries, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, for advice and many facilities in the course of this work ; and to Professor J. L. Rosedale, College of Medicine, Singapore, for helpful criticism.

REFERENCES.

1. I. H. Burkill. A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula. London, 1935. Vol II. p. 2068.
2. G. C. J. Vosmaer. Bibliography of Sponges. 1551-1913. Cambridge, 1928.
3. R. Hanitsch. Unpublished data.
4. Eiselt. Spons' Workshop Receipts. London, 1924. Vol. II. p. 247.
5. Spons. *ibid.* Vol. I. pp. 142, 316.
6. J. J. Cresswell. Sponges. London. 2nd Ed.
7. M. Burton. Private Communication.
8. H. F. Moore. The Commercial Sponges and Sponge Fisheries. Washington, U.S.A. 1910.
9. S. G. Willimott. Unpublished data.
10. G. Buccich. Alcune Spunge dell' Ariatico sconosciute e nuove. Bull. Soc. Adriat. Sc. Nat., Trieste. 1886. 18. 222.
11. S. P. Bidder. Note on Projects for the Improvement of Sponge Fisheries. J. Marine Biol. Assoc. 1896. (2). iv. 198.
12. H. F. Moore. Experiments on Artificial Sponge Culture. Washington, U.S.A. 1910.
13. C. M. Yonge. A Year on the Great Barrier Reef. London. 1930, p. 217.
14. T. C. Roughley. Wonders of the Great Barrier Reefs. Australia, 1936. p. 257.

SOME "SAKAI" PROBLEMS.

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

In the Journal of the F.M.S. Museums (Vol. XIX pt. i, p. 6) Mr. H. D. Noone speaks of the Eastern Sakai on the Benom massif in Pahang. He may not have been aware that he was referring to a doubtful and difficult problem which has yet to be solved.

To some extent I am the culprit. *Præcavi*. In my Malay History there was the following passage:

The "Sakai of Gunong Benom were assumed to be identical with those of the main range until the census of 1911 when they were found to possess a language or dialect peculiar to themselves. Little else is known about them, but they are Sakai in physical type and in their customs. The number enumerated was 1707."

On the strength of the above statement Mr. I. H. M. Evans proceeded to Gunong Benom and climbed the massif. He failed to find any Sakai (on the higher slopes at least) and has every ground for his complaint that I sent him on a wild-goose chase. The question does not resolve itself, however, into a mere personal grievance on Mr. Evan's part. The real issue is: "What has become of the 1707 persons who were enumerated as Gunong Benom Sakai? Have they vanished into thin air or did they never exist"?

To answer this question some explanation should be given of the way the Census was held in 1911. Aborigines are not easy to enumerate in the ordinary way. They object on superstitious grounds to giving their personal names; they do not know their ages; and they have no professions. In 1931 Mr. J. E. Kempe, D.O. Kuala Kangsar, held an aboriginal census in the Plus Valley. As a result he gave figures showing the number of adults and children of either sex: 516 men, 552 women, 548 boys and 421 girls. More he did not attempt; nor did I when I held the Census in 1911. But I had to meet a difficulty that Mr. Kempe escaped. I was holding a Census of all the tribes in the F.M.S. while he was limiting himself to a single valley where all the aborigines represented one tribe only. I wished to distinguish between tribe and tribe and not number all the aborigines indiscriminately. I believe my successors did not attempt this discrimination. To secure reliable results I gave each enumerator ten Malay words for which he was to obtain the tribal equivalents. From the dialect spoken I hoped to identify the tribe to which each group enumerated belonged. As a preliminary I had collected sixty or seventy vocabularies of about 220 words each from all over the Peninsula. By comparing these vocabularies I was able to pick out ten words most likely to show divergences in dialect. Thus the Northern Senoi (Temiar) use the word *lot* for blood whereas all the other

tribes use some word like *bihip* or *maham*. Even the negritoës of the Perak valley who speak a form of Temiar do not use the word *lot* and pronounce the letter R as if it was a *ghain*. In this way they could be differentiated from the Temiar; so I put "blood" (*darah*) into my list of ten words. So was it with the others.

The enumerators did their work with remarkable efficiency. They returned me only two doubtful papers, representing about a dozen persons out of nearly 20,000 enumerated. Those persons were on the Selangor mountains and I shall refer to them again. In all the other cases I had no difficulty in identifying the dialect spoken. But there was one dialect for which I was unprepared. It had not figured in the sixty or seventy lists collected by me. Hence Mr. Evans' wild-goose chase. The dialect was returned on papers representing 1707 aborigines, *viz.* 1250 from the Temerloh district, 234 from the Raub district and the rest from the Kuala Lipis district. The dialect was recorded independently by quite a number of Malay enumerators working under the supervision of three different European District Officers. It could hardly be a mistake. Moreover it was confirmed by reference to Skeat and Blagden's "Pagan Tribes". It was the dialect given by Dr. Blagden as "Eastern Sakai" but referred to by him somewhat hesitatingly owing to paucity of data. The one great physical feature common to the three districts of Raub, Temerloh and Kuala Lipis is the Gunong Benom massif so the dialect was styled by me "Benom Sakai" and ascribed to the aborigines on the massif. I did not guess that its higher slopes were uninhabited; Mr. Barnes who had ascended the mountain had left me with a different impression though he had not actually met any Sakai.

Who then were the "Sakai" who gave these "Eastern Sakai" words to Dr. Blagden's informants and to my enumerators? Mr. Evans mentions three communities: the Krau Jakun, the Maroi on the Lompat and the Soben or Choben. The Eastern or Benom Sakai were certainly not the Krau Jakun whose language was well-known to me through my earlier lists and who had been enumerated separately. About the Maroi and Soben or Choben I knew and know nothing. They may, of course, be the Eastern Sakai, especially if they speak the same language and are to be found in all three districts. In any case there are 1707 aborigines in these three districts about whom next to nothing is known beyond the fact that they have a common speech of the Indo-Chinese type. Clearly they are very shy or they would have been well-known long ago. They are one of the few mysteries left as regards the Sakai. There is one other to which I shall now refer.

Any one who studies Skeat and Blagden's book cannot fail to be impressed by certain pictures reproduced from photographs by Mr. MacGregor. Those photographs represent groups of

Selangor aborigines of most remarkable physique, very unlike the ordinary weedy appearance of the Jakun or Besisi. Who are they? Physically they seem even finer than Mr. Noone's handsome Temiar of Northern Perak. Mr. H. C. Robinson told me that he knew the men photographed and that they were *Orang Tanjong* of Selangor (not to be confused with the Perak *Sakai Tanjong* who are negroes). I never met them myself; but on one occasion I did meet an aboriginal of their physical type. He was small but of perfect shape; in a photograph his small size might not have been noticeable. He had been sentenced for robbery. A Chinese petty dealer owed him money and would not pay; the aboriginal took his money from the Chinese by force. The latter appealed from jungle law to British law and won his case. But the Negri Sembilan State Council thought it a case for merciful treatment. I saw the man who spoke an Indo-Chinese dialect like Besisi but was very fond of an unintelligible *pantang kapur* of his own and so gave me a possible explanation of another Sakai "mystery", the "Kenaboi Sakai". On two occasions gentlemen calling themselves Kenaboi Sakai gave Mr. D. F. A. Hervey vocabularies of their language which seems to have resembled no other tongue under the sun. The vocabularies are given in Skeat and Blagden's book as an unsolved mystery. It seems to me that these vocabularies may have been *pantang kapur* of too original a variety. I may mention one more case which arose while I was trying with the help of the D.O., Jelebu (in whose district Kenaboi is found) to elucidate the Kenaboi mystery. A Sakai was arrested and brought up before the D.O., Mr. (now Sir Andrew Caldecott), on the heinous charge of not having a licence for his dog. He could not plead, for no one understood his tongue though he was extremely proficient in the use of it. When discharged he would not stay a moment longer than he could avoid. What did he speak? I am inclined to think that the two doubtful papers in my Census were due to aborigines giving *pantang kapur* words instead of their true speech. Even aborigines are fond of showing off their knowledge, be it of foreign language or long and learned words.

To return to the Census for one moment. I may mention that no Temiar papers were returned at first from Kuala Lipis and that on my protesting I was told that there were no such tribesmen. On my objection that they had been recorded by Sir Hugh Clifford, Dr. Blagden and in my own lists I was told that the enumerators were afraid to go near them. New enumerators were chosen from men who had had dealings with the Temiar, and those enumerators counted about 300 Temiar. Incidentally the aggregate counted (Temiar) for the F.M.S. was 6618 as against 5914 given by Mr. Noone and Mr. Kempe for Perak and Pahang in 1931. Kelantan did not enter into the F.M.S. census for 1911. Mr. Noone says that his figure is under rather than over the true population which may also have been reduced slightly by the influenza epidemic. In any case it will be seen that my enumerators were reliable and that Mr. Evans has no grievance against them. I am alone responsible.

THE BERNAM SLAB-GRAVES.

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

In this Journal (Vol. XVI, i, 152) Mr. F. W. Douglas writes: "the recent find of slab-graves at Slim in the Bernam river-valley in which are beads similar to those found at the Indian settlement at Selensing would seem to indicate the possibility that the foreigners who came to Malaya in Ptolemy's time were Indians". Quite possibly Indians did come to Malaya in Ptolemy's time, but, on second thoughts, Mr. Douglas will probably have remembered that Indians, whether Hindus or Buddhists, practised cremation and did not build graves or put beads into them. Still, it is only natural that English writers should stress Indian influence in Malaya. They know more about India than they do about China or Indo-China and are learning more daily from the work of Indian scholars who take an honourable pride in their country's past. Dr. Quaritch Wales (in the Illustrated London News) has gone so far as to describe his archaeological work in Perak as "Greater Indian research". Let it be granted at once that India gave the Eastern Archipelago various alphabets, two great religions, and some interesting but rather undesirable systems of aristocratic rule. To say therefore that Malaya is part of "Greater India" is the truth in a sense, but not the whole truth, nor is it "nothing but the truth." Because Palestine gave Christianity and Phoenicia gave letters to Europe would Dr. Quaritch Wales speak of Herr Hitler's country as part of "Greater Judaea"? If he did so he would be laying up trouble for himself.

Slab-graves of the Bernam type and with much the same contents—beads, broken pottery and occasionally iron or bronze tools—have been found in Sumatra and Java, sometimes at a great distance from the sea and therefore unlikely to have been built by passing traders. The finest of all was found at Pagar Alam in the Pasumah country in association with a very interesting megalithic culture of which much more is now beginning to be known. In these Pasumah highlands behind the upper waters of the Palembang river are found carved in stone a number of images or reliefs depicting beardless men with large bulging eyes, thick lips and prominent jaws, who are riding elephants or driving buffaloes or beating kettledrums that resemble most closely the bronze "Moulié" drum in the Tongking Museum. These monuments were noted and sketched more than fifty years ago by the British naturalist Forbes in his Sumatran journeys and have latterly been the subject of a very valuable monograph ("Megalithic Monuments in South Sumatra") by Dr. A. N. J. van der Hoop, the present head of the Prehistory section of the Royal Batavian Society's museum at Batavia. The discovery of this civilisation is not really a new thing. Working on linguistic data only, the great Dutch scholars Kern and Brandes had pointed out years ago that when the Indian traders first came to Indonesia

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XVII, Part I,

they must have found organized government, the cultivation of sugarcane, bananas, coconuts and rice, irrigation, great skill in working bamboo and rattan, a knowledge of astronomy and navigation and the beginnings of luxuries such as the shadow-play and the *gamelan*-orchestra. Something of this is recorded in Winstedt's History (p.17) without any tribute to the great linguists who first pointed it out. They were not "prehistorians" of the school of Dr. Callenfels!

If the slab-graves are connected with this Sumatran megalithic culture will that fact help us to date them? Dr. Callenfels tried to answer this question in the Raffles Museum Bulletin of December, 1937. He drew attention to the fact that at Sukabumi in Java there had been found a small bronze drum of the type depicted on the monuments but intended probably (as other similar drums in Tongking) to be buried in some magnate's tomb. Those Tongking tombs dated back obviously to the Han dynasty (the first two centuries B.C.) as they contained Han dynasty artefacts and even Han dynasty coins. The Sukabumi drum and the Pasumah civilisation might perhaps, he thought, be given the same date. Had Dr. Callenfels lived a little longer he would have seen his views confirmed. Two bronze tools of a Han type and many pieces of Han pottery have latterly been found in Southern Sumatra, and one of these pieces, found on the border between Jambi and the Korinchi country, is actually dated (the fourth year of the Han Emperor Yuan-ti or B.C. 45) and is the oldest dated relic in Indonesia. On the Danau Gadang tea-estate by Korinchi lake was found a full-sized bronze drum of the type shown on the Pasumah reliefs; two more such drums have been found in the Lampong country in South Sumatra and five more in the island of Sumbawa. On the same Danau Gadang estate were found beads, broken pottery and bronze artefacts similar to those found in slab-graves. Altogether about 180 exhibits in the Batavia Museum have come from this one spot,—more evidence we can hardly desire. Need we try to identify the builders of these slab-graves by looking up Ptolemy's place-names in Sanskrit or Hindustani dictionaries?

If we assume or infer that the probable date of these slab-graves is a little before the Christian era is there anything more that we can learn about them? Mr. Douglas suggests that they were the graves of the traders who brought the beads. It may be so. On the grave of a Freetown Creole in the Sierra Leone Protectorate the epitaph ends up: "Poor fellow He did not come for this; he came to trade". So can it have been at Bernam. But it is unlikely that there should have been such a heavy mortality among dealers in beads only. Why should they have been specially singled out? If we look to the Senoi aborigines who live on the mountains behind Slim and Bernam we find that they bury bodies in the earth and leave blowpipes, bamboo cooking pots and even food beside the graves to help the soul on the journey to the

Senoi elysium. Do such ideas explain the pottery and choppers in the slab-tomb? They would hardly explain the beads unless the inmate of the grave was a woman. This brings us up against a very grim possibility. Let us make a sort of "cultural jump" from the Bernam river to the South-Western shores of the Caspian Sea. There Mr. de Morgan found very similar slab-graves containing iron weapons, pottery and trinkets,—even pearl necklaces,—besides skeletons*. Each grave contained more than one skeleton, those of men being put with the weapons beside them and those of women with the trinkets and earthenware pots. In one case a man had been buried with three women, all the bodies being arranged carefully with their belongings. This suggests the possibility that the slab-grave-diggers compelled a Chief's women-folk to accompany him to the next world. But, says Mr. de Morgan, they were merciful; they killed the women first and did not bury them alive, or the pottery would have been kicked to pieces in their struggles. Very true, but the pottery in the Bernam and other Indonesian slab-graves had all been smashed to pieces. In any case what useful purpose would broken pottery serve, even to a soul? Anthropologists have said that articles buried with a dead body were sometimes "killed", *i.e.* smashed, so that the souls of the articles should accompany the soul of the body. Quite so, but the tools and beads were not "killed" in this way, only the pottery. Incidentally Mr. de Morgan had worked among the "Sakai", but he did so before the discovery of our slab-graves. He also would have found them puzzling.

From the trouble taken over their burial we may assume perhaps that the inmates of these slab-graves were persons of some distinction such as priests or rulers. If we question the Senoi they will tell us that they bury ordinary people in the ground and priests or wizards in a sort of sarcophagus of thatch raised above the ground. The reason is significant: the ordinary person travels to Elysium when he dies but the magician goes on living in the body of a tiger and must not be buried in the ground out of the tiger's reach. So also no blowpipes or cooking-pots are left near a magician's sarcophagus; to what use could a tiger put them? Beads also are not in a tiger's line of business and stone slabs even less so. The slab-graves seem to have nothing to do with our local form of lycanthropy. But in the question of these slab-graves one enigma is apt to be followed by another.

If we ask a Peninsular Malay that he calls a were-tiger he will tell us *kēmëring* (or Upper Perak) *chënaku*; he will insist also that all Korinchi Malays were were-tigers and can assume tiger-shape whenever they like and for as long as they like. A Sumatran (Minangkabau) Malay calls a were-tiger *chindaku*. Now it is a curious fact that *Kēmëring* (or *Komeri*), *Korinchi* and *Chënaku* (or *Chindaku*) are all Sumatran districts and are the part of Sumatra

*L'humanité préhistorique, T. de Morgan; Paris.

linked most closely with the megalithic civilisation that produced these slab-graves. The Han bronze weapons which help to date this culture were found in the Komering or Kēmëring valley ; the finest slab-grave of all is in the Pasumah country to which the Kēmëring gives access ; the Han-dated vase was found on the borders of the Korinchi country ; and the bronze gong and many other relics found on the Danau Gadang tea-estate are all from the Korinchi country. About Chindaku I know less. If the Bernam graves really are associated with this old Sumatran civilisation Malays would have us believe that they must have been built by were-tigers. Why is this ?

Let us now consider the natural history of the were-tiger. The genus were-tiger is divided into several distinct species, the main division being that between men who can change into tiger-shape in their lifetime and men who become tigers after death. A *hala* or magician among the aboriginal Senoi becomes a tiger after death. To some extent at least his profession is hereditary and we are left to wonder whether his tiger-soul destiny is inherited or acquired. The Senoi have nothing to do with Sumatra but *balak* is the Batak word for man. Again there are in Negri Sembilan many "tiger-breed" families who are not magicians but who become tigers after death. From what part of Sumatra did their families come ? and does the tiger-soul like other Minangkabau property, descend in the female line only ? Do Temiar magicians become tigers after death ? I believe they do. They also are known as *ala* or *hala*, and in Upper Perak dead magicians are wrapped up in mats which are hung from trees, the last magician so treated being one Pawang Kwa "who is now a tiger with a white patch" as Capt. Berkeley wrote to me thirty years ago. Outside Upper Perak I have not heard of Malay magicians (*pawang*) becoming tigers after death, but Sir Frank Swettenham has spoken of one of the spirits used by a *pawang* being a "tiger-spirit" (*hantu belian*) and Mr. Skeat in his description of a seance talks of the magician's realistic imitation of a tiger's growls and leaps. In such a case it would be a tiger-spirit entering into a human body and so add a distinct species to the genus were-tiger. As for folk who can become were-tigers whenever they like, they are numerous in popular belief but no one ever pleads guilty to having such a power as it would not make for his popularity. Sumatrans from Korinchi, Kemering and Chindaku look upon the legend as a libel on their people, but, of course, their ancestors may have taken it as a compliment. When Munshi Abdullah said, *Inggëris ini bëtul jin*, he meant that the English were wonder-workers and expressed no opinion as to their ultimate destiny ; and when a Malay uses the word *mërimau* of a child he does not mean that it is a were-tiger but that it is a mischievous little devil.

There is another point to be noted and that is the orientation of slab-graves. Some of them—perhaps all of them—are directed

to some neighbouring Olympus, a hill or mountain to which the departing soul is believed to make its way. There are many such mountains, one notable example is *Gunong Hantu* between Jelebu and Selangor which is inhabited by "ghosts" only. Another example is the great Sumatran volcano, *Gunong Dempo*, by the head-waters of the Palembang River and therefore adjacent to the Kemering and Pasumah country. In an old local periodical (of which I have unfortunately forgotten the name) an account was given of a trip by a number of Bencoolen officials, one of whom was Presgrave of the well-known Singapore family, to ascend and explore this volcano which is often identified with the Mahameru of the Malay Annals. The volcano was climbed, so that the account was able to give the names of a number of spirits who were said by the local Malays to be living there. I can remember that these names included Demang Lebar Daun, Wan Po and Wan Melini who are all mentioned in the Annals. This gives support to the belief that the builders of these slab-graves believed the soul to travel to some local Olympus. Here again it would seem that this idea negatives any connection of the slab-graves with were-tigers. It is not so. The leading "ghost" on the Olympus at Gunong Angsi, the so-called Dato' Paroi, is notoriously a were-tiger of gigantic size and the "Fairly Princess" of Mount Ophir, another Olympus, is also a were-tiger or associated with tigers and with the Dato' Paroi*. The were-tiger seems to follow us even to the other world.

The Bernam slab-graves are not in themselves matters of the first importance but it is otherwise with the questions to which they are linked. While Dutch scholars have done much to throw light on the past history of Sumatra and Java we British have done far less for Malaya. For this, I fear, the "Greater India" theory has been largely responsible. We have been too ready to believe that two thousand years ago the Peninsula was a waste of jungle and swamp peopled only by wild tribes among whom a few Indians settled and did business. We have been trying to deduce Malaya's early cultural history from occasional Buddhist images, Pallava seals, beads presumed Indian, some rock inscriptions and references to Malaya in old Indian literature. It is not enough. No Hindu and no wild tribesmen can be responsible for the slab tombs, avenues of menhirs (*batu hidup*) at Malacca and carved megaliths at Pengkalam Kempas. There must have been an indigenous civilisation in the Peninsula as well as in Sumatra two thousand years ago; it is for us to emulate the Dutch and learn more about it.

In so far as it is based on written records the history of Malaysia goes back only to the Christian era, the earliest relic to bear a date being the Han vase of B.C. 45 found in the Korinchi country and now in the Batavia Museum. All events before the

*J.M.B.R.A.S. III. i. p. 74.

coming of that vase have to be called "prehistoric" and elucidated by inferences from unwritten evidence such as old graves, cairns and other monuments, human remains, primitive tools, climatology, geological details, the comparison of languages, myths and folklore, tribal customs and the traceable migrations of domestic animals and cultivated plants. As the study of this evidence lies outside the usual academic course in history the historian has to trust to specialists in each branch of enquiry. Singly each branch of this evidence can do little but combined with others it can do much so that it is most important that no one method of research should be looked upon as ranking higher than the others. It is therefore the more lamentable that Sir R. Winstedt should have thought fit to define prehistory as the "science of the cave, cromlech and kitchenmidden" just because Dr. Callenfels had invented a new technique in prehistoric archaeology. Sir Richard must have known that neither in the word "history" nor in the prefix "pre" is there anything suggestive of either cave, cromlech or kitchen-midden and that his definition is little more than an effort to boost a particular technique at the expense of all other forms of prehistoric research. He is not justified, for the new technique is sound enough to stand on its own merits and he need not have slighted the valuable discoveries of men like Darwin, Lyell and Wallace who have studied man's past by other methods of enquiry or ignored the great services rendered to local prehistory by Dutch scholars like Kern and Brandes. Let us leave it at that.

I once had occasion to visit a West African Chief who was interested in weaving. Knowing of this interest I took with me a copy of Jasper and Pirngadie's "Weefkunst" with its lovely illustrations. The Chief looked at these last and said to his District Commissioner, Mr. Paul Shuffrey, "These men can weave better than we and yet have something to learn from us so that we can teach them. We are all brother-weavers". In this work of research into Malaya's past let us all be brother-workers. Let us take heart also from the fact that the Han vase and the bronze kettledrums from which we have learnt so much were acquired by the simple method of purchase. The technique of research can be very simple on occasions.

The contents of our Bernam graves and the finds in Central Sumatra point to a trade with the Far East. What were the ships that carried on that trade? From the Periplus we learn that India was content with "boats hollowed out of a single log" at Cochin and with canoes (probably catamarans) for the Ceylon trade. Only in the Bay of Bengal were there large ships (*kolandia*) doing a transit-trade. Were they ships of India or junks of India-China? From old Chinese literature we know that the Annamites and Mon-Khmer were good navigators before 1200 B.C. Sir R. Winstedt speaks of "Chinese accounts of Indian voyages carrying their wares to China in the Seventh Century B.C." Surely there

can be no authority for this statement, seeing that the Chinese only reached the sea-coast about 200 B.C. He thinks also that the old iron tools found in Malaya came from India. There is no trace of any such export trade from India. Even after the capture of Malacca by the Dutch, China exported iron pans to India and England exported iron in bulk. In his study of the aboriginal languages in Pahang Dr. Blagden pointed out that the mine-workers (who used these old tools) imported Indo-Chinese (Mon) words into local speech and were probably themselves Indo-Chinese. The "Greater India" idea can be pushed too far.

The origin of the so-called Chinese "junk" is something of a mystery. It is too distinctive to have been copied from Western models yet is hardly likely to have been invented by the Chinese themselves, late-comers to the sea, though they may have improved the types of vessel they found in use among the peoples whom they conquered. In any case they began trading at a very early date. They worked their junks on lines different to those in use on Arab and Roman ships. In the Indian Ocean navigation was a matter of pilotage; a *malim* or expert was engaged for the voyage and was responsible with his life for the safety of the ship. Naturally he was deferred to by every one. In the Far Eastern seas it was different. On Fa Hien's journeys (A.D. 400) from Ceylon to Java and China we are told that the merchants or charterers consulted together in an emergency and decided what to do. Chinese junks used also to travel with a smaller vessel in tow to pilot the way in shallow waters or strange harbours and rescue passengers in time of danger. Fa Hien's ship from Ceylon to Java had such a tender in tow so that it would seem that the crossing of the Bay of Bengal was done in junks and not in ships of the Arab type which the Indians afterwards copied. Indo-China seems to have led the way in navigation, witness Fa Hien's ship and the shipbuilder at Bukit Mertajam. There were other important divergences. The Roman galleys had oars as auxiliary power and seem to have been contemptuous of the Asiatic paddle. The Indian dugouts and canoes must have been worked originally with paddles, but at a later date the Indians took to the oar and one type at least of Malay oar is known as the *dayong Keling*. The Chinese use a long stern-sweep known as the *yu-lo*; it is very distinctive and effective so that it is probably ancient. The Malays seem to have used paddles in early times and certainly built types of boats for paddling, long and narrow so as to be suited for the swift tides, uncertain winds and shallow waters of the Malacca Straits and Sumatran estuaries. The coasting-trade was probably in their hands.

The master of a Malay coasting vessel was known as its *pawang*, etymologically *empu-awang* or shipmaster, a name similar to that of an Indo-Persian *nakhoda* (*nav-khuda*, ship-lord) or Chinese "*chinchew*" (*tsun-tsu*, shipmaster). But the *pawang* was an expert sailor who was deferred to, so that when the term was

extended to cover all experts and magicians its equivalent was taken to be *malim* and not *nakhoda*. A Kubu magician is still called a *malim*. It is worth mentioning perhaps that Sang Nila Utama's ship-captain when he came to found Singapore is styled *pawang* in the Malay Annals. Probably the Bernam settlement in its time was served by local coasting-vessels managed by *pawang*, bringing us back once more to the were-tiger idea.

A junk could only run before the wind. Leaving China about the beginning of November so as to take advantage of the N. E. monsoon she would reach Malaya during the *musim kuala tutup*, the season when (on the East Coast) the estuaries are "closed" by surf. She would find no harbour till she reached the mouth of the Johore river. There she would be well-sheltered, but the river had no rich hinterland behind it and could only have been an emporium for coasting traders. Further on our junk would reach Sumatra and enter first the Jambi or *Melayu* river leading by river-traffic to the rich Korinchi country; next she would reach the Palembang river which was the gate to the Pasumah country. From these facts we must infer that even in Han times there were trading-settlements or ports at the mouths of the Jambi and Palembang rivers; these early settlements were destined to grow into the *Melayu* and *Sri Vijaya* of a later date. The occupants of those ports were probably akin to the Sumatrans of the interior for whom they did business. So much for the Sumatran coast in B.C. 50. What was there on the coast of the Peninsula? Why was there a settlement at Bernam?

If we knew where the coast-line of the Peninsula ran two thousand years ago we should know why Changkat Mantri was important. The coast-line has changed greatly, the land gaining on the sea. Kedah Peak was then an island; Bukit Mertajam was the home of a ship-builder who put up an inscription glorifying Buddha in 400 A.D.; Bukit Jugra was an island; Gunong Gériang, Bukit Lada and Bukit Jambul in Kedah were islands. So much we know from Malay tradition. The rice-fields all along the coast are crossed by sandy stretches (*pêrmatang*) which were once beaches by the sea and where relics of the past are sometimes found, by which perhaps they may some day be dated. At what rate is the land gaining on the sea? A friend of mine, a careful observer, puts the rise in the soil of the coastal districts at from 4 to 6 inches in 25 years. How high are the slab-graves above sea-level? Let us now consider the Bernam River and its relation to the Perak River delta.

The Perak River is shown on old maps as having two mouths and as flowing into a wide bay. One mouth is marked "Baruas" (Bruas) and was in the Dindings territory. The second is given no separate name but lay further South; it may have fallen into the sea somewhere near Changkat Mantri. In that event the importance of the stretch of land where the slab-graves are found

(Sungkai, Slim and Changkat Mantri) can be easily seen; they would be much nearer the coast than they now are and would represent the Southern gate to the Perak valley. The Northern mouth or gate would be in the Dindings between Bukit-Segari and the modern Bruas. Let us now consider such data as we have. Malay tradition recognizes the past existence of the Northern mouth as having been behind the Dindings (*di-hulu Dinding*) and near Bruas. Mercator's map (1569 A.D.) marks the mouth as *Baruas*; Visscher's map (A.D. 1617) records the Northern mouth, but puts *Soongi Baroas* (the River Bruas) slightly to the North of it. At a still later date the mouth was at the modern village of Sitiawan. Even today in heavy floods the overflow from the Perak River comes out at Sitiawan and Capt. Berkeley tells me that it is sometimes possible for a boat to reach Sitiawan from the Bota swamp. He says it is also possible to get into the Dedap at flood-time and come out at Kota Setia. The whole area is very lowlying and often swampy. I was formerly District Officer of the Dindings. In my time it was possible for a dugout to travel from Sitiawan up the "Dindings River" and thence Northward of Bukit Segari to the sea. Between Bukit Segari and Bruas village there is a long sandy stretch, then Bruas river and low-lying land till an extremely large and deep stretch of sand is reached. This last I believe to have been the Northern bank of the Perak river. By degrees the silt washed down from the Sunting Baloh hills drove the rivermouth Southward till it closed the estuary as far as Bukit Segari and placed the exit from the Perak near the modern Lumut. Bruas then lost all its importance and became only a small village. At one time (according to the Malay Annals) Bruas was the approach to a large Buddhist metropolis, *Gangga Nigara* which was destroyed in the Chula raids of the eleventh century and of which no certain traces have been found. Subsequently Bruas became the site of a fifteenth and sixteenth-century Moslem State of which traces have been found in the shape of old tombstones (*batu Acheh*) and broken pottery. The mouth issuing at Sitiawan was known (Capt. Berkeley tells me) as the Sungai Gajah Mati till a number of Kelantan settlers changed the name to Sitiawan and obtained official authority for the new name from Mr. Noel Denison, then D.O. at Teluk Anson.

The story of the Southern estuary is much the same. The whole delta was low-lying on the left bank as well as the right. Capt. Berkeley tells me that there was a sort of canal from the Perak river opposite Kuala Dedap into the Jandarata. After two or three miles (upstream) on the Jandarata a dugout could go by a cutting into the Bernam at Hutan Melintang. Capt. Berkeley has used this route himself, and the cuttings were cleared by Mr. Wallich in 1891. Changkat Mantri is only a short distance above Sepang on the Erong up which one could travel by dugout to the Sungai Chawan and thence in wet weather to Sungkai Mati and thence behind Changkat Jong into the Bidor and Batang Padang rivers and on to Kuala Kinta and Durian Sabatang. So Capt.

Berkeley tells me, adding that (according to Malays) the Slim River used once to come out at Sepang. To any one who knows the district it will be evident that in old days communication was easy between Changkat Mantri, the Bernam area, Slim and Sungkai and even to the Batang Padang and Kinta districts. The importance of the sites of the slab-graves needs no further explanation. They stood at Perak's Southern Gate.

THE PENARIKAN AND BERNAM LAND-ROUTES¹

By H. D. NOONE, M.A. (Cantab.).

It is important to emphasise that from the Pahang into the Muar two ancient routes are in question. The northerly one, described by Daly² had its "*penarikan*" from the Jumpol to the Serting, and now-a-days the road passes between, and the two rivers flow only a few chains away on either side.

The southern one by way of Tasek Bera, to my mind, deserves special scrutiny. At the present time the stretch over which boats must be dragged, from the bend of the River Palong round to the lake is much longer than the Jumpol-Serting *penarikan*. Now-a-days, however, during heavy rains the waters of the lake spread widely over the adjacent swamp and have been known to reach within a few yards of the Palong itself. I believe that, formerly, even if the waters of the Pahang did not find their way out to sea by the Muar, at least that it would have been possible to take a boat from the Bera to the Muar by continuous swamps. I found during a journey last year on the Sembrong that the river at intervals became a maze of channels in a swamp and then became canalised again; but also that these swamps or *palongs* would open up on either side, the bank of dry land disappearing. The Muar's tributary, now called Sungei Palong, probably derives its name from the fact that it once was a *palong*, a swamp in fact continuous with the Tasek Bera. To this day, the dwellers by the Ulu Palong, chiefly an aboriginal tribe called the *Semilai* (who are bigger than the proto-Malay Jakun of Johor and have paler complexions and wavy hair) are experts at poling and dragging boats up that river, along stretches which elsewhere would be regarded as unnavigable, the boat being abandoned for human portorage. The tradition of the *penarikan*, therefore, still persists.

Everything points to the Muar and the Bera and Serting forming an ancient trade route from Pahang. To the north of the Pahang river the vast quantities of polished stone implements suggest that the Tembling and Ulu Kuantan also formed a trade route which probably—though here we are faced with a gap in archaeological exploration—continued north along the Lebir into the Kelantan river.

I cannot resist pointing out here the evidence to be called from the distribution of aboriginal dialects, because, since the work of Blagden, aboriginal sources have hardly been tapped for clues to the ancient history of the Peninsula. It was pointed out

¹These notes are by way of commentary upon *A Study of Ancient Times etc.* Journal Part III Vol. XIV pp. 28-32.

²See *Geography of the Malay Peninsula*, J. R. A. S. (S.B.), 1878, Vol. I, at pp. 59-60.

by Dr. C. O. Blagden in 1908 (Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, Vol. II) that our aboriginal numeral systems fall into two groups, of which the first (older Mon-Khmer) is characterised by *nanuk* (or *nei*), *nar*, *nek*, for "one, two, three," after which these tribes used Malay numbers: this system is found among the Northern Negritos (such as the Jahai) and the Senoi tribes of the Main Range. The second has variants of *mui*, *mbar*, *mpe*, for "one, two, three"; and, in some cases, has non-Malay numerals up to "ten": this higher numeral system diverges so little from the Mon numerals used still by various peoples in Indo-China, that Dr. Blagden regards it as the result of more recent contact in the peninsula itself of Mon adventurers of a higher culture than the tribes concerned.

Now this higher numeral system (*mui*, *mbar*, *mpe*) is found in Ulu Tembeling, Ulu Kuantan, Sungei Serting, Sungei Palong, Ulu Indau, and just north of Kuala Muar. Its distribution coincides, in fact, with our trade route across the peninsula.

In this connection it is worth noting that *lombong Siam* and *bendang Siam* do not necessarily refer to the present Thai inhabitants of Siam: indeed, the mine workings almost certainly date from pre-Thai times. I have found a *bendang Siam* in Johore (Sungei Kahang) a point to which the modern Siamese never as far as I know, penetrated. Our trade route to the north probably linked up with the Hindu-inspired Mon kingdom of Ligor which Siamese records state as having existed just north of Kedah before our Christian era.

I do not agree that the Bernam route is too arduous ever to have been a trade route, though it does involve human portage.

The Bernam River is far more suitable for ocean-going craft than the larger Perak River: to this day Straits Steamship boats of small tonnage can reach Ulu Bernam Oil Palm Estate, which is only a few miles from the slab-grave site of Changkat Mentri. There are beaten tracks through the Ulu Sungkai and Ulu Slim into the Ulu Jelai both of which would bring the Jelai gold by more direct routes than the southern ones into the navigable Bernam, and so to the west coast. The latter track is not without its traditions, and near the pass into Pahang there is a great rock, the Sapor Batu.

Moreover, the peculiar slab-built graves, which seem exclusive to the Bernam area, point to trade settlements which are possibly of Indian origin.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES IN THE MALAY PENINSULA AND THE STRAITS OF MALACCA.

By ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A. (Oxon.); F.R.G.S.

(continued from Vol. XIII, pt. 2, 1935, pp. 70-109; Vol. XIV,
pt. 3, 1936, pp. 10-71; Vol. XV, pt. 3, 1937, pp. 64-126).

S. 3. Pre-Funan; Addenda. (See 2000)

Mr. Wilkinson¹ would seem to suggest that Malaya was not rich in gold, even for the first century A.D., and he points out, as is well-known, that India got a great deal of gold from Europe. But was that not in return for goods sold to Europe, tortoise-shell, muslins, spices and the other luxuries concerning which Tacitus and others complained so bitterly? It surely seems clear that the first searches for gold began long before Tacitus and that the Malay Peninsula was part of a group of countries celebrated for gold, a fact which remains enshrined in ancient Indian names such as Suvarnabhumi, Suvarnadvipa and Suvarnakuta.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar emphasizes in Chapter IV of his recent book *Suvarnadvipa* (181) all that we had written about the Indian search for gold. It seems clear that the reputation for gold continued to the second century A.D. and is preserved in Ptolemy's names of Chryse, the Golden Chersonese and the Khrysoanas River while even as to Iabadiou the important point that is emphasized is that it contained gold and silver. As we shall show when this essay proceeds, the reputation for gold continued for centuries after Ptolemy's time. The evidence of Mr. Baker², in addition to the evidence which we collected, surely makes it clear that Malaya was a considerable gold producer for the times. The truth is that this is a point concerning the ancient story of this Peninsula which has so far been entirely overlooked by local writers but which we believe to be of value to archaeologists working in the Peninsula.

One can almost say that the only real evidence as to the Malay Peninsula during our Pre-Funan period is that of Ptolemy, who deserves much fairer treatment than he has received so far. Dr. Majumdar (181) in dealing with him has been content to follow previous writers, mainly McCrindle and Sylvain Lévi.

It will be remembered that we dealt with the three rivers which Ptolemy gives and we made the point that the great rivers of the Peninsula when Ptolemy was writing did not run as they do

¹See this Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 2, p. 170.

²See this Journal, vol. XV, Pt. 1, pp. 27-31.

to-day nor were the coast-lines as they are to-day. In a private letter Dato Douglas has informed us that "between Klang and Kuala Selangor the land has moved out over half a mile since 1922".

Dr. Linehan also writes that "in the locality of the S. Chenaham which forms the boundary on the coast between Perak and Province Wellesley survey records show that there has been accretion of land to the extent of over half a mile in fifty years. Sir Hugh Low in his "Journals" for the year 1878 noticed many traces of ancient beaches in the locality of Dinding in places now remote from the sea". This should be remembered not merely in connection with Ptolemy but also with what we have written in the last part of this essay about the land changes to which the Kedah Annals referred (*ibid.* p. 95).

In identifying the Khrysoanas with the Muar we disagreed with Berthelot who made it to be the Perak and we rejected the Bernam which would have fitted better Ptolemy's distances. We were swayed by Sir Frank Swettenham's account of the crossing by the Bernam but Dato Douglas has brought forward important matter in this regard. In the first place, he shows that in fact the Bernam crossing was and is easy, if properly used, and he shows that there is a well-known and much used track to the gold mines of Pahang. This restores the Bernam and there is other matter which helps us to identify it with the Khrysoanas. Dato Douglas reminds us of the stone graves at Slim which prove that this has always been one of the trade routes. In this connection the following passage from Winstedt's *History of Malaya* (92, p. 13) is worth noting:—"Slab graves have been found in Perak at Slim, at Sungkai and at Changkat Mantri on the Bernam river—one has been rebuilt in the garden at Taiping Museum. With them have been found not only cornelian beads, cross-hatched stone pounders, rough pottery, bronze utensils but iron socketted tools".

Dr. Linehan writes that "these graves have been found in Malaya only in the water-shed of the Bernam and of rivers nearby which it is reasonable to suppose were at one time tributaries of the Bernam". Those graves cannot be dated positively but they are more likely to belong to the beginning of our era than to be much older. However that may be, not only have we a route into the gold mines of Pahang but we have a route that goes through a gold area. In a private letter Dato Douglas refers to the Perak River having shifted "its course from Dindings to the present channel, and in doing so collected the Kinta, Batang Padang, Bidor and Sungkai Rivers which I think all were part of the Bernam watershed at one time". This is more than possible and beyond all doubt this must have been a well-known gold-bearing area. To this very day gold is being mined at Bidor, it having opened up again in that district due to the high price which gold has been

fetching these past years, while around there Chinese women after heavy rains have been washing the off-scour from rubber estates for gold which they obtain in very small quantities; and Dr. Linehan writes that other gold mines are being worked to-day in South Perak. The ancient Indians remarked very much upon the phenomenon of alluvial gold in their El Dorado and it seems to have made a great impression upon them. They spoke of places where the soil was gold and, though it is not possible to say where exactly these lands were, the west coast of the Peninsula has been a place where for centuries washing the soil and even the sand by the sea has produced gold, though in very small quantities judged by modern standards. The fact that you get little gold in the twentieth century A.D. is surely irrelevant as to the quantity that could have been obtained in the first.

Therefore, the Bernam so far fits the Khrysoanans in every way except one, *i.e.* that it joined with the other two rivers. These were the Palandas and the Attabas which, agreeing with Berthelot, we have identified with the Johore and the Pahang. As to the former, we call attention to Mr. G. B. Gardner's recent article (182) concerning the beads and rough gemstones which he found along the Johore River. These were examined by experts and Mr. Gardner is able to tell us that the rough gemstones were all early Indian while twenty per cent of the beads were classed as of the Roman Empire during the first two centuries of the Christian era. One was identified as a Hittite stone bead of 700 B.C., one a glass bead similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C. and there were two glass beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type.

Dr. Quaritch Wales writes to us that the Roman beads are quite common at Johore "but are not known from any later or other sites in Malaya and—provided Beck is right in identifying them as Roman beads, and I now think he is—afford valuable dating evidence". There is a fact that may be remembered in connection with the possibility of Phoenician beads being found in the Peninsula and it is this. Le May (183, pp. 35-6) writes that it is possible that the Phoenicians came to the Malay Peninsula though that "depends upon the identification of hoards of small flat silver or billon coins, blank on the one side and with a sunk incuse square on the other, which have been excavated not only in Siamese Malaya but also in Borneo and the Dutch Islands"; and he says that the earliest coins with an incuse square known to him are "the coins of Lydia in the sixth century B.C., which based its coinage on the Phoenician standard". Aymonier, he says, "in his enthusiasm, ascribes the arrival of the earliest immigrants to the sixth century B.C." ¹

Mr. Gardner was an enthusiastic amateur archaeologist who, if he had received the right direction and encouragement, might have

¹See *Le Cambodge*, vol. III, pp. 348-9.

done very useful work. As it is, we have him to thank for the evidence referred to and also for a mass of very interesting potsherds now in Raffles Museum some of which present unusual features. Many of them have been considered by experts to date from Han times and they too were found round Kota Tinggi and along the Johore River which therefore is proved to have been the scene of ancient human settlement. We feel that our identification of the Palandas with the Johore and Palanda with Kota Tinggi is a reasonably certain one.

The Attabas seems clearly to have been the Pahang. Like the Johore it fits exactly Ptolemy's positions and archaeology corroborates both as the scenes of ancient settlement.

Did the Bernam, the Johore and the Pahang ever rise from the same source and run together at first as one stream? It may be impossible to prove that they actually did but is it possible to prove that they did not?

We think, therefore, that Ptolemy's rivers are reasonably identified as the Bernam (not the Muar), the Johore and the Pahang.

Ptolemy gives the emporium of Sabara or Sabana as the most southerly point of the Peninsula and this clearly was to the west. We omitted to state that Tanjong Bunga on the western extremity of the Peninsula is an archaeological spot where many stone axes have been found and where there may have been a portage since the only stone axe found on Singapore Island was discovered near the beach at a place which apparently was more or less opposite to Tanjong Bunga.

In connection with Ptolemy's names Dr. Linehan has directed our attention to this Society's map of the Peninsula in 1887 which shows a spur of Gunong Tahan as being named Bukit Batu Atap; and he says that as a consequence he is now inclined to give some credence to Gerini's derivation of Attabas from *atap* which Dr. Linehan had previously rejected.¹

Dato Douglas has contributed to this Journal² some very useful notes upon some of Ptolemy's names giving hindustani words as the possible origins of them. In particular we would refer to his suggestion that Sabana may be connected with *Saba*, hindustani for 'easterly winds'. He says that "on Ptolemy's map it appears at the southern end of the peninsula, so the point at which one would meet the easterly winds". In that connection, one should also remember the name Sabah given to the north-eastern part of Borneo.³ Dato Douglas also makes suggestions for the origins of Khrysoanas, Tharra or Threa, Konkonagara, Kolandia and Maleikolon, as he spells it.

¹See this Journal, 1936, vol. XIV, Pt. 3, p. 64.

²See this Journal, 1938, vol. XVI, Pt. 1, pp. 151-2.

³See for instance the map of Asia in Philips' Authentic Imperial Maps Series.—R. B.

In connection with the origins of Ptolemy's names we must remember that we are not dealing with phonetic changes at all; we are trying to find the synonyms in another language, an entirely different proposition. Etymologically, for instance, the malay *pelandok* could not, perhaps, become Palanda or Palandas but there seems to be no reason why if the Portuguese wrote, as we know they did sometimes, *pelandok* as *palandos* or *palandas*, the Greeks could not have done so as well. However, it is much more likely, we believe, that Ptolemy's names were Indian in origin rather than Malay.

Mr. Wilkinson says that Indian colonisation, a word which he puts in italics, must have been superficial and Ptolemy's emporia, also in italics, small and unluckily placed but he gives no reasons for this conclusion. It would seem at all events that Takola had a long history and we doubt if modern Indian authorities would agree with Mr. Wilkinson though doubtless such settlements and emporia as there were would have been small places to our eyes but, then, so would most of the world's cities in those times. Still it would be as wrong to exaggerate as to underestimate and we think that small or big, unluckily or luckily placed, Ptolemy makes it clear that there was a "colonisation" with settlements and emporia in the Malay Peninsula at the beginning of the Christian era. Dr. Majumdar agreeing with Sylvain Lévi thinks (181, pp. 69-70) that "the century 50-150 A.D. witnessed a remarkable growth in the trade and maritime activity of the Indians in the Far East" and he also writes that "this period of active intercourse must also be regarded as the *terminus ante quem* for the Indian colonisation in the Malay Peninsula. For, Fou-nan (ancient Kamboja) was colonised by the Hindus in the first century A.D. and Champa not later than the second century A.D. It, therefore, stands to reason that the Malay Peninsula, which lies on the route to these distant countries, must have been colonised at an earlier date".

We have made a somewhat novel use of the *Sejarah Melayu*, or Malay Annals, and the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, or Kedah Annals, and have directed very pointed attention to some of the traditions in them. Now, it may be perfectly true that, as Sir Richard Winstedt has said, the former is a "hotch-potch of myths and tradition" and the latter a "farrago of folktales"; nevertheless, as the same high authority declared in 1911 (184) "Now, folk-tales it must be admitted require very careful sifting. They may be partly based on actual fact; they certainly abound in fiction. They may obviously deal with a pre-Muhammadan age and yet they always contain many anachronisms. The places and persons they refer to may be historical but are generally obscure and forgotten. We can only make deductions on very broad lines"; and again "The heroes may intermarry with 'Batins' and aboriginal tribes. That is what we know actually to have happened. Still, the tales will undoubtedly paint the

adventures of Malay Chiefs the leaders of Malay settlers. Again the age of the tales is indisputable. They ante-date Muhammadan influence ; at bottom though accretions from the Hindu cosmogony and late historical incident have often crept in, they are early Malayan full of primitive custom". He also writes in this same article that "the early history of Malacca is recorded in Annals tinged with Persian literary influence ; the story of its great hero Hang Tuah in historical prose. The story of the old-world Kingdom of Bruas (though it still survives also as a rhapsodist's tale) commanded sufficient interest in historical times to be written down centuries ago in conventional Hindu *hikayat* form under the grandiloquent name "Shamsu'l-barain". So too the history of Kedah. It is easy to see that stories which have escaped such treatment must have dealt with settlements very early, very insignificant perhaps and certainly long since decayed".

Neither tradition nor hypothesis must ever be allowed to masquerade as history but illumination upon history is so often shed by tradition and folk tales that we have felt it wise to call pointed attention to some of the ancient traditions of Malaya in connection with its earliest history.

Lastly, the reader should note two recent articles (185 and 186) in connection with the earliest intercourse between India and China as to which we wrote in the last part of this essay ; and in connection with Agastya, there is a most important essay by Professor Nilakanta Sastri to which we omitted to refer previously (187).

S. 4. Funan. 34-706 A

We reach now the historic period when we can rely upon written records and the inferences to be drawn from them. Unfortunately, however, throughout this entire essay we shall never reach a period of absolute certainty because we have to deal with Chinese, Arabic and Indian place-names the location of which presents continuous problems.

Funan is the Chinese name for a state which first appears in their records in the period 220-280 A.D. and disappears in the seventh century A.D. leaving no traces. Its actual history, however, ends before T'ang times (618-907 A.D.) and the present period of this essay, therefore, runs from the beginning of the third century A.D. to the beginning of the T'ang era.

The title of this essay confines its subject-matter to the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca but in practice that is impossible. No understanding of the ancient history of these regions can be obtained without one also of that of India, China and Further India generally. Malaya is but a portion of a whole ; it is in the main only a highway of migration and trade, a meeting-point of civilisations. Such a place can never be treated as

a single subject or be placed in any single compartment. This essay must, therefore, travel very much further than merely the Peninsula and the Straits; and we shall begin by a look at the general picture which history presents during the period on the Coromandel¹ coast in India to the west and in China to the east.

According to tradition the Chola country included the modern districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and part of the Pudukottah state. Its great river was the Kaveri which tradition said was "released from his water-pot by the sage Agastya in response to the prayer of the King Kanta and for the exaltation of the 'children of the sun'" (57, p. 23). Here we may note that in the Sangam age the Cholas were even then looked upon as descended from the sun. Chola is really a dynastic name; nothing is known of its origin but it was from the earliest times used to describe the people and country subject to the Chola dynasty of rulers (57, p. 24). The kings were autocrats and their crest was the tiger which they carried on their banners.

The language most commonly employed in the Chola inscriptions is tamil, though there are some sanskrit records and some in both languages. The sanskrit employed the *grantha* script, closely allied to the tamil in its evolution (*ibid.* p. 10). Professor Nilakanta Sastri says that "in no sphere is the influence of Aryan ideas on Tamil culture in early historical times more evident than in that of religion and ethics" (*ibid.* p. 109). The ritual of Brahmanical Hinduism struck root very early in the Tamil land and was the dominant one on the Sangam age but Buddhism had also laid its hands on the Tamils. "Belief in re-incarnation, the effects of *Karma* in successive births and the power of Fate was part of the common basis of all religion in India, and this is clearly seen to have been generally accepted in the Tamil country also" (*ibid.* p. 116).

King Kanta, the contemporary of the great sage Agastya, ruled from Campa, later on called Kakandi, and from Puhar or Kaverippumpattinam. Puhar was one of the few great cities of the time and, being on the sea coast, it was also the great emporium of the kingdom and the subject of many references and descriptions in the Sangam literature. "This celebrated city, full of riches coveted by Kings and teeming with sailors, is so well stocked that it will not fail in its hospitality even if the whole world encircled by the roaring sea become its guest; indeed in the hoards of (merchandise) brought in ships and carts, (the city) resembles a congregation of (all) the alien tracts producing precious goods" (57, p. 96). It was full of foreign merchants; "like the large crowd gathered in a city of ancient renown on a festival day when people from many different places betake themselves to it with their relatives, persons from many good countries speaking different

¹Coromandel is the English way of expressing *Cholamandalam*, the Chola country or kingdom.—R. B.

tongues had left their homes and come to reside (in Puhar) on terms of mutual friendship" (*ibid.* p. 99). To it were brought "bagfuls of black pepper", "gems and gold", "sandal and agil", "the pearl of the southern sea", "the coral of the western sea", "foodstuffs from Ceylon" and "goods from Kalagam". This last signifies goods from Malaysia shipped from Kalagam, which may be ancient Kedah¹. Whatever its exact geographic location there can be no doubt that the goods were Malaysian which had either passed up the Straits of Malacca or had come across the Peninsula by land. It is clear, to summarize, that in the second or third century A.D. the carrying trade between the Malay Peninsula and India was controlled by the Cholas. They were the principal kingdom of Tamilakam in the first two centuries after Christ; but they gave way to the Pallavas whose history may be said to begin about 200 A.D., to reach its climax in the seventh century A.D. and to end with the ninth century A.D. when they were overpowered by the Cholas.

The Pallavas are the outstanding Indian dynasty in the early story of south-eastern Asia. They may be studied in the histories of Gopalan (188) and Jayaswal (109), in the studies by Father Heras (189) and in the monographs of Venkayya (190), Chhabra (138) and Vogel (191).

Who were the Pallavas? There is much difference of opinion but as Vogel wrote (191, p. 172) "this much is certain that, when the Pallavas of Coromandel first make their appearance in history, they are thoroughly hinduized"; Coomaraswamy (137, p. 101) wrote that "whatever their antecedents, the Pallavas seem to have been vassals of the Andhras in the Godavari-Kistna deltas (Vengi) in the second century, and to have succeeded them as rulers in the third and fourth" and also that "originally Buddhists, they became for the most part Saivas by the end of the sixth century, when Buddhism was declining in the south". Gopalan (188, Ch. 2) set out all the theories extant in 1928 and Jayaswal, re-considering the question in 1933, found the key in the Puranas (109, pp. 179-184). Wherever they had their origin, the Pallavas were certainly foreign to the locality over which they ruled. The language of their records was never Dravidian; at first prakrit of a variety that was northern and then sanskrit in the Vakataka style, it leads Jayaswal to assert that the Pallavas were northerners. He says that *Pallava* means 'a branch' and probably stands for 'the Junior dynasty'. He also says that they adopted the Vakataka heraldic marks; they had on their seal Ganga and Yamuna, the river-goddesses, which were known Vakataka insignia and also probably had in common the *makara* or *makara-torana*. They also had the Bull of Siva in common. Jayaswal makes very wide claims for the importance of the

¹We shall return to the question but for the present it is sufficient to refer the reader to Professor Nilakanta Sastri's recent article *Kataha*, J.G.I.S., 1938, vol. V, Pt. 2, pp. 128-146.—R. B.

Pallavas in the history of India. Their power reached its zenith in the seventh century A.D. but it suffered a temporary set back from Samudra Gupta in the middle of the fourth century A.D. This was the great period of the Guptas who, according to Jayaswal, were Jats from the Punjab and Visnuites. By his wars Samudra Gupta stretched his empire temporarily into the south. Not only did India make submission to him but also Further India, so Jayaswal thinks, for the Allahabad pillar inscription states that the King of Simhala (Ceylon) 'and all the other islanders' (Oceanic rulers) made their submission and acknowledged Samudra Gupta as their emperor (109, p. 156). The date of this was *circa* 350 A.D.

But the Pallavas soon freed themselves and in Further India Gupta influence seems confined mainly to art.

One of the things concerning the Pallavas which has most interest for students of Further India is the tradition of their foundation as a dynasty.

Vogel (191, p. 171) says that "it is not a little curious that the Pallavas derive the origin of their race not from the Sun or the Moon, as is usual among the princely families of India, but from Asvatthaman who, like his father Drona, is one of the leading heroes in the great epic Mahabharata. The salient point about those two ancient warriors is that they were Brahmins, belonging to the priestly house (*gotra*) of Bharadvaja" and (at p. 172) that there is a "curious legend preserved in Tamil poetry which connects the origin of the Pallavas with the ancient rulers of Coromandel." It relates that the first "Pondaiman (*i.e.* Pallava) was the son of a Cola King by a Nagi or female serpent-demon". In a foot-note he says that "the Tamil poem Manimegalai in which this legend occurs, also mentions a town named Nagapuram in Savaka-nadu which, as Mr. Venkayya says, appears to be the Tamil name of the island of Java. Two Kings of Nagapuram are mentioned, *viz.* Bhumicandra and Punyaraja, who claimed to be descended from Indra".

These statements of Vogel must be elaborated. We have already referred to the matter of the Pallava descent in connection with the *Sejarah Melayu*¹, and remind the reader of what we said there.

Jayaswal considers that the Pallavas had their rise as feudatories to the Nagas, who according to him were early rulers in India. Virakurcha, founder of the Pallava dynasty, was invested with the insignia of full sovereignty by his marriage with the Naga princess, daughter of the Naga emperor, who at that time (the latter half of the third century A.D. according to Jayaswal) was the Bharasiva Naga whose dominions extended through Nagpur and Bastar up to the confines of the Andhra country (109, p. 179.) The tradi-

¹See this Journal, vol. XIV, Pt. 3, pp. 48-49.

tional Pallava descent as given in their inscriptions is stated by Chatterji (107, p. 5) thus:—"there are two inscriptions dating from the 9th century giving the genealogy of the Pallava Kings. According to the first, Asvatthaman, the son of Drona, married a Naga and their offspring was Skandasisya, the legendary ancestor of the Pallava Kings. The second inscription, found in North Arcot, says that Virakurcha married a Naga and obtained from her the insignia of royalty and that after him came Skandasisya". Jayaswal (109, p. 187) discusses these inscriptions, the Rayakota¹ and the Velurpalaiyan² plates, and points out that the former says that Skandasishya who was an *adhiraja* was the son of a Naga lady; Asvatthaman is only mentioned as one of the ancestors. The latter shows that Skandasishya, father of Kumara Vishnu and grandfather of Buddhavarman, is clearly Skanda-varman II, whose son was Kumara Vishnu II. In those latter plates it is not stated that Skandasishya was the son of Virakurcha, but he is stated to have flourished *after* Virakurcha and in his line, which statement implies a break in the line. Gopalan (188, p. 50) writes that "of Virakurcha, however, the grandson of Kalabhartr, we learn from the Velurpalayam plates (verse 6) that 'simultaneously with the hand of the daughter of the Chief of Serpents he also grasped the complete insignia of royalty and became famous'. This means in plain language that Virakurchavarman became King on marrying the daughter of a Naga chief". Gopalan dates the accession of Virakurcha about 358 A.D. but there is much dispute as to dates, Jayaswal for instance dating the Pallava capture of the Chola capital, Kanchi, about 275 A.D. and dating Virakurcha as *circa* 265-280 A.D.

Gopalan considers (188, pp. 21-2) that the legend cited by Vogel from the Manimegalai does not apply to the Pallavas at all. His reasoning is cogent and possibly the explanation may be that a Chola tradition was brought on and applied to the Pallava conquerors of the Chola country which is quite a common process in traditions. The reader who wishes to pursue the matter further should study Venkayya's article on the Pallavas (190) which seems to have been Vogel's authority.

Venkayya (*ibid.* at p. 221, n. 1) thought Savaka-nadu to be the present island of Java and Vogel clearly followed him but actually the identification is purely philological and, as we shall show from time to time, Savaka or Javaka was generic for 'Malays' of all sorts, which explains the footnote we placed to our previous reference to Savaka-nadu³.

The Manimegalai in the opinion of Professor Nilakanta Sastri must be dated relatively late and he considers that a date later

¹Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 233.

²S. I. I., II, p. 507.

³See vol. XIV, pt. 3, p. 49, n.

than 400 A.D. is forced upon one (57, p. 4, *n.*). The Pallava plates as we have just seen are considered to be of the ninth century A.D.

Przyluski (106, p. 277) treats the Pallava and Chola legends as separate, calling the latter analogous. He points out how similar legends are found on the Indo-Chinese peninsula in connection with Champa, Funan, Pegu, Siam, Annam, Sumatra (San-fo-ts'i) and in the *Sejarah Melayu*. This splendid article should be studied by the reader.

Let us turn now to ancient China and note very shortly what was happening there in our Funan period.

At the beginning of the third century A.D. the Han dynasty collapsed to be succeeded by the Three Kingdoms—Wei, which comprised the central and northern provinces with its capital at Loyang; Wu, which comprised the provinces south of the Yangtse River with its capital at Nanking; and Shu, which included the western part of the Empire with its capital at Chengtu.

After the Three Kingdoms there followed a most disturbed period in which we have the Western Tsin Kingdom, 265-317 A.D.; the Eastern Tsin, 317-420 A.D.; the earliest Sung, 420-479 A.D.; the very short Ch'i, 479-502 A.D.; the Liang, 502-557 A.D.; and the Ch'en 557-589 A.D.; after which came a period of reconsolidation beginning with the Sui, 581-618 A.D., and continuing with the glorious T'ang period than ran from 618 to 907 A.D.

From the collapse of the Hans to the foundation of the Sui the records are largely 'a confused mass of names and wars', according to Latourette who says (151, pp. 162-3) that "a perusal of the annals of the period gives the impression of almost continuous strife, of wave upon wave of barbarian invasion, of a seemingly uninterrupted series of rebellions, and of widespread anarchy" but there were compensations, for the wars brought about a geographical extension of the Chinese people and their culture while large sections of the land over considerable portions of time enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity; and there was much literary activity. Latourette (at p. 167) says that foreign commerce continued both by the overland routes and by way of the ports on the south coast, of which those in Tongking on the delta of the Red River were earlier of chief importance but Canton was growing as a rival.

During the period 220-589 A.D. Latourette says, and it is very clear otherwise, that "Chinese merchants seem not to have ventured very far afield and to have left chiefly to strangers the initiative in foreign trade but outsiders found China a profitable country with which to deal" (*ibid.* p. 167). The fact is, as Kuwabara says (179, 2, p. 70), that "the Chinese trading ships before the T'ang era were inferior in all respects to those of the South sea countries."

While the above illustrates the state of affairs at the west and the east, it is clear that there must have been very great trading and colonizing activity by Indians on the peninsula of Indo-China, in the Malay Peninsula and in the Malayan Archipelago. The records, however, of this activity are principally Chinese. Epigraphy and archaeology both afford a certain amount of evidence and there is one piece of Indian literature that has still to be noticed, the *Niddesa*, which perhaps should have been considered during our last period but which we have held to the present because of doubt as to the exact date to which it should be ascribed. Dr. Chatterjee says (192, 1, p. 24) that the *Niddesa* cannot be later than the 3rd century A.D. and the reader should note what he has written concerning Java and Sumatra in Indian literature. It is, however, subject to the comment that his identifications are all purely philological and that any equivalent of Java or Yava is ascribed accordingly to the present island of Java.

In the late Professor Sylvain Lévi's well-known article on the *Niddesa* (61) there is very much matter of interest both philologically and otherwise but it would be impossible to assert that all his identifications are supportable. He considers a passage in the *Niddesa* and endeavours to identify the places mentioned in it. This passage is as follows :—

“ Again, under the sway of passions which dominate his soul, in quest of enjoyments, he embarks on the great sea, sometimes icy cold, sometimes burning hot, troubled with mosquitoes, with gnats, with the winds, with the sun, with serpents, suffering from hunger and thirst, he goes to Gumba, Takkola, Takkasila, Kala Mukha, Maranapura, Vesunga, Verapatha, Java, Tamali, Vanga, Elavaddhana, Suvarnakuta, Suvarnabhumi, Tambapanni, Suppara, Bharukaccha, etc ”.

The same series of places re-appears in an identical form in another passage of the same work and Sylvain Lévi thought them to represent a well-known route corresponding closely with Ptolemy's route in so far as they were places on the sea. He thought that the series of ports enumerated in the *Niddesa* unfolded into the outline of a vast periplus which left the Far East, touched the coasts of India and lost itself in the depths of the west. Suppara and Bharukaccha are, of course, the Sopara and Broach of to-day ; and after them we ceased to quote the rest of the names as not germane to our purpose but amongst them were such names as Suratthe or Surat, Yona or the Greek world and Alisanda or Alexandria.

Lévi's article is very discursive but his identifications appear to be as follows :—*Gumba*, too obscure and uncertain to place ; *Takkola*, Ptolemy's Takola, ' the region south of the isthmus of Kra ' ; *Takkasila*, Ptolemy's Tokosonna or Tokosanna, the river of Naaf in India ; *Kalamukha*, very uncertain ; *Maranapura*, nil ;

Vesunga, Ptolemy's *Besunga* (or *Besynga* as we write it) in Lower Burma; *Verapathia*, Ptolemy's 'town of Berabai', the region of the Tavoy; *Java*, Java or Sumatra or perhaps both; *Tamali*, Tambalinga or Tambralinga, Chinese Tan-ma-ling 'not far from the region of Pahang where the name of Tembeling is still in use'; *Vanga*, not as one would expect Bengal but the island of Banka; *Elavaddhana*, the name is very obscure; *Suvarnakuta*, the wall of gold, the Chinese Kin-lin, south-east of India, in the direction of Java; *Suvarnabhumi*, Ptolemy's Chryse, all the countries situated on the east of the Bay of Bengal which Ptolemy calls Trans-Gangetic India, the Eldorado of the Indian adventurers; *Tambapanni*, Ptolemy's Taprobane, Ceylon.

That, however, gives us no itinerary nor does it correspond with Ptolemy's route. It is a list of places well-known to ancient Indians and would seem to have been strung together to illustrate the tortured wanderings of the hero, who, being tortured, would not follow along any well-known itinerary but whom the poet makes to travel wildly here and there. Lévi's identifications rest solely upon philological reasoning and we suggest that the passage is of no real assistance in identifying any single place geographically.

We turn now to the great peninsula of Indo-China, the civilised peoples of which were distributed at the beginning of the Christian era in the following manner according to Grousset (145, ii, pp. 548-9) :—

- (a) the Burmans and Tibetans along the Upper Irrawaddy;
- (b) the Peguans along the Lower Irrawaddy and also perhaps in the valley of the Lower Menam;
- (c) the Thais very probably held Yunnan their country of origin where many of their clans preserved their independence up to the thirteenth century A.D.;
- (d) the Khmers or Cambodians, or their ancient stock, peopled not only the Cambodia of to-day but very probably a great part of Laos and Cochin-China;
- (e) the Chams inhabited southern Annam from Cap St. Jacques in the south to Tourane in the north;
- (f) the Annamites occupied the north of Annam above Tourane, and Tonkin.

The two ancient states in Indo-China with which we are mainly concerned in the present period are Funan and, to a much less degree, Champa. Funan at different times held sway in what are to-day Cambodia, Cochin-China, Laos, Siam and the Malay Peninsula, while Champa was a state holding the coasts of what is Annam to-day and was composed of the Cham nation. Cham is to-day the name for an ethnolinguistic stock in French Indo-China.

The history of Champa may be studied in the well-known histories of Maspero (176), which should be read subject to Aourousseau's critical notes (193), and of Majumdar (175) while Grousset's general history of Further India (145) is very useful.

Annam to-day presents an ethnological picture which it is as well to remember in considering the ancient state of Champa. For a very useful conspectus the reader is referred to *L'Annam* (194) an official publication issued at Hanoi for the great French Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931. What we are about to write concerning present-day Annam is based upon it.

Modern Annam contains three main classes of peoples—the Annamites ; the Malaysians, largely on the coast, to which group belong the present Chams ; and the Indonesians, who cover a great part of the Annamite mountain chain. In the times with which we are dealing in this period of the essay the Annamites or Giau-chi as the Chinese called them were confined to Tonkin and northern Annam and were part of the Chinese empire.

The Malaysians are not very great in number at the present time but once they occupied three-fourths of Annam and played a role that was historically important. Ethnically, they are nowadays considered to be less different from the Indonesians than used to be thought, some authorities even maintaining that the Indonesians are the true Proto-Malays, or pure Malays, while the Malay populations of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and the islands of the Malay Archipelago are the products of many mixtures of Indonesians or pure Malays with such different elements as Burmans, Negritos, Hindus, Chinese, Papuans, etc. In any event the so-called Malaysians present a very great variety of types.

In Annam the Malaysian tongues are allied, on the one side, with the Mon-Khmer group covering the south-west and west of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and, on the other but to a less degree, with the Polynesian tongues of Oceania. The basis of the Cham vocabulary to-day is Malayo-Polynesian and goes back to a very remote age. To its neighbouring Indo-Chinese tribes have lent many words while Brahmanism, Buddhism, Islam, and relations with the Annamites, Chinese and Cambodians have brought into the cham language terms from the sanskrit, arabic, khmer, chinese and annamite languages.

The Malaysians of Indo-China to-day are matriarchal both in their family and social organization, all rights coming from the mother and being transmitted by her, while marriage within the same clan is regarded as very grave incest.

The religion of the Chams was originally Sivaite Brahmanism from India together with Buddhism but to-day they have lost the memory and civilization of India. At an unknown date they

became converted to Islam but it is a religion very much mixed with strange elements and the Imams do not understand or read Arabic.

The writing of the early Chams we shall consider later in connection with epigraphic evidence. They have left over the whole area once occupied by the state of Champa archaeological remains of great importance.

The Indonesians to-day are found in the mountains; they number some 600,000 throughout Indo-China, half of them living along the main range of Annam. The name Indonesian is given to those peoples with an easily recognized racial type who form the coastal populations of the Malay Archipelago, the Dyaks of Borneo, the Battaks of Sumatra, various tribes in the Celebes and Moluccas, etc. and who have nothing in common with the Polynesians. They are short of stature, meso or dolichocephalic, yellow-skinned, and with straight or very slightly curly hair; and, as we have said, are possibly the root stock of the Malaysians.

Whence did the Malaysians and Indonesians in Annam originally come? There are two hypotheses to explain the presence of the former; either they are the remains of an invasion or invasions from the islands of Malaysia or they are indigenous and were in occupation of the country when the whole of Insulindia formed a great continent. Possibly both hypotheses are true. For the Indonesians only the second explanation seems to be true, since it is difficult in view of their state of civilization to regard them as invaders.

The tribes which compose the Indonesians of Annam to-day are as numerous as are the tongues which they speak. In their family and social organization they are patriarchal; the women do the work and the men hunt, amuse themselves and carry out such work only as tradition permits. In the southern tribes Hindu influence is noticeable and certain Hindu divinities such as Sri, Indra, the Nagas, are associated or incorporated with forest and earth spirits. The Annamites regard them as powerful in magic but call them 'savages'.

Once a great people the Chams of to-day are found in the south of Annam, in Cochin-China and in Cambodia, numbering about 130,000. Maspero (176) gives us a picture of the earliest inhabitants of Champa as depicted by the Chinese historians. Two main divisions were made—the Chams themselves, who were sea-faring, being noted as fishermen and hardy mariners prone to piracy; and the savages of the mountains whom the Chams called Mlecchas or Kiratas, that is to say, savages or mountaineers. Maspero considers the coastal Chams to have been a people of Malayo-Polynesian origin, and says that their language to-day does not differ sensibly from that recorded in the oldest inscriptions in their tongue, being Malayo-Polynesian. He cites the earliest

Chinese description of them which says that they had dark skins, sunken eyes, turned-up noses, and woolly (*crépu*) hair. Maspero says that the clothes which they wear to-day do not differ from those of the Malays and that they are the same as originally recorded by the Chinese. The mark of royalty was the umbrella, its colour being white. The kings were war-like and maintained a big fleet and a large army, in which were used war elephants. Fortresses and walled cities containing houses of brick were constructed and the general picture is that of a powerful, highly organized state. The principal religion was Brahman but they also practised Buddhism; their castes were the usual four, Brahmins, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. They used the Saka era and probably the *amanta*¹ method of lunar reckoning. Their culture was sanskrit.

Maspero, Le Clère (1953) and Morizon (195) all consider the Chams to have been invaders from Malaysia.

The sanskrit name of the state was *nagara Campa* or Champa; and in sanskrit *campa* designates the *champak*, a tree that is very familiar in Malaya. The name for the state was imported from India where there was a famous Campa state in the early centuries of the Christian era. The national name for the inhabitants, Chams (*Tiam*) would seem to have been taken from the name of the state and not *vice versa*. The Arabs (much later than our present Funan period) called the country Canf and etymologists find the name also in Marco Polo's Cyamba or Chamba and in Ptolemy's Zabae, though his town of that name could not possibly have been in Annam according to the positions which he gave. The Chinese name for the country at first was Lin-yi corresponding to the Annamite Lam-ap: later they called it Chan-cheng, their transliteration of Champa.

The Chams make their appearance in Chinese history in the second century A.D. since they are apparently the people whom the *Hou Han Shu* records as K'iu-lien and who attacked the Chinese sub-prefecture of Siang-lin, burnt all its strongholds and killed its sub-prefect in 137 A.D. They were then not yet fully organized and seem to have possessed only the southern part of Annam between Cape Varella and Cap St. Jacques, the territory north of that being included in the Chinese southern commanderies. In 192 A.D. another successful attack upon Siang-lin was headed by a chieftain whom the Chinese record as Lien and who proclaimed himself king of the territory. This gave the Chams what is known to-day as Quang-nam, and it remained their northern boundary despite attempts to extend into Chinese territory that were sometimes successful for a very short time.

When the Chams make their appearance in history they are already Indianized. Their royal dynasty descends from Siva and

¹As to which see *infra*.

the title of *varman*, which the Chinese transcribed as *Fan*, was used by them. The dominant religious cult was Sivaism, the god being worshipped under the names of Mahesvara and Paramesvara. At the end of the fourth century A.D. King Bhadravarman constructed the great Siva temple of Mi-son in Quang-nam; it was burnt down in the sixth century and was re-built by King Cambhu-Varman towards the end of that century. The other great sanctuary was that of Po Nagar at Nha-trang which was dedicated to the *sakti* of Siva. But Buddhism was also practiced though perhaps to a less degree. In the seventh century there was a serious Chinese invasion with the temporary loss of the capital but the Chinese were duly expelled.

The first capital of Champa seems to have been Indrapura on the site of Tra-Kieu to-day, thirty kilometres south of Tourane, and the northern part of the state seems to have been protected by a fortress called K'iu-son, near the present Hue, its remains being visible to-day. The provinces of the state, more or less independent during the sixth dynasty, 860-986 A.D., were Kauthara (Khanh-hoa in which was Vo-Canh where the most ancient known Cham inscription was found); Vijaya (Binh-dinh) where the capital was removed circa 1,000 A.D. and remained until Champa disappears; Amaravati (Quang-Nam); and Panduranga (Phan-rang). The main ports were called Sinhapura, probably on the Song Thu-bon, and in the province of Vijaya Sri Vinaya if Maspero's re-construction of the Chinese *Che li p'i nai* is correct.

Champa was in constant friction at first with the Chinese to the north, then, with the Annamites, and lastly with the Khmers who finally at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. destroyed the state and made it a province of their empire; but with Funan it seems to have lived amicably in the main.

For the ethnographical picture of Cambodia and Cochin-China the reader is referred to two more publications issued in 1931 in connection with the Colonial exhibition in Paris; the first is Morizon's monograph (195) and the second is *La Cochinchine* (196), the ethnographical and historical parts of which were written by G. Naudin, curator of the Museum of Cochin-China.

Morizon (195, pp. 11-13) says that in its earliest times Cambodia was occupied by Indonesian peoples of relatively pale skins and who seem to have been its true aborigines; and he says that before the Christian era they were living in the ancient isle of Kouk-Thlok, that is to say, the present chain of the Cardamoms. He finds that there was an invasion by negritoids from the coast of Coromandel who were pushed out by dravidian and aryan invasions and he says that the aboriginal Indonesians conquered this negritoid invasion. "These negritoës who were then called the *pann nonn*, the people without laws, the people without gods, were divided into two branches of which one going

towards the south became destroyed in the end while the other gaining the south-eastern regions of Asia exists to-day very nearly intact in the high valleys of the chain of the Cardamoms". "It is probable that after this invasion the first inhabitants of Cambodia formed a very great number of tribes, some inhabiting the mountains which frame the basin of the Mekong to the north, between the China Sea and the Menam, others being installed in the valley of the Mekong and along the littoral of the Gulf of Siam in the country called Funan, which occupied the Cambodia and Cochin-China of to-day. All these savage tribes like the present-day Phnongs of the region of Kratie, the Kouys of Dangrek, were, owing to their mixing with the negritoes from Coromandel, dark-skinned and with woolly (*crépu*) hair. The Chinese historians in Tsin times (265-419 A.D.) say of them that the men of Funan are ugly and black and that they have curly (*frisé*) hair". "Some centuries later Indo-Malays from Java invaded Cambodia. It is this invasion which the Cambodian legends designate under the name Chvea-Pream, that is to say, Brahmanic Malays. The inhabitants of the plains were easily subdued by the new-comers while the people of the up-lands whose customs were more war-like held their independence and have maintained their ethnic integrity until our times. To-day they still continue to live in an isolation that is almost complete. It is to this historical peculiarity that one owes the mosaic of mountain peoples who surround the more homogeneous Cambodians of the plains. Among these independent races some have preserved an almost pure Indonesian type such as the Stieng and the Khas for they did not entirely avoid contact with the invading negritoes while others strongly mixed with these latter and being untouched or nearly so by the Indo-Malays from Java retained their black skin and an absolute negroid type (Samres, Sactchs, Pears, Kouys)".

"The last elements which were added to the primitive Cambodian race consisted of peoples strongly pigmented, having India as their place of origin and penetrating into Cambodia from the north-west. Among them were the Khmers or Kamvujas who were the most numerous. The Khmers mixed with the peoples of the plain whom they subdued and from their fusion came the eventual Cambodian race".

Naudin (196, p. 14) says that the Cambodians or Khmers belong to the great aryan family of which India was one of the homes, and which civilized a part of the Far East being held in check by the Chinese. He says that it is difficult to-day to find the original type but that one can still see in the modern race certain Khmers of the purest Hindu type.

In Cochin-China and in Cambodia are to be found Malaysians, Indonesians and negritoes, the two latter found in the mountainous regions and being termed "savages"; thus the Cambodians call the Khas and Stieng by the name of Phnong, meaning savage.

1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

while *Moi* is the Annamite word for savages. The general picture presented is much the same as that in the Malay Peninsula and it is obvious that one cannot answer the question 'how did the Malays, Indonesians or Proto-Malays and the negritos come to be in the Malay Peninsula?' without answering the same question for the peninsula of Indo-China and the island of Sumatra and, indeed, the whole Malay Archipelago. We have already posed the question concerning the Malays in the anthropological excursus¹ to this essay and the reader should note that Morizon considers "the cradle of the Malay race to have been the region of Nhatrang where to-day are to be seen the most numerous vestiges of the Cham or Malay race" and he cites Cabaton's theory that from there they spread to Insulinidia and thence as far as Madagascar (195, p. 100).

If the reader considers closely the four works issued in connection with the Paris Colonial Exhibition from which we have cited he will not find their authors to be entirely consistent; and we suggest in general, as we have already suggested in our anthropological excursus, that it is impossible in the light of present knowledge to accept any categorical assertions concerning the origin of the Malay, Indonesian or negrito tribes or peoples. We suggest that, although widely stated with acceptance, Rouffaer's theory that the home of the Malays was in Sumatra needs much further consideration.

With regard to the Peninsular Malays Mr. Vlieland has recently² made some very pertinent observations. He disputes the conventional account by which "the indigenous Malays are represented as having sprung from an original stock which came over from Sumatra centuries ago". He says that "it is impossible to believe that Malaysian immigrants from the west passed right across the Peninsula, dropped down on to the eastern coastal plains and settled there, leaving only a few stragglers on the west.

"Even if there were good reasons, known to untutored immigrants to whom the eastern plains were an unknown land, for preferring that land to settle in, it is unthinkable that they would have crossed the main divide and the hill country which lies at the back of the coastal plains of the north-eastern States. For the Malaysian is no bushman and he does not travel through the virgin equatorial forest afoot³; the lines of his migrations are traced on water and he travels from one river to another *via* estuary and coast, not over a forest-clad divide.

"It is just possible that adventurers from Sumatra, on striking the west coast might sail right round the Peninsula and settle

¹This Journal, vol. XIII, Pt. 2, pp. 86-87.

²See *The Eldorado of Southern Asia* in the *Straits Times Annual*, 1937, pp. 107-8; Mr. Vlieland, of the Malayan Civil Service, was the Census officer for the last census, 1931, and has made noted contributions to local demography.

³But he does if he has to.

finally on the plain of Kelantan in the far north-east. It is equally conceivable that Javanese, Banjarese, Boyanese, Bugis and others from the south of the Archipelago might avoid Singapore, Johore and Pahang and sail on and on up the east coast instead of the west, but it is unthinkable that the vast majority would have behaved in this curious way.

"For what was there against the south and west, and what was the irresistible lure of the far distant plain of Kelantan away up an unknown and treacherous coast ?

"There must be some explanation of the mystery but none was ever put forward until about three years ago, possibly because no one had ever looked at the peoples of Malaya from the demographic standpoint, as opposed to the standpoint of the anthropologist, the archaeologist or the historian. It was not realised, in fact, that the conventional story of Malay settlement did not provide a tolerable explanation of demographic facts.

"In 1934 the writer advanced the hypothesis that the first "Malay" settlers on the plains of Kelantan and Trengganu came from the north and east long before the earliest Settlements on the west coast ; that waves of migration passed southward along the east coast of the Peninsula leaving contingents in their wake ; that these waves "fanned out" southwards, eastwards and westwards on reaching what we now call Singapore and settled all over the Archipelago and on the east coast of Sumatra ; and that the west coast of the Peninsula was colonised later and relatively slowly by a kind of backwash from Sumatra and the southern islands.

"This is of course only a working hypothesis ; it cannot be proved, but it does at least work, in that it does provide an explanation of known demographic facts and a useful basis for further investigation and inference. This line of thought pursued back from the present day seems, moreover, not unlikely to meet the other lines on which anthropologists and archaeologists are working forwards from the vestigial relics of the past".

And what about the Malays in the Siam of to-day ? *Siam*, the publication issued in 1930 by the Ministry of Commerce and Communications Bangkok, stated that there were then some 400,000 Malays in Siam, mostly in the southern provinces. It says¹ that "the modern Malay is of very mixed race ; but it seems fairly certain that his main derivation is from the Jakuns, or Proto-Malays, a primitive jungle tribe scattered through the Peninsula and related to the Chams of Annam. According to some students and other keen observers the Pattani Malays are also strongly mixed with Semang, the original inhabitants of this part of the country" *i.e.* negritos.

¹See the chapter on *Nature and Industry*, p. 86.

We would remind the reader of what we wrote in the anthropological excursus¹ to this essay at pp. 86 and 87 and we suggest that a Sumatran origin for all the Malays of the Peninsula generally is untenable as a theory ; we also suggest that scientific studies of the traditions and customs of the Kelantan, Trengganu and Siam Malays are indispensable though not yet forthcoming.

When, later in this essay, we reach the Chinese records we shall find that there is much difficulty in identifying their toponyms. It will, therefore, be as well to see first what is the epigraphical evidence for Indian settlement in Further India during our present Funan period.

We remind the reader that the earliest inscription is that of Vo-can-h (with which we have already² dealt) dated palaeographically in the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D.³ Coomaraswamy (137, p. 195) says that at the time of the inscription " there existed in the Nhatrang region a Hindu Kingdom known as Kauthara, succeeded a little later by that of Panduranga at Phanrang." If this is so, we must bear in mind Ptolemy's Kordathra, metropolis.

The inscriptions of the Malay Peninsula, *i.e.* south of the isthmus of Kra, are not very numerous but nevertheless are very important. They are summarized, though somewhat unfortunately, by Dr. Majumdar (181, pp. 88-90).

Firstly, there are the famous ones discovered in Kedah and Province Wellesley by Colonel Low which may be studied in his account of them (178), in Laidlay's note upon them (197), in Professor Kern's article in this Journal (198), in M. Finot's article (199), in Dr. Chatterjee's book (192), and in Dr. Chhabra's monograph (138).

The seven inscriptions (Dr. Majumdar's Nos. 1-7) on the granite rock at Cherok Tokun, Province Wellesley⁴, were taken, following Mr. Laidlay, to be pali but Dr. Majumdar in his new book shows that in fact they are sanskrit and he dates them as " not later than the fourth century A.D.", noting that the peculiar characteristics of south Indian alphabets are " not very conspicuous in this record ".

The inscription (Dr. Majumdar's No. 12) which was found by Colonel Low beneath the floor of a ruined house near Bukit Meriam was sent to Calcutta and is now lost. It recorded a Buddhist formula ; the language is sanskrit and Dr. Majumdar

¹See this Journal, vol. XIII, Pt. 2, October, 1935.

²See this Journal, 1937, vol. XV, Pt. 3, p. 100: but see Dr. Sircar's fresh dating, J.G.I.S., Vol. VI, pp. 53-55.

³While this essay was in the press there came to hand Dr. Sircar's article, J.G.I.S., Vol. VI, pp. 53-55, in which he attacks the previous dating of this inscription and gives reasons for dating it as not earlier than the closing years of the fourth century A.D.

⁴See a note by Mr. I. H. N. Evans in J.F.M.S. Mus., 1930, vol. XV, Pt. 1, pp. 35-36 and plate, for the present condition of these inscriptions.

says that it may be referred to the fourth or fifth century A.D. He finds in it no traces of the peculiar characteristics of south Indian alphabets. Dr. Chhabra, however, includes this in his list of Pallava inscriptions and points out that a stanza in the inscription corresponds with some rock inscriptions at Batoe Pahat in West Borneo. He says that "it is impossible to scrutinize its palaeography in order to assign an approximate date to it. On the strength of what little can be made out of the eye-copy, it possibly stands, as Prof. Kern has pointed out, in relation with the sea-captain Buddhagupta's inscription".

And that brings us to the most famous of these inscriptions, the four (Dr. Majumdar's Nos. 8-11) inscribed on a slate-stone slab which Colonel Low found near the ruins of an old Buddhist temple in the northern district of Province Wellesley and which is now to be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The slab itself has in the centre a representation in outline of a stupa with seven umbrellas and the inscriptions record the successful voyage of the great sea-captain (*Mahanavika*) Buddhagupta, a resident (?) of Raktamrtikka. The language is sanskrit and the characters according to Dr. Majumdar "seem to belong to the fifth century A.D.", with characteristics of south Indian alphabets to be noted. Professor Kern dated this inscription as *circa* 400 A.D. and this date is generally accepted, Dr. Chhabra saying that it may be assigned to the 5th century A.D. and adding that "that of Kedah may be a little earlier" which is a little curious in view of what we have just quoted from him concerning that last inscription.

Professor Kern identified Raktamrtikka with the Chinese Ch'ih-tu (as to which later) which he considered to be a port on the Gulf of Siam. The identification is based on the fact that both the Indian and Chinese names mean 'Red Earth'. Professor Coedès (200, p. 14) agrees that Raktamrtikka was the same as Ch'ih-tu, which latter, however, he places definitely in the Malay Peninsula. There was apparently a Raktamrtikka in India also which several authorities consider to be the place of the inscription (*e.g.*, see 192, pt. 2, p. 6) and Dr. Majumdar (181, pp. 82 and 83) agrees with them. Obviously there is no means of being positive.

The inscription is very interesting for the man's name and the fact that he was a sea-captain. It is strange but very appropriate that there should emerge thus not the name of a king but that of a man whose class made kings possible in the Peninsula. It is noteworthy that in his name we get in Further India a *gupta* at the time when the Guptas were strong in India and near the time when as we have already pointed out Samudra Gupta was receiving the submission of the oceanic rulers after his defeat of the Pallavas. Yet the inscription is undoubtedly a "Pallava" inscription, that is to say, it is written in what is called *Grantha-Pallava* or *Vengi* from the district in which this type of writing is noteworthy.

From Rajapuri in Siam there comes another inscription, on a Buddha, which records a Sri Samadhigupta and which Professor Coedès dates towards the 6th or 7th centuries A.D. (200, p. 33). These seem to be the only records of *gupta* names in Further India.

Next there is the so-called 'Pallava seal' about which there is quite a literature. It was found by Mr. Ivor Evans at Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak, and consists of an inscribed cornelian which is apparently part of a signet ring though the ring itself was not found.

The site is archaeologically a very important one but Mr. Evans was never able to excavate it completely and it is hoped that Dr. Quaritch Wales will return to it some day. The reader is referred to Mr. Evans' accounts (201 ; 202 ; 203 ; and 204) for full details and copious illustrations, the seal itself being illustrated and described in the last of these articles.

The writing on the seal is the box-headed type known as the Pallava script. The name on the seal was at first taken to read 'Sri Visnuvarman' and the engraving was dated palaeographically as about 400 A.D. but later Dr. Callenfels suggested the 6th century. Dr. Blagden and Mr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum considered 400 A.D. to be too early and thought it even possible that the seal might be a great deal later ; they read the inscription as "Sri Visnuvarmmasya".

Sir Richard Winstedt in 1932 wrote that the seal was "engraved with the name of a Hindu prince Sri Vishnuvarman, in Pallava characters of the 5th century A.D." (205, p. 5) ; but later he and Mr. Wilkinson in their *History of Perak* (108, p. 4) wrote that it was "engraved with the words Sri Vishnuvarmmasya, in Pallava characters of the 7th century A.D. or later" ; which view Sir Richard repeated in his *History of Malaya* (92, p. 20).

In 1934 the writer put the matter up to Professor Nilakanta Sastri who was "unable to agree that the seal is specifically Pallava or that it is a very early specimen" ; he read it as either Sri Visnu Varmmasya or Sri Visnu Sarammasya "the termination being wrong in either case, and the usual form being Varmanah or Sarmanah". The writer sent a note of the Professor's views to this Journal (206) which brought forth a most interesting article by Dr. Chhabra (207) in which he anticipated the publication of the views expressed in his monograph on the Pallavas (138). Dr. Chhabra reads the seal as Sri-Visnuvarmmasya and considers this to be a genitive, meaning that the seal belonged to Sri Visnuvarman whom he identifies very positively with the King Visnu of the Ligor inscription, part of which is dated 775 A.D.

In 1936 Professor Nilakanta Sastri contributed a note upon the seal to this Journal (208). He suggests that it belonged to a merchant named Visnuvarmma and that this merchant was probably

not a south Indian but came from central India while he agreed that the best opinion put the seal nearer the sixth century A.D. than the fourth, though the earlier date is not an impossibility.

Finally, Dr. Majumdar in his recent book (181, p. 8) says that the seal is "engraved with the name of a Hindu prince Sri Visnuvarman in characters of the fifth century A.D." and in a footnote he says that Dr. Chhabra's ascription of it to the eighth century A.D. "is very doubtful". He makes no mention at all of Professor Nilakanta Sastri's opinion.

It is, then obvious that the only thing which can be said about this seal is that upon the opinions of experts it dates between 400 A.D. and 775 A.D. but preferably between 400 and 600 A.D.

Leaving the British part of the Peninsula and going to the Siamese Dr. Majumdar (181, p. 90) gives us No. 13, the Takuapa inscription, of which he says that it has not been deciphered yet but that the characters are of early Indian type, showing no traces of the characteristics of south Indian alphabets. He cites Finot and an article by Gerini in 1904 but curiously ignores everything else that has been written about this celebrated inscription. We refer the reader to Professor Nilakanta Sastri's very full study (209) and Professor Coedès' note upon the inscription (200, pp. 49-50), which contains Hultzsch's translation. The inscription has been translated fully by Professor Nilakanta Sastri and he makes it clear that it is in the tamil language and dates from the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. We shall deal with it again when we reach it chronologically.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri's consideration of the inscription has one very important effect; it dislodges a great deal of argument whereby Takuapa was identified with Takola following Gerini. Here again etymology went in face of the facts (46, pp. 85-94) since Takuapa is north of Junk Ceylon whereas Ptolemy's Takola was considerably south of the promontory which began the Golden Chersonese, *i.e.* Junk Ceylon. Dr. Quaritch Wales (82a and 210) takes Takuapa to be Takola but he does not explain why. Dr. Majumdar (181, p. 81) seems to accept Gerini's identification, for which there is nothing in support except argument from names such as Takua-pa, Takua-thai and Takua-thung. We shall refer to the question again *infra*.

Dr. Majumdar's No. 17 is "an inscription from Caiya inscribed on a pillar. It is written in sanskrit with characters belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D." This presumably is the inscription which Dr. Chhabra calls that of Sri Deb in his monograph (138, pp. 54-55) and he says in a footnote that Finot in 1910 thought that it probably came from Chaiya on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. Dr. Chhabra says that this inscription which is now in the Bangkok Museum actually came from Sri Deb or Sri T'ep in Siam. Dr. Quaritch Wales (210, p. 66)

says that though the inscription was at first thought to come from Chaiya "it was subsequently shown that the stone in fact came from Sri Deva", the ancient name of Sri T'ep. Palaeographically, this inscription is generally taken to date in the fifth century. It is in Pallava sanskrit as is another which Dr. Quaritch Wales discovered at Sri T'ep; this latter is dated by Dr. L. D. Barnett in the early sixth century.

This leaves us with Dr. Majumdar's Nos. 14-16, "Inscriptions, discovered at Ligor, of not later than the fifth century A.D. These have not been edited yet, but the characters resemble those of Takua Pa (No. 13)". These three inscriptions come from Nak'on Sri Thammarat, the modern name for the ancient Nagara Sri Dharmaraja, a very ancient site for the antiquities of which the reader is referred to De Lajonquière (211 and 212), Claeys (213) and Coedès (214).

Of the three inscriptions two are upon a porphyry slab and are dated by Finot as from the fourth to fifth centuries (199, p. 147) but by Coedès from the fifth to the sixth (200, p. 55). As far as they are decipherable they contain nothing of interest. The third inscription is in the Tamil language and was at first dated by Aymonier and Finot as from the fourth to the fifth centuries A.D. but Hultzsch showed that it was later than that of Takuapa and dated probably from the Chola dynasty. Coedès says that the first face might once have been in sanskrit but the second is in tamil and he gives a translation by Hultzsch (200, pp. 58-59). This inscription, then, does not belong in this period of our essay.

For our present period, therefore, the epigraphic evidence so far discovered in the Malay Peninsula consists of the inscriptions (a) from Kedah and Province Wellesley (b) from Kuala Selinsing, Perak, (c) from Nak'on Sri Thammarat, Ligor.

We pass now to Java where we have four rock inscriptions in Pallava-Grantha script. Three inscriptions, at Ci-aruton, Jambu and Kebon Kopi respectively, were found close to each other in the hilly country around Buitenzorg while the fourth was found at Tugu near the sea-coast east of Tandjong Priok, the port of Batavia. They should be studied in the monographs by Dr. Chhabra (138) and Dr. Vogel (215), and in Dr. Chatterjee's book (192) while they are fully considered by Dr. Majumdar (181). They record a king named Purnavarman, the ruler of a town called Taruma, whose footprints were likened to those of Visnu and who dug two canals named Candrabhaga and Gomati, both being names of well-known rivers of north India, though, as usual, these names were also found for rivers elsewhere, *e.g.* in south India and for certain channels in Ceylon (138, p. 33).

Purnavarman's footprints form the subject-matter of the inscriptions at Ci-aruton and Jambu; his elephant's footprints those of the inscription at Kebon Kopi; and the digging of the

canal Gomati that of the Tugu inscription which says that this event occurred in the 22nd year of the king's reign but unfortunately mentions no era.

The king's title was *rajadhiraja*; the name of his town, Taruma, is an Indonesian word for 'indigo' according to Professor Krom but, again, there was a city Taruma mentioned in a south Indian inscription (139, p. 32).

Dr. Vogel makes a very shrewd deduction from the dates given in the fourth inscription which says that the canal took 21 days to dig and gives the month dates of the first and last days. He deduces that the *amanta*¹ system of reckoning months was used and not the *purnimanta*²; he says (215, p. 32) that "the use of the *amanta* month, therefore, in Purnavarman's inscription may be taken as another indication of south Indian influence. I may add that, whereas the Vikrama era is generally associated with the *purnimanta* scheme (except in Gujerat) the Saka era has the *amanta* month, especially in Southern India, which is the real home of that era".

These four inscriptions are usually taken to belong to the middle of the fifth century A.D. Dr. Majumdar, however, thinks that it would be reasonable to place Purnavarman in the sixth century (181, p. 110) but he does not seem to be altogether consistent because (*ibid.* at p. 113) he also speaks of them as being of the fifth century.

Then there are Pallava-Grantha inscription at Tuk Mas at the foot of the volcano Merbabu in Central Java and at the Dieng plateau in Central Java. There is doubt as to the date of these, the former of which only has been deciphered since the latter is too obliterated. Dr. Chhabra (138, p. 33) says that the former was dated palaeographically in the fifth century by Professor Kern whereas Professor Krom places it in the seventh century. Which-ever opinion is correct, Dr. Chhabra says that it may be regarded as the earliest known vestige of the Hindus in Central Java; there is, however, nothing in the wording of the inscription of interest to us. The latter inscription is of "about the same time (*i.e.* 600 or 700 A.D.)", according to Dr. Chhabra (*ibid.* p. 34). Dr. Majumdar (181, p. 114) says that the Tuk Mas inscription shows "a developed stage of that used by Purnavarman, and may thus be referred to the seventh century A.D.".

These last inscriptions then may or may not belong in our present period but, despite the very high authority which an opinion of Professor Kern possesses, we presume it to be safer to say that, following the opinions of later experts, they should be

¹Which reckons from new moon to new moon.

²Which reckons from full moon to full moon.

ascribed to our next period. We have, therefore, in Java epigraphic evidence for our present period only from the Residency of Batavia, *i.e.* West Java.

We go next to Borneo where we have the famous sanskrit *yupa* inscriptions of Koetei, East Borneo, which may be studied in Dr. Vogel's well-known monograph (191) and in Chhabra (138) and Chatterjee (192) while they are considered by Dr. Majumdar (181, pp. 126-128). These four inscriptions are in the Pallava-Grantha script and are inscribed on *yupas*, or sacrificial stone shafts, which are now to be seen in the Batavia Museum. They give us the names of a king Mulavarman, his father Asvavarman and his grandfather Kundunga. It is said that Asvavarman was the founder of a noble race like Amsumat, who is the Sun-God, literally 'the Radiant One'. It is, accordingly, thought that Mulavarman was of the solar line of kings. The inscriptions make it clear that he was of the Brahmanical caste and the nature of the sacrifices to which the inscriptions refer and the posts themselves indicate clearly the worship of Siva. Mulavarman's title is *rajendra* in one inscription and *rajna* in the other three.

The names of the royal persons obviously present matters of great interest. As Dr. Majumdar says (181, p. 127) "Mulavarman was undoubtedly a historical personage, but the same cannot be asserted with certainty of his two predecessors". Dr. Majumdar calls attention to the striking resemblance between Kundunga and Asvavarman and Kaundinya and Asvatthama. We have already dealt with this question in the last part of this essay where we were able to print a note by Dr. Chhabra dealing with Kundunga. Dr. Majumdar, however, proceeds "But in spite of the resemblance in the names, it should be remembered, that as the inscription was a contemporary record of Mulavarman, its writers were not likely to have given two mythical names as those of his father and grand-father; and as such we can accept them as historical personages". He then has this most interesting paragraph—"The second king has a correct Sanskrit name, whereas the name of the first may be either of Indian or native origin. The second king is also referred to as the founder of the family. On these grounds Krom concludes that Kundunga was a native chief whose son adopted Hindu religion and culture, and thus became the founder of a Hindu-ized royal family. This, however, cannot be readily accepted, as 'Vamsakartha' does not necessarily mean the first King of a long line, but may refer to the most illustrious member of it".

The Koetei inscriptions are not dated but on palaeographic grounds they are universally accepted as being *circa* 400 A.D., being thus taken as generally contemporary with those from Kedah and Province Wellesley.

Somewhat later in date are the eight sanskrit inscriptions in Pallava-Grantha engraved on a rock near the springs of the

Tekarek River at Batoe Pahat¹ in West Borneo. Dr. Chhabra is the only authority in the English language for these inscriptions (138, p. 41) and he considers that they testify to the early existence of Buddhism in Borneo for he finds in them phrases similar to those used in the Bukit Meriam and Buddhagupta inscriptions in Kedah but he dates them (*ibid.* at p. 61) as being considerably later *viz.* in the sixth century A.D. Dr. Majumdar refers to them (181, p. 130) but he says nothing as to their date, and contents himself with only a brief note, citing Dr. Chhabra.

For our present period, therefore, the epigraphic evidence so far discovered in Malaysia outside the Malay Peninsula consists of the inscriptions from (a) the Batavia District in West Java (b) Koetei, East Borneo (c) Batoe Pahat, West Borneo.

We turn now to Indo-China and begin with the Champa inscriptions that fall within our present period. They may be studied in Dr. Majumdar's book on Champa (175) with which Dr. Chhabra's monograph should be read (138). All are sanskrit in the Pallava-Grantha script.

First, there is a group of five consisting of the two Cho Dinh rock inscriptions, the My-son stele inscription, the Chiem-Son rock inscription and the Hon-Cuc stone inscription, all of which are considered palaeographically to date from *circa* 400 A.D., thus falling into line with the Buddhagupta and Mulavarman inscriptions, though it is generally considered that those relating to King Bhadravarman are slightly the older, Professor Coedès taking them to be *circa* 350 A.D. It is clear that the break between them and the Vo-canh inscription is a very long one.²

The Cho Dinh inscriptions are engraved on a rock in the village of Nhan-thap, to the north of Cape Varella, Cho Dinh actually being the name of a near-by market-place. They refer to a sacrifice to Siva and mention a king (Dharma-Maharaja) Bhadravarman. The My-son inscription is inscribed on a stele in front of the large temple of My-son, a village in the district of Quang Nam. It records a perpetual endowment to Bhadresvara, *i.e.* Siva, and mentions King Bhadravarman as the donor. Dr. Majumdar (175, p. 5) writes that "judging from the number and beauty of temples which once surrounded the shrine, and the many endowments that have been made to it by successive Kings, the temple of Bhadresvara seems to have enjoyed a very high prestige in Champa".³ The Chiem-Son and Hon Cuc inscriptions mention nothing of interest to us but we can deduce one geographic fact

¹Batoe is the Dutch way of writing *batu*, malay for rock or stone, while *pahat* is malay for a chisel. Batu Pahat is a common toponym throughout Malaysia but this one in Borneo seems to be the only one where a chiselled rock exists.

²This, however, must now be read subject to Dr. Sircar's views.

³Could this be the great temple of Siva to which the Vayu Purana refers? See the last part of this essay, pp. 69 and 116.

from them and the My-son inscription, namely that the river Song-thu-bon, a little to the east of My-son was known as the 'Great River'. The Chiem-Son inscription is engraved on a rock overhanging the river Song-Thu-bon a little to the east of My-son while the Hon-Cuc inscription is engraved on a rock called Hon-Cuc near the village of Chim-Son in the province of Quang Nam.

Lastly, there is the My-son stele of King Sambhuvarman which is dated in the Saka era; but unfortunately the exact year is missing so that it can only be said that it was between 479 and 577 A.D. It tells us that the Bhadresvara (Siva) temple at My-son had been burned down and that it was restored by King Sambhuvarman; it confirms to the temple the endowment of land made by King Bhadravarman and it mentions a King Rudravarman. The last king is described as "the ornament of the Brahma-Ksatriya family", and the inscription says that "while four hundred.... years of the Sakas had elapsed, the temple of the God of Gods was burnt by fire". The date of Rudravarman's death was given but unfortunately is missing now. The inscription calls the country Campadesa or the Kingdom of Champa. In this inscription, therefore, we have the first use in Further India of the Saka year and the first use of the name Champa.

For our present period then, the epigraphic evidence so far discovered concerning Champa consists of the inscriptions from (a) Nanthap, to the north of Cape Varella (b) My-son, Quang Nam (c) Chim Son, Quang Nam.

We go now to such inscriptions as can be said to relate to Funan. First, there is what is known as the Thap-muoi pedestal inscription engraved on a slate pillar which was found among the ruins of the monument of Prasat Pram Loven on the hill of Thap-muoi in the Plaine des Joncs near Saigon. Then, there is an inscription on a slab of schist discovered at the monument of Ta Prohm in the province of Bati; and, lastly, an inscription recently discovered near the village of Khvao in the district of Prei Sandek, province of Treang. The first two may be studied in Professor Coedès' article (177) and Dr. Chhabra (138) also refers to it, while the last has only recently been published by Professor Coedès (216).

The Thap-Muoi inscription is considered palaeographically to be contemporaneous with Purnavarman's inscriptions in Java and so is allocated to the latter half of the fifth century A.D. It records the foundation of a sanctuary and the foot-prints therein of Visnu under the name of Cakratirthasvamin by Gunavarman, a king's son, and it begins with reference to a king whose name is lost except for the first two letters Ja.... and who conquered in battle another king named Vira...., the rest of the name being lost. Apparently Gunavarman was the son of the former. The inscription mentions but does not name his mother. His father is

called "the moon of the line of Kaundinya" and it is stated that Gunavarman had been appointed by the king, his father, as "chief of a religious domain conquered from the mud" which evidently means reclaimed by drainage and drying from the alluvium of the Mekhong which constitutes the Plaine des Jongs to-day.

The Treang inscription made known by Professor Coedès (216) relates to the foundation of a hermitage with a tank and a dwelling-house by Queen Kulaprabhavati, the principal spouse of a king called Jayavarman, and Professor Coedès says that the palaeography dates the inscription to the end of the fifth century A.D. He thinks that this king was the father of Gunavarman above. The inscription mentions the town of Kurumba; and like that of Gunavarman it shows a Visnuite character.

The third of the Funan inscriptions had for its purpose the praise of a religious chief of the Brahmins whose name is now missing. It mentions a King Rudravarman and his father Jayavarman but this text shows a Buddhistic influence in the invocation part of it. Professor Coedès (177) says that it must be dated a little before the middle of the sixth century A.D. but this does not seem to be consistent with his later article (216) in which he says that Rudravarman's accession was posterior to 614 A.D.

Finally, we may remark that in Siam there was a kingdom called Dvaravati from which inscriptions in the pali and mon languages have been found that date from the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D. The writer is unable to give exact references to these.

In dealing with the Pallava-Grantha inscriptions Dr. Chhabra draws some important conclusions. He finds that the early waves of immigrants must have hailed from those regions of south India that were under the government of the Pallavas in those times and principally from the Coromandel coast. He points to the use of *varman* in the names of all the kings mentioned, this also being part of the nomenclature of the Pallava kings and he also points to the use of the Saka era, which was prevalent in south India, though not used by the Pallavas themselves. The Vikrama era was common in north India but this also was not used by the Pallavas who employed for dating purposes merely the regnal years of their kings.

Dr. Chhabra in a footnote (138, p. 58) says that *varman* was originally a nominal addition used by Ksatriyas just as *gupta* was by Vaisyas, *sarman* by Brahmins and *dasa* by Sudras. Later it came to denote simply that the bearer belonged to a ruling class irrespective of caste. We have already noted that the Pallavas were Brahmins of the Bharadvaja *gotra*.

Then, Dr. Chhabra has an important note as to the evidence concerning religion which is afforded by the inscriptions. "Religion", he says at p. 59, "has all along been the pivot round which all the activities of the Hindus revolve. The same is noticeable in the lands and islands that come under their influence. Although ever since the time of Asoka (c. 250 B.C.) Buddhism had been spreading far and wide outside India, yet according to epigraphical evidence, it was Brahmanism that was first to reach the countries under discussion. This colonial Brahmanism expresses itself in three main forms; Sivaism, Visnuism and the cult of Agastya. All of them had their origin in India". At p. 53, he notes how in the Cambodian texts there is evidence of the early existence of Brahmanism and Buddhism almost side by side.

The fact is that in ancient times there seems to have been that same religious tolerance in Further India that is so marked a feature of life to-day. Chatterjee (107, p. 241) calls attention to the "strange combination" of Mahayana doctrines with the worship of Siva in ancient Cambodia and says that it "has its parallel in Champa, in Java under the Singasari and the Majapahit dynasties, and in Magadha and Bengal under the Pala dynasty". He says that other Indian cults were not unknown in Cambodia and that the worship of Hari-hara (Visnu and Siva combined in one) was very popular in Cambodia in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.

There was in Further India none of the antagonism between Buddhism and Brahmanism, between Visnuism and Sivaism that led to so much bloodshed at various times and places in the mother country. When one notes the prevalence of any particular faith, one must not, then, draw any conclusions of conflict with other faiths or make any of the other deductions that one might have to do if one were dealing with the same evidence at the same date in India.

Archaeology is so very technical a subject that it is not possible for us to summarize all the evidence which it affords for our present period but some general observations may be useful.

In the Malay Peninsula we have in the Siamese part evidence of ancient Indian settlements at Takuapa, Trang, Chaiya and Nak'on Sri Thammarat for all of which the reader should see in particular Claeys (213) and Quaritch Wales (82A and 210) but just how early these settlements actually were it does not seem possible to say.

In the British part of the Peninsula we have for certain the ancient sites in Kedah and Province Wellesley dating from at least the middle of the fourth century and the ancient site at Kuala Selinsing, Perak, dating from the evidence of the seal to at least circa 600 A.D., and from the evidence of beads cited in the last part of this essay possibly dating back to a period contemporary

with the Kedah and Province Wellesley sites. Then we also have ancient sites in Pahang for which the reader is referred to Dr. Linehan's work (217-220).

We think it fair to say upon the archaeological evidence alone that between 200 and 600 A.D. there were ancient Indian settlements in Kedah and Province Wellesley ; in Perak, up the Bernam and around the Batang Padang district, and at Kuala Selinsing ; and in Johore, up the Johore River and around Kota Tinggi. Dr. Linehan writes to us that in his view the Pahang sites so far discovered give no evidence of Indian settlement there. No Hindu religious symbols have yet been found on these sites. We do not say that the settlements we have mentioned were the only ones ; the fact is that a really authentic article setting out the sum of our present archaeological knowledge of the Malay Peninsula is very badly needed and, naturally, only an expert could attempt such a work. Most of the authorities are collected in the bibliography to this essay.

We turn now to Funan and find ourselves almost entirely dependent upon the Chinese records ; indeed but for their mention of the state the name would have been entirely unknown. Yet its importance is tremendous for it was the first great Indian kingdom in south-eastern Asia known to us and out of it grew the great Khmer empire of Cambodia.

As we are about to introduce the Chinese records concerning Greater India into the narrative of this essay it may be as well to point out some facts concerning them. In the first place, it is obvious that, save by sinologists, translations must be used ; and the translators do not always agree, indeed sometimes they are scornful of each other. They very rarely spell Chinese names or words in the same way ; and their translations for the greater part are given for the purpose of expressing theories or illuminating essays upon special subjects.

In the second place, none of the translators has been content to give a simple translation in chronological order of all the relevant passages and retaining the original Chinese names. Groeneveldt goes nearest to doing so but his translations are not complete and they suffer from the facts that he places them in the geographical compartments to which he conceives them to belong and that he frequently uses modern names without showing what are the Chinese originals.

In the third place, it seems that there are still many passages which have not been translated and, perhaps, which have not so far been mentioned at all.

As we are about to deal with many Chinese names we must remind the reader that in quoting authors who write in French we preserve their way of transliterating the Chinese. Amongst 1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

English writers there are many variations of spelling and consistency therefore becomes impossible since we must always be quoting. Finally, most English writers seem to follow Karlgren and it must be remembered that "his "Ancient Chinese" gives mainly the pronunciation of the Ch'angnan dialect of North China about the year 600 A.D.", according to Mr. G. H. Luce to whose work we shall be referring the reader later on in this essay.

We shall try to deal with the Chinese evidence available to us in a chronological sequence but it is very difficult to do so. Groeneveldt, Schlegel, Pelliot, Hirth, Rockhill, Ferrand and the rest were not mere translators; they were also exponents of theories and hypotheses and very rarely were they concerned with any systematic chronology.

The writer suggests that it is essential to the further progress of the ancient history of Greater India that some scholar should prepare a bald translation in chronological sequence of all the available Chinese evidence, retaining the Chinese names and showing the characters for them. If a note as to the Fukien pronunciation of the place-names could be added, it would be very useful. No one would be content to make such a translation unless paid and it would, therefore, be necessary for some society or group of societies to finance the work and its publication. But without such a work it is utterly impossible to check the theories of sinologists and etymologists who so far have had the field as the parade ground for their generally conflicting views and who too frequently set aside given facts because they do not agree with etymological theories.

The *locus classicus* for the history of Funan is, of course, Pelliot's famous essay (221).

Gerini (46, p. 207) was the first to point out that the Chinese name Funan was the transcription of the indigenous name for 'mountain': and it is accepted to-day that Funan represents the Khmer *vnam*, modern Cambodian *phnom*, meaning 'mountain'. Dr. Linehan writes that *gunong*, the Malay for mountain, is doubtless akin to Funan, *vnam* and *phnom*. For a discussion of the name, its connection with a mountain and for the site of the state and its capital the reader is referred to Finot (150; 223) and Coedès (222; 224) besides Pelliot's articles (129; 221).

The exact location of Funan has been the subject of dispute. Groeneveldt (148) and Schlegel (174) both give it as Siam, more often than not without showing the Chinese characters or otherwise warning their readers that they are writing about Funan in reality; Hirth and Rockhill (226, p. 50) take Funan as being "roughly Siam". Takakasu (227, p. 11) places it in Siam but says (*ibid.* p. 12) that it also included a part of Cambodia. Bose (225) says that "the valley of the Menam formed an integral part of the Kingdom of Funan and the empire of Kambuja for

long centuries". Finot, however, considers the basin of the Mekhong to have been the locale of Funan (150, p. 61) and Pelliot (221, p. 284) cites a Chinese work which says that the kingdom of Funan had the "Port of the Thousand Rivers" which seems to be a reference to the Mekhong. Chinese records make it clear that Funan commanded the Gulf of Siam and that it was a compulsory stopping-place on the route to China.

The student will see from the preceding paragraph, and generally as this essay progresses, that it is quite impossible to depend upon any one authority where Chinese place-names are concerned; all available must be examined.

The best opinion to-day is, as stated by Quaritch Wales (228, p. 82), that Funan "occupied at first what we now call Cochin-China, around the mouths of the Mekhong"; and that in its heyday it corresponded to the whole of Cochin-China and Cambodia (183, p. 50), though it is often equated loosely with Cambodia (e.g. 229, p. 153). At one time its suzerainty seems to have covered at all events parts of Siam and the Malay Peninsula.

Quaritch Wales (228 p. 90) says that the ancient capitals of Funan were at Basak, Sambor du Fleuve, and Angkor Borei (Vyadhapura).

We have already made a passing reference to the legend of the founding of Funan¹ and we shall elaborate it. In the first half of the third century, probably about 245-250 A.D., two Chinese functionaries named K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying were sent to enquire as to the strangers beyond the bounds of Je-nan and they either visited or learned about a hundred and more countries of which they made accounts, publishing on their return to China two works in which they recounted their experiences. These accounts have been lost but fortunately they provided so much information for the compilers of the Chinese annals that a good deal of their work remains in quotations. The *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, of the period 977-983 A.D., quotes their account of Funan; and we give a free rendering of Pelliot's translation of the passage (146, pp. 245-6):—"In the beginning Funan had as its sovereign a woman called Lieou-ye. There was a man of the country of Mofan called Houen-chen, who liked to worship a spirit, in which his ardour never failed. The spirit was touched by his great piety. One night Houen-chen dreamed that a man gave him a divine bow and ordered him to embark on a large merchant junk and put to sea. In the morning, Houen-chen went into the temple and at the foot of the tree of the spirit, he found a bow. Then he embarked on a great ship and put to sea. The spirit turned the wind so that the ship reached Funan. Lieou-ye wanted to pirate the ship and possess it. Houen-

¹This Journal, 1937, vol. XV, Pt. 3, at pp. 100-101.

chen raised the divine bow and shot. The arrow pierced the boat of Lieou-ye from side to side. Lieou-ye was frightened and yielded and thus Houen-chen became king of Funan."

Other versions of the legend are to be found in the *Chin Shu*¹ which gives the stranger's name as Houen-houei; in the *Nan Ch'i Shu*² which gives the name of Houen-t'ien and says that he came from the country of Ki and also says that finding Lieou-ye going naked he made her clothe herself; and in the *Liang Shu*³ which also gives the name as Houen-t'ien but says that he came from the country of Kiao, which was south of Funan, and also says that he made Lieou-ye clothe herself. The same legend will be found in Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen Hsien T'ung Kao*, written in the thirteenth century A.D. and having as its basis Tu Yu's *T'ung T'ien*, 735-812 A.D.; it was translated into French by d'Hervey de Saint-Denys but it is said that the translation is not good. It gives the stranger's name as Houen-houei and says that he came from the country of Ki, south of Funan (230, p. 437).

Pelliot, and following him every one else, takes the name of the stranger as Houen-t'ien, which is a Chinese transliteration for Kaundinya, while Lieou-ye represents an indigenous name and means Willow Leaf. The legend, then, tells us that a Kaundinya arrived in Funan from the south by ship on the favourable monsoon (the spirit having turned the wind *i.e.* to south-west) and married Willow Leaf the local chieftainess after subduing her tribe. Whence did this Kaundinya come? Pelliot (146, p. 247) says that K'ang T'ai elsewhere said that the country was 'now' (*i.e.* circa 245-250 A.D.) called Wou-wen which he considers to have been on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; his reasoning and etymology should be studied. Ki and Kiao he cannot explain beyond saying that one is an alteration of the other.

The folk-lore concerning the magic bow of the earliest Kaundinya is considered by Finot (223, pp. 30-37) and he points out how it corresponds with the spear of Kaundinya in the My-son Stele inscription of 579 Saka, 657 A.D. This inscription, as translated by Majumdar (175, III, p. 23) says concerning the town of Bhava (Bhavapura) that it was "there that Kaundinya, the foremost among Brahmanas, planted the spear which he had obtained from Drona's son 'Asvatthama, the best of Brahmanas. There was a daughter of the king of serpents, called Soma, who founded a family in this world. Having attained, through love, to a radically different element, she lived in the habitations of man. She was taken as wife by the excellent Brahmana Kaundinya" etc. Finot says that this legend was carried to

¹History of the Chins, 265-419 A.D., compiled by Fang Hsuan-ling, 576-648 A.D.

²Written by Hsiao-Tzu-hsien, 489-537, A.D.

³History of the Liangs, 502-556 A.D., written by Yao Chien who died in 643, A.D.

Champa by a Cambodian princess. He also points out that Soma and her family, the Somavamsa, were connected with the moon and the lunar kings, while later inscriptions show that Kambu from whom the Cambodian kings traced their descent by his marriage with the *apsara* Mera was of the *Suryavamsa* or solar line of kings. These Cambodian kings succeeded Funan after its overthrow by their founder but they seem to have adopted the Funan family tradition and sacrificed their own.

One seems to glimpse a chain. The Pallavas overthrew the Cholas and took over a Chola tradition of descent from a Nagi; Kaundinya of Funan marries a local 'Indonesian' princess and so a Nagi; to their race the Pallava tradition is applied; Cambodia overthrows Funan and its kings take over the Funan tradition of descent. Later we shall suggest it to be possible that the first kings of Palembang might have been Sailendra princes from Funan. If so, they would take with them their traditions; we have suggested that in effect the *Sejarah Melayu* does tell a tradition of descent similar to the Pallava. And we have shown that in the tradition in the *Sejarah Melayu* and in Menangkabau documents which we have quoted the spear *Limbuar* plays a prominent part. Wilkinson has taken this to represent Demang Lebar Daun and to be an 'Indonesian' weapon. Is it not possible that the spear of Asvatthama is the true connection?

As for the magic bow of Kaundinya we referred briefly in the last part of this essay to the legend in the Kedah Annals concerning the founding of the State of Perak by a prince armed with a magic bow. Winstedt and Wilkinson in their history of Perak (108) consider the legends of the founding of the State. These include (see p. 119) a silver bow and a silver arrow (silver, of course, to explain the name Perak, which is Malay for that metal) and the giving of this bow to a prince whose grandfather said "shoot, and where the arrow falls thou shalt be king. Call the country Perak, that is, silver". The arrow flew for seven days and seven nights and fell at Pulau Indra Sakti. In the Kedah Annals we are told that the name of the bow was Indra Sakti. Winstedt (231) points out the extraneous nature of a bow to a Peninsular tradition; he asks "whence did a Malay chronicler get the non-Malayan idea of choosing a site by loosing an arrow, a weapon seldom or never employed by people of his race, into trackless forests?" His solution is that "evidently in this Kedah legend we meet another instance of Malay indebtedness to Persian models, such as is seen in the introduction to the *Sejarah Melayu* (Wilkinson's *Malay Literature*, I, p. 18) and in the introduction of the same type to the *Kedah Annals*".

Maxwell (232) gives a translation of the passage from the Kedah Annals and also a great deal of interesting matter concerning the legends in Perak. The Kedah Annals, which call the bow Indra Sakti, say that the prince loosed his arrow when he came to

'the tributary of a large stream which flowed down to the sea. Further on they came to a large sheet of water, in the midst of which were four islands''. The arrow fell on one of these islands which was accordingly called Pulau (island) Indra Sakti¹ and on which the settlement was made, the town including a fort, palace and council-chamber. The name was later changed to Negri (country) Perak. Of this story Maxwell says that it has no local currency in Perak and that the Perak Malay commences the history of this country with the legend of the White Semang which he gives in full in his article. He says that 'it is not easy to name any spot in Perak which corresponds in the least with the lake and islands described in the text. Colonel Low suggests the Dindings, or some tract near the Bruas River. The latter is probably the oldest settled district in Perak. The *Sejarah Melayu* mentions a 'Raja of Bruas' before there was a Raja of Perak of the Johor line. Local traditions, too, all speak of Bruas as the ancient seat of government. Localities on that river are identified by natives as the scenes of the fabulous adventures described in the *Hikayat Shamsubahrin*² and it is traditionally related that the Bruas was formerly connected with the Perak River at a place now called Tepus, but then called Tumbus. Ancient tombs at Bruas support the popular tradition of its importance as a settlement in former times. The most venerable spot in Perak, however, is Tumung on the Perak River, a few miles north of Kwala Kangsa³, which is the scene of the legend of the White Semang already alluded to''.

Dr. Linehan writes that he "carried out some investigations into the tombs of Bruas and that at Temong or Tumong. The pattern of the stones and the script of the inscriptions show that the graves at Bruas and that at Temong are contemporaneous. The script of the Temong stones has been examined by Indian and Malay scholars but has not yet been deciphered; neither has the writing on the Bruas stones. The script is Arabic (in Naskh, not Kufic characters as some people have thought) and is apparently a religious formula repeated again and again. The local religious leaders at Temong who were present when the tomb there was being photographed expressed surprise at the view that there was an inscription on the tomb. They had taken the letters for pure ornamentation!

"The first to record the existence of To' Temong's grave was Sir Hugh Low, British Resident of Perak in 1877 (?) in his Journal.

"To' Temong must have been a very celebrated lady for we can follow the tradition of her fame across the divide into the valley of the Lipis in Pahang. In a genealogical account of the family

¹In connection with the name Dr. Linehan notes that there is a locality called by that name on the Pahang River nearly opposite Pulau Tawar in Pahang.

²Now written *Shamsu'l-barain*.

³Now written *Kuala Kangsar*, where H.H. the Sultan lives.

of the Orang Kaya Stia Wangsa of Lipis she appears as *Baginda Damun*. That family traced their descent from Kota Lama in Perak so the introduction by them into Pahang of the tradition of To' Temong may readily be understood.

"I have made a study of old Muslim tomb-stones throughout the Peninsula and the Bruas and Temong ones are not quite like any I have yet encountered in ornamentation and in script though they may be proto-types of the Achinese grave stones of the seventeenth century in the grave-yard Makam Chondong in Pahang. For Muslim graves they are properly ornamented (N. and S.). They almost certainly do not go back to a period prior to the fifteenth century".

It will, then, be seen that the tombs are Mohamedan: and, so far as is known to us, there is no evidence of any very great antiquity in the settlement at Bruas.

It is very clear that there are three traditions in Perak (1) the tradition recorded in the *Sejarah Melayu* that the Sultans of Perak are descended from a prince of the Malacca-Johor line; this is accepted as the authentic tradition (108, p. 7); (2) a legend that the state was brought into being as the result of the union of Nakhoda Kasim with a girl from the White Semang, in which legend are mixed up a Bamboo Princess and a minister Tan Saban who came from Tanah Merah, meaning Red Earth but a very common toponym in the Peninsula; (3) a legend which connects the State of Perak with a prince armed with a magic bow. These legends should be carefully studied and we suggest that (1) is clearly the one which history can accept, that (2) contains some very ancient 'Indonesian' legend, and that (3) is entirely foreign and was introduced from another tradition in order to explain the name *Perak* in a fashion so very familiar in Malaysian literature.

Now, though nobody yet seems to have stated the fact, the name *Perak* is very strange and so far inexplicable. The ancient name *Manjong* would seem to have been used in very old times for some portion of the State but Maxwell (224) says that he could get no information about it in Perak itself. Dr. Linehan writes that *Manjong* is probably connected etymologically with *Semenanjung*, meaning a peninsula. Dato Douglas has an interesting, though inconclusive, note on the name *Perak* which he says does not appear before 1529 A.D. He wonders if the connection may not be with the Malay *barat*.¹

Why should the State be called *Perak* or *Negri Perak*, the Silver Country? There would seem to be no trace of silver there; indeed, Mr. J. B. Scrivenor, lately Government Geologist, writing in Burkill's very valuable *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, 1935, says that silver is only found in the

¹This Journal, 1938, Pt. I, p. 151.

Peninsula as an impurity in galena and that attempts to extract it on a paying basis failed. The present writer put the matter up to Mr. Fred Wickett, a very well-known miner and long time resident of Perak, and in a letter he replied that the late Sultan Idris of Perak had told him in 1900 that "sampans loaded with silver ingots (boat-shaped) used to be brought past Kuala Kangsar" and that "the silver came from a big silver mine somewhere on the Siam-Legeh-Perak-Kelantan boundary but the Sultan did not know where." Mr. Wickett says that he and a friend for years spent a lot of time looking for the place but without success. Dr. Linehan writes that Mr. Bozzolo, the first District Officer of Upper Perak, was through the country mentioned by Mr. Wickett in 1889 and says nothing about the existence of silver mines in his report. Perak has been famous for tin as far back as its history can be traced and it also possesses alluvial gold in the Batang Padang district and in olden times probably very much more; but how did it ever come to be called the Silver Country? There is a mystery and the explanation might perhaps be that the name was originally different but near enough to change into Perak.

It is clear that the legend of the magic bow is entirely foreign to true Perak tradition and the question arises whence it came. As we have seen, Sir Richard Winstedt would go to Persia. One wonders, though, whether it may not really be connected with Funan and India. We shall see shortly that Funan was overlord of part of the Malay Peninsula and we have already seen that the first Kaundinya came from the south from Mo-fou or Mou-wen or Ki or K'iao; but, according to Pelliot, from the Malay Peninsula. The capital of Funan according to the *Liang Shu*, as we shall see, was 500 *li* from the sea on a great river; another account mentions a lake. As we have pointed out the Kedah Annals do preserve the founding of settlements by princes of the royal line of Marong of the Great Family. One such founded a settlement by means of a royal bow. The Annals say that this settlement was Perak: but might it have been Funan?

It is interesting to note that in the Kedah Annals the great Marong himself had a magic bow with which he fought Garuda when he sent the storms upon the fleet. From this bow he shot arrows called respectively *Ayunan* and *Bratpura*. The name of the bow is given as *Prasa Sampani Gambar*.

The idea of the magic bow carried by Kaundinya seems to be connected with the bow of Indra.

The name of the Queen Lieou-ye or Willow Leaf, as Pelliot points out, is strange because of the absence of the willow in Indo-China; but, whether willow-leaf or some other leaf, it would seem to have been a typical 'Indonesian' name and we have in Malay tradition Demang Lebar Daun or Chief Broad Leaf, whose daughter married Sang Sapurba, founder of the Palembang Dynasty; and

Winstedt and Wilkinson (108, p. 123) where they are dealing with the White Semang legend say that "the tale of a Bamboo Princess occurs also in the Malay version of the *Ramayana*, and in the Kedah and Achinese Annals; the Rajas of Raman may not eat bamboo-shoots because their ancestor came out of the bamboo and the "Malay Annals" tell of a Champa prince born from an areca-palm spathe (*Malay Reader*, Winstedt and Balgden, Oxford 1917, p. 182)".

Dr. Linehan writes that the family of Jelai Chiefs in Pahang have a tradition that they come from a *betong* (or *batong*) bamboo. One of their taboos is that they cannot repose on *selising* (or *selinsing*) grass.

That there was a very strong connection between Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula is very clear. Blagden (233, p. 3) says concerning Champa that "according to Ptolemy the metropolis of this region was Balonga. This place can be clearly identified, on other grounds besides mere similarity of name, with Bal-Angoue, of which the ruins situated near the coast about lat: 14° N. are still in existence, and which was therefore apparently the first, or at least the earliest known, as it ultimately became the last, of the Cham capitals. Its fall is narrated, curiously enough, in the *Sejarah Melayu*, where it is called Bal, the generic Cham word for 'metropolis' or 'capital'".

In another very interesting, though perhaps out of date, article (234) Blagden says much that is well worth close study about Indo-Chinese influences in the Malay Peninsula and concerning the origin of the Malay race. His comparative vocabularies should also be studied and for our present purposes we may note that in Kelantan, Rumpin, Endau and Johore the words for 'mountain' in aboriginal dialects correspond with the Cambodian *phnom* and Stieng *bnom*. With regard to the names for our pagan tribes Blagden (*ibid.* p. 42) points out that *Semang* merely means 'debt-slave' and *Sakai* 'servant' or 'dependent'. Hervey thought the latter to mean 'dog' in which case Blagden points out that it would resemble the Cambodian *chhke* with the same meaning. *Semang* is, of course, applied to the negritoes, *Sakai* to the fairer jungle-men; both are popular generic names so familiar now that there is no chance of killing them however unfortunate they are from an ethnological point of view. Blagden says in a footnote to p. 42 that he suspects Jakun (aborigines in Johore) to represent the Pali *Yakkha* (demon) and that it, like *mentra*, a name of sanskrit origin, was applied to the jungle-men by their Hinduized neighbours; but Wilkinson shows that it is of Indo-Chinese origin, *jah-kun*. This should be borne in mind in connection with what we shall say about the Chinese *kun-lun*. Blagden thinks that Girgassi also was a word of sanskrit origin but he does not explain in what manner. At p. 45 he says that "there must have been a time, that is to say, when the ancestors of the present jungle-men

of the Peninsula were held in subjection by an Indo-Chinese race of the Mon-Annam family, and its seems probable that such a race at some time or other held sway in the Peninsula itself? ". But is it not more probable that many of the jungle-men are really 'Indonesians'? The report by Mr. H. D. Noone, the present Government Ethnographer, upon the Ple-Temiar Senoi (235) is a most illuminating piece of work. What he has to say there in the chapter on *Culture, Breed and Language* should particularly be studied. His evidence is clear that these Temiar are really 'Indonesians' or, as seems a much better expression, Nesiots.¹ In the first part of this essay we endeavoured in an anthropological excursus to demonstrate what great gaps there are in our knowledge of Malayan anthropology and we suggested a re-study of the pagan tribes. Mr. Noone's study of the Ple-Temiar forms the first of what one hopes will be many studies by him of our aboriginal or pagan tribes.²

We have suggested and we suggest again that the patient collection and exploration of the legends in the Malay Peninsula is work of the most useful type. So far Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu have produced almost nothing for want of work by European writers. Sir Richard Winstedt in his article upon folklore written in 1911 (184) said that 'it is hoped that entrance of European officers into the states now taken over³ may throw fresh light on the forgotten history of primitive settlements in the Peninsula'. But those officers have had so much to do in political and administrative matters that only lately are we beginning to get anything in connection with cultural anthropology; these States, however, still remain virgin field for all practical purposes.

The ancient ethnic details given by the Chinese as to Champa are all collected by Maspero (176); they bear a general resemblance to those given by the Chinese in respect of Funan. Indeed, the Chinese noted a close correspondence of all the regions in what they called the South Seas. The curious thing in their descriptions is that nowhere do they seem to describe people like the present Malays; always they refer to people with woolly or curly hair. Kuwabara (179, No. 2, p. 62) says that the Chinese expression *K'un-lun* (or *K'ouen-louen*, as the French write it) means "black ones". The expression *K'un-lun* usually is taken to have applied generally to the populations of Malaysia. Kuwabara shows how many of these *K'un-lun* were slaves in China and he says that "the *K'un-lun* slaves were principally the negroes of the Southern

¹They use the long-house and in this connection the reader's attention is directed to Mr. Bishop's article *Long-Houses and Dragon Boats*, *Antiquity*, 1938, vol. XII, No. 48, pp. 411-424.

²Mr. Noone's study, of course, had no connection with our suggestion and we mention it only by way of illustration.

³British influence was obtained in 1909 by treaty with Siam which prior thereto had claimed suzerain rights over Kedah, Perlis, Trengganu and Kelantan.

Seas, but as, during the T'ang and Sung eras, the negroes of Africa seem to have been brought into China through the hand of the Arabs, the latter also may have been included in the same appellation". The impression left upon Kuwabara's mind, then, by the Chinese records is quite clearly that the *K'un-lun* were negroes, while Schlegel thought them to be negritos.

Maspero (176, p. 23) says that the mark of royal power in Champa was the umbrella, of which the colour was white. Bose (225, p. 114) says that like the Indian kings the King of Siam has five emblems of royalty, *viz* :—the royal seven-tiered umbrella, the royal fan, the royal sword, the royal diadem and the royal slippers. We have already¹ cited a passage from Sarkar (29) referring to "the holder of the one umbrella" as meaning an all-ruler in India. Maspero (*ibid.* p. 23) cites an inscription from Champa which says that "he ruled with the one umbrella". Winstedt (115, p. 153) says that "the yellow umbrella of the Malay ruler was imported from China". He gives no authority for the remark, which may be correct as to the colour; but so far as the umbrella itself is concerned it seems to be perfectly clear that as a royal emblem it was introduced from India. White is the true Malay raja colour and not yellow, although to-day people in Malaya speak of yellow as "the royal colour". The *Sejarah Melayu* is quite clear that, when the customs of the court of Malacca were settled, the white umbrella "which is superior to the yellow one" was confined to the raja's person while the yellow umbrella was confined to his family (90, p. 95). The *Sejarah* says that the white umbrella was superior "because it is seen conspicuous at a greater distance" but that is only a typical attempt to explain something the true meaning of which had been forgotten. In the Johore regalia to-day the two largest umbrellas are white.

Dr. Linehan refers us also to the *Adat Lembaga Negri Perak* which shows that the Sultan's colour is white; the Raja Muda's yellow (*Kuning jengga*); and the Raja Bendahara's black. The old Malay royal umbrella and its colour are, says Dr. Linehan, the counterpart of the flag in more advanced countries. The reader is referred to an excellent article by Jeanne Auboyer which deals with the umbrella as a symbol of sovereignty in India (236).

We propose now to note the anthropological (physical and cultural) details given by the Chinese as to Funan, taking Pelliot's essays (221 and 146) as our basis and giving free renderings of his translations.

The *Chin Shu* says that "the men are very ugly and black; their hair is curly (*frisé*); they go naked on bare feet. Their life is simple and they are not thievish. They work at agriculture. They sow one year and leave fallow for three. They are very fond

¹This Journal, vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 100.

of carving ornaments and chiselling. Taxes are paid in gold, silver, pearls and perfumes. They have books and depots of archives and other things. Their written characters resemble those of the *Hou*.¹ Their funerals and marriages are generally like those of Champa". This work says that in the state there were walled towns, palaces and domestic buildings.

The *Nan Ch'i Shu* has a very full account. Of the character of the people of Funan it gives two differing accounts. The first says that they were malignant and crafty, taking by force the inhabitants of neighbouring towns that did not pay homage to them and making slaves of them; but later it says that the character of the people was good and not pugnacious. The contradiction doubtless was due to accounts from different dates being collated in the one work. The *Nan Ch'i Shu* further says that "as merchandize they have gold, silver and silks. The sons of important families cut brocade to make of it a sarong; the women cover their heads. The poor clothe themselves in a bit of cloth. The inhabitants of Funan make rings and bracelets of gold and vessels of silver. They cut down trees to make their houses. The king lives in a tiered pavilion. They make their enclosures with palisades of wood. Along the sea-shore there grows a great bamboo whose leaves are eight to nine feet. These leaves are dressed to thatch the houses. The people also live in houses on piles. They make boats of eight or nine *tchang*¹ and six or seven feet in breadth. Bow and aft are like the head and tail of a fish.² When the king goes out, he goes by elephant. Women are also allowed to go by elephant. For amusement the people like cock-fights and pig-fights. They have no prisons. In cases of dispute, they throw into boiling water gold rings and eggs; it is necessary then to pull them out. Or else they make red hot a chain which must be carried in the hands for seven paces. The hands of the guilty are completely burnt; the innocent suffers no hurt. Or else they make them plunge into the water. He who is in the right does not sink; he who is in the wrong does. They have sugar-cane, *tchou-tcho*,³ passion fruit, oranges and many betel-nuts. The birds and mammals are the same as in China".

The *Liang Shu* says that the climate and customs of Funan were in general the same as those of Linyi (Champa). The country produced gold, silver, copper, tin, perfume of aloes, ivory, peacocks, fishing birds and parrots of five colours. It also says that the custom in Funan during primitive times was to tattoo the body, to wear the hair down the back and to wear no clothing at all.

Elsewhere in the *Liang Shu* it is said that "actually the men of this country are all ugly and black with curly hair. They do not

¹*i.e.* Indian writing.

¹A *tchang* is 10 feet, so Pelliot says (146, p. 256, *n.l.*).

²*i.e.* Dragon boats, see the article *Long-Houses and Dragon-Boats*, cited in a footnote *supra*.

³Which Pelliot explains is a sort of sugar cane.

dig wells in the places where they live. For several dozen families they have in common a tank from which they draw their water. Their custom is to worship the spirits of heaven. Of these they make bronze images; those with two faces have four arms; those with four faces have eight arms. Each hand holds an object, sometimes a child, sometimes a bird or a quadruped, or even the sun or the moon. The king when he goes out or returns goes by elephant; so too do his concubines and palace people. When the king is seated, he squats with his right knee raised and his left on the ground. A piece of cotton cloth is stretched in front of him on which are placed gold vases and perfume-burners. In time of mourning the beard and head are shaved. There are four kinds of burial; 'by water' in which the body is thrown into the river; 'by fire', in which it is burnt to cinders; 'by earth' in which it is buried in a ditch; 'by bird' in which it is left in the country-side. The people are of greedy character; they have neither rites nor good manners; boys and girls follow their tastes without check".

The *Liang Shu* says also that "the law of this country was to have no prisons. The guilty (which Pelliot says should be 'the parties') practice at first fasting and abstinence for three days. Then they make an axe red-hot and cause the guilty (*i.e.* parties) to carry it for seven paces. Or else they throw into boiling water gold rings and hens' eggs and cause the parties to hunt for them. If a person is in the wrong, then his hand will be burnt. If in the right, it will not. Moreover they keep crocodiles in the moats; and outside the gates there are wild beasts in the enceinte. The guilty (parties) are given to the wild beasts and the crocodiles. If the crocodiles and the wild beasts do not eat them they are thought to be innocent; at the end of three days they let them go. The crocodiles reach a size of more than two *tchang* (*i.e.* over 20 feet, chinese); they resemble alligators, have four feet, and their mouths are five to six feet long, each side as pointed as a sword; normally they live on fish but if by chance they find a deer or a man, they will eat them too. To the south of (Kwangsi) and in foreign parts they are everywhere".

The *Hsin T'ang Shu*¹ tells us that the country of Funan was low-lying like Champa and that the king's name was *Kou-long*. "He lives in a belvedere of two storeys. The enclosures are timber stockades and bamboo leaves are used as thatch for the houses. When the king goes out he rides on an elephant. The people have black bodies and curled (*bouclé*) hair; they go naked. Their custom is not to steal. As for their fields they sow one year and leave fallow for three. The country produces a diamond which has the appearance of smoked quartz; it grows in abundance at the bottom of water under stones. People plunge in to look

¹*New History of the T'ang*, compiled under imperial edict in the eleventh century because the Old History was so severely criticized for its literary style.

for it. One can scratch jade with it but if one strikes it with a ram's horn it dissolves. The people love cock-fights and pig-fights. They pay their taxes in gold, pearls and perfumes".

The *T'ai p'ing yu lan* tells of a curious custom in Funan : it says that "when, in the house of an inhabitant of Funan, any object disappears, they take a pint of rice and go to the pagoda of the god and ask him to point out the thief. The rice is placed at the feet of the god. Next day they take the rice and call the servants of the house and distribute the rice among them to eat. In the thief's mouth, blood will flow without his being able to masticate the rice ; in the mouth of the innocent, the rice passes freely. It is thus everywhere from Je-nan to the furthest limits". It also says that "the people of Funan are very big. They live in houses which they adorn and engrave. They give generously and have many birds and animals. The king loves hunting. All mount on elephants and when they go hunting it is for months and days". Again it says that "the kingdom of Funan produces a diamond with which one can cut jade. In appearance it is like smoky quartz. It grows at the bottom of the sea, one hundred *tchang* down, on stone like stalactites. Men dive to find it. At the end of a day they leave. If one strikes it with iron it is not damaged but the iron on the contrary is spoiled. But if one strikes it with a ram's horn, the diamond immediately breaks up".

Pelliot (146) cites a further passage from the *T'ai p'ing yu lan* concerning the ships of Funan. It is a quotation from K'ang T'ai's third century account and says that "in the kingdom of Funan they hew trees to make boats of them. The long ones are ninety six feet by six feet beam. The prow and the poop look like the head and tail of a fish ; they are decorated all over with iron ornaments. The big ships carry a hundred men. Each man has a long oar, a short oar and a pole. From prow to poop there are fifty men, or more than forty, according to the size of the boat. When it is going, they use the long oars ; when lying to, the short ones. When the water is not deep they use the poles. All lift their oars and chant in perfect time". We have substituted 'pole' for Pelliot's *gaffe* ; the short oars were used when the boats were *au repos* and Pelliot explains that it was to keep them in place despite wind and current. This text, as Pelliot observes, is obviously the basis of the passage concerning boats in the *Nan Ch'i Shu* which we have cited above. Pelliot shows how in the third century, if he is correct in his dating of the passage, the foreign ships that went to China were very large carrying 600 to 700 men and 1,000 tons of cargo. That argues a highly organized sea traffic over a route that must have been commercialized for a long time.

It is impossible, we believe, to over-estimate the importance of Funan to Greater India and the Malay Peninsula. It is, therefore, essential for us to deal fully with its history.

It is generally accepted that the first Kaundinya who married Queen Willow-leaf arrived in Funan during the first century A.D. The *Chin Shu* says that his descendants grew weak and his posterity ceased to rule (221, p. 254); the *Nan Ch'i Shu* says that his sons and grandsons succeeded him up to the death of the King P'an-houang (*ibid.* p. 257); the *Liang Shu* gives more details saying that Kaundinya "had a son, and set apart for him a royal fief of seven towns. One of his successors, Houen-p'an-houang, by means of a ruse, succeeded in dividing the towns and causing feelings of suspicion to arise between them. Then he took his troops, attacked them and conquered them. Then he sent his sons and grandsons to govern separately each of the towns; they were called Little Kings" (221, p. 265).

P'an Houang died at the great age of ninety and his second son P'an-p'an was placed on the throne but this latter left the affairs of the country to his great general Fan-man, as the *Liang Shu* calls him, or Fan-che-man as the *Nan Ch'i Shu* has it; since Pelliot preferred the latter, we shall use it here. P'an-p'an died after three years and the people elected Fan-che-man to succeed him, thus bringing the line of the first Kaundinya to an end. P'an-houang's death, according to Pelliot, took place in the second century A.D.

It is quite possible that the names P'an-houang and P'an-p'an were really those of the fiefs over which these kings ruled. It looks as if Kaundinya ruled over a confederation of capital towns from which doubtless the districts attached thereto took their names. In that case King P'an-houang might very well have been the King of P'an-houang and his son the King of P'an-p'an. Each of them from being Little Kings became the Great King of Funan or head of the confederacy.

Fan-che-man was brave and capable. At a date generally considered to be about the beginning of the third century A.D. he extended widely the power of Funan. He gathered his troops and subdued the neighbouring kingdoms which all became his vassals and as a result he himself took the title "Great King of Funan".

This title is an interesting one. Pelliot points out that the character *Fan* in the king's name is the same as that in the names of the kings of Champa and therefore represents *varman*. It is further quite clear from the Chinese records that Funan and its kings were Indianized. Accordingly the title which the *Liang Shu* transcribes as Great King of Funan was in Indian probably "Maharajah of the Mountain" since "great king" would obviously be *maharaja* and we have already seen that Funan is merely the Chinese transcription of "mountain".

Fan-che-man then built a great navy with which he over-ran the *Chang-hai*, or Great Sea, which was "that part of the China

Sea, including the Gulf of Tongking, which extends from Hai-nan to the Straits of Malacca" (221, p. 263, n. 2.) With his fleet he attacked more than ten kingdoms amongst which the only ones named were K'iu-tou-K'ouen (Ch'ü-tu-K'un), Kieou-tche (Chiu-chih), and Tien-souen (Tien-sun), thus increasing his kingdom by some five or six thousand *li*. Then he wanted to conquer Kin-lin (Chin-lin), the Frontier of Gold; but he fell ill and sent his son Kin-cheng to take his place. Fan-che-man, however, died; probably about 225 A.D. (107, p. 15; 228, p. 83) or, as Pelliot put it, between 225 and 230 A.D. (221, p. 303).

A period of disturbance ensued; Fan Chan, the son of Fan-che-man's eldest sister, was at the time chief of two thousand men and usurped the throne. He had Kin-cheng decoyed and then killed him after which he reigned for "more than ten years" according to the *Nan Ch'i Shu* (221, p. 257). His reign was an important one because he was the first king of Funan to send an embassy to China and to enter into direct relations with the princes of India (221, p. 292). The *T'ai ping yu lan* cites the ancient *Wou li* as saying that in the period 229-231 A.D. Funan and other foreign countries came to offer presents; but the *T'ou chou isi tch'eng* also quoting the *Wou-li* gives the date as 225 A.D. (221, p. 283) and Grousset (148, ii, p. 557) adopts the latter date.

A fifth century Chinese work the *Chouei king tchou*, as Pelliot writes it, says that in the time of Fan Chan a man named Kiat siang-li came from a place called T'an-yang, which Pelliot says must have been west of India, and travelling by stages reached India and then Funan where he told the king about the marvels of India and said that it was 30,000 *li* from Funan and would take four years to reach and return to Funan (221, pp. 277-8). The *Liang Shu* says that in the time of the Wu dynasty, 222-280 A.D., Fan Chan sent one of his relatives Su-wu on an embassy to India. Luce translates the passage thus:—"From Funan he left the port (lit. mouth) of T'ou-chü-li and followed a great bay of the sea. Straight to the north-west he entered a number of bays and passed along many kingdoms. After more than a year he reached the mouth of the river of India; after ascending the river 7000 *li* they arrived" (229, p. 146). Pelliot (221, p. 271) writes the name of the port as T'eu-kiu-li; Gerini as T'ou-Kou-li (46, p. 755). The Indian king was most surprised to learn that men existed on the furthest shores of the ocean and later delegated two emissaries, one of whom was called Ch'en Sung, to accompany Su-wu back to Funan which was reached four years after Su-wu's original departure. The Indian ambassadors brought with them a gift of four horses.

The *Liang Shu* says that "at this moment the Wu had sent the *chung-lang* K'ang T'ai on an embassy to Funan. He saw Ch'en-sung and others and questioned them in detail about the country and customs of India" (229, pp. 146-7).

As we have seen K'ang T'ai and his companion Chu Ying were sent to Funan between 245 and 250 A.D. and when they got there Fan Chan's successor Fan Siun was on the throne according to the *Liang Shu* (221, p. 268). The third century *San Kuo Chih* records that in the twelfth moon of 243 A.D. Fan Chan sent an embassy to China offering musicians and products of his country. The *Liang Shu* says that when Fan-che-man died he left also surviving him an infant at the breast named Ch'ang who lived among the people. When Ch'ang reached the age of twenty he attacked and slew Fan Chan, being in turn killed himself by Fan Siun, described as Fan Chan's great general. If Fan-che-man died between 225 and 230 A.D. then Fan Chan's murder must, according to the *Liang Shu*, have occurred between 244 and 249 A.D., assuming that Ch'ang was twenty according to Chinese reckoning¹. Chatterji puts the arrival of K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying as about 245 A.D. (107, p. 19) ; and, if we accept that date, we can say that Fan Chan was murdered in 244 or 245 A.D. It seems clear according to the *Liang Shu* that Fan Chan reigned for twenty (nineteen) years which the *Nan Ch'i Shu* expresses as "more than ten". Maspero says that the succeeding king Fan Siun reigned between 260 and 290 A.D. (176, p. 54, n. 2) but he seems to have misread Pelliot whom he cites as his authority. The latter (221, p. 303) re-organized his dates in consequence of his discovery of the text cited above which proves an embassy from Fan Chan in 243 A.D. Chatterji (107, p. 19) says that Fan Chan died about 245 A.D. and that seems to be correct.

Fan Siun, according to the *Liang Shu*, erected belvederes and pavilions where he used to walk. In the morning and at mid-day he gave three or four audiences to foreigners and his own people who brought him gifts of bananas, sugar-cane, turtles and birds. The *Liang Shu* says that when K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying arrived the people of the country were still going about naked, only the women wearing any clothing, which caused the Chinese to remark that "the kingdom is indeed beautiful but it is strange that the men are so indecent". Fan Siun then for the first time issued orders that the men should wear a piece of cloth which was the *kan-man* or sarong (221, p. 268).

Fan Siun's reign seems to have been a long one for the *Liang Shu* says that in the period 280-289 A.D. he sent "for the first time" ambassadors with tribute. The *Chin Shu*, however, records an embassy from Funan in 268 A.D. in addition to those in 285, 286 and 287 A.D. (221, p. 252). From 270 to 280 A.D. Fan Siun contracted an alliance with Fan Hiong, King of Champa, and concerted with him attacks on the Chinese territory north of Champa. The struggle continued until peace was established in 280 A.D. (175, p. 23).

After Fan Siun there comes a period of silence until the middle of the fourth century and it will be convenient, therefore, to con-

¹i.e. nineteen according to English.

sider now those Chinese toponyms which date back to K'ang T'ai's embassy or are prior thereto.

In the *Shan Hae King*, or Hill and River Classic, which is considered to be nearly as old as the earliest of the Chinese works on topography there is the first mention of the K'un-lun (144, p. 241; 147, p. 356). The passage merely mentions a burning mountain beyond the K'un-lun. The *T'ai ping yu lan* cites the *Nan chou i wu chi*, or Account of Remarkable Objects in the Southern Provinces, written by Wan Chen who lived in the third century A.D., as saying that "the Kingdom of Funan is more than 3000 *li* west of Linyi (Champa). It created itself a kingdom. Its vassals all have their mandarins; the great officers of the right and left are all called *K'ouen-louen* (K'un-lun)" (221, p. 282). The division of Court officers into right and left is used to this day in Johore and is based on the ancient traditional Malay custom.

We have mentioned above Ch'u-tu-kun, Chiu-chih, Tien-sun, Kin-lin and T'ou-chü-li and we will now consider their location taking Tien-sun first, which country is considered by all authorities to be the same as the country elsewhere called Tun-sun, or Tun-shün as Luce writes it. We shall keep to the spelling Tun-sun.

The first passage concerning it occurs in the *Liang Shu* and has been translated by Groeneveldt (148, pp. 239-241), by Pelliot (221, pp. 263-265) and by Luce (229, pp. 147-149). Schlegel (174, X, pp. 33-36) has also translated a passage purporting to be from the *Liang Shu* but Pelliot (221, p. 263, n. 1.) says that he has in fact followed a reproduction in the *Nan Shih*¹, which accounts for the great difference in their translations. But even Groeneveldt and Pelliot are by no means in accord nor does the latter completely agree with Luce. As Tun-sun is almost certainly either the Malay Peninsula or a part of it we will give a free translation of Pelliot and note important variations in Groeneveldt and Luce:—"More than 3000 *li* from the frontier² (of Funan) there is a kingdom of Touen-siun which is upon a precipitous shore.³ The country is not more than 1000 *li*. The town is 10 *li* from the sea. There are five kings. All are vassals of Funan.⁴ The eastern territory of Touen-siun puts it in relations with Kiao-tcheou (Tongking), its western territory connects with (*i.e.* is in communication with) India, Parthia and the furthest kingdoms beyond. Merchants come there in great numbers to barter. The reason is that Touen-siun makes a curve and goes out into the sea for more

¹The *Nan Shih*, or Southern History, covers the First Sung, Southern Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en dynasties, 420-589 A.D. and was written in the seventh century A.D.

²Luce has "the southern frontier"; Groeneveldt has "to the south of Funan".

³*Sur un rivage escarpé*; Groeneveldt says "it is situated on a peninsula"; Luce says "it lies on a rugged coast".

⁴Which both Groeneveldt and Schlegel give merely as 'Siam'.

than 1000 *li*. The Great Sea is shoreless and one cannot go straight across it.¹ This market is a place of meeting for east and west. Each day there are more than 10,000 men there. Rare articles, precious merchandise, there is nothing that cannot be found there. Also there is a wine tree like the pomegranate. The juice of its flowers is collected and put in a jar; after several days, it turns into wine.²

"Outside Touen-siun on a great island in the sea, there is the country of P'i-k'ien³ which is 8000 *li* from Funan. It is told that the stature of its king is twelve feet high and his head three feet. From ancient times he has not died and no one knows his age. This king is super-natural and holy. The good and evil actions of his people, the chances of the future, there is nothing the king does not know. Thus no one dares impose upon him. In the countries of the south, he is called the king with the Great Neck.⁴ The custom of the country is to use dwelling-houses, to wear clothes, to eat non-glutinous rice. The language of the people differs a little from that of Funan. There is a mountain which produces gold; the gold appears in the stone in huge quantities. The law of the country is that, to punish the guilty, they are eaten in the presence of the king. In this country they do not receive merchant strangers; if they come, they kill them and eat them. So no merchant dares to go there. The king lives always in a raised house. He eats no flesh and does not worship the spirits. His sons and grandsons live and die like the common people; the king alone does not die. The King of Funan has often sent ambassadors to take letters to him. They reply to each other. The King of P'i-k'ien has often sent to the King of Funan a pure gold vessel for fifty persons. Its shape is sometimes like a round plate, sometimes like terra-cotta cups; it is what one calls a *to-lo*; its contents is five *cheng*⁵; or sometimes its shape is that of a tea-cup and its contents one *cheng*⁶. The king knows how to write Hindu texts. The text has about 3000 words. It tells the origins of the previous life of the prince and resembles the sutras of Buddha. It also expatiates upon well-being.

"It is further reported that to the east of Funan, there is the huge Great Sea. In the sea there is a great island. On this island

¹Groeneveldt has "the eastern frontier of Tun-sun, extends as far as Kiau-chou and on the west it borders on India. The different countries beyond the Ganges all come to trade here, the reason of this being that if from Tun-sun you put out to sea for more than 1,000 *li*, you still have a vast ocean before you, which no ship has ever been able to cross"; he admits in a footnote that the passage is not very clear. Luce accords with Pelliot save that in the last sentence after the statement that the Great Sea is shoreless he has "junks cannot yet cross it direct".

²Groeneveldt's translation stops here, as does Schlegel's.

³Or P'i-ch'ien as Luce writes it.

⁴Luce has 'the Long-Necked King'.

⁵Pelliot says 10 *cheng* to the *teou* or bushel: Luce has 'five pints'.

⁶Luce has "one pint".

there is the kingdom of Tchou-po. To the east of this kingdom there are the Ma-wou islands. If one goes further eastwards over the Great Sea for more than a thousand *li* one reaches the Great Natural Island". There follows some curious information about a tree which grows from fire. In a footnote Pelliot points out that the Great Natural Island should really be the Volcano Island, 'Great' being faulty in the Chinese for 'Fire' and so making it the Natural Fire or Volcano Island.¹

Pelliot (221, p. 264, n. 5 ; 129, p. 270) considers that all the notices in the passage above go back to K'ang T'ai's mission of the third century A.D.

This long passage, then, adds the further toponyms P'i-k'ien (P'i-ch'ien), Tchou-po, as Pelliot writes it, the Ma-wou (Ma-wu) Islands and Volcano Island to those which were known to the Chinese in the middle of the third century A.D.

Pelliot says in his article on Funan (221, p. 279) that he had not brought together all the texts dealing with Tun-sun but he gives one from the *Fu nan chi* of Chu Chih, who wrote in the second half of the fifth century A.D. ; a free rendering of his translation is as follows :—" The kingdom of Tun-sun is a dependency of Funan ; the king is called K'ouen-louen (K'un-lun). In the country there are five hundred families of *Hou*² (Hu) from India, two fo-t'ou³ (Fo-t-u) and more than a thousand Brahmans from India. The people of Tun-sun practice their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage ; so many of these Brahmans do not go away. They do nothing but read the holy books of the heavenly spirits and offer to the heavenly spirits white vases of perfumes and flowers and cease in this neither night nor day. When they are sick, they make a vow to be " buried by the birds ". With songs and dances, they are taken outside the town and there are birds that eat them. The bones that remain are burned and put in a jar which is thrown into the sea. If the birds do not eat them, they are put in a basket. " Burial by fire " consists of throwing oneself into the fire. The ashes are gathered in a vase which is buried and to which sacrifices are made ceaselessly. There is a wine-tree that is like the pomegranate ; flowers are gathered of which the juice is put in a jar. At the end of several days, it becomes an agreeable and intoxicating wine". (221, pp. 279-280).

Citing the third century *Nan Chou i wu chih*, the *T'ai ping yu lan* says (221, p. 282) " Tun-sun is more than 3000 *li* from Funan.

¹The passage is also given by Laufer (147, p. 346), who translates " Volcano Island ".

²Pelliot thinks that as the *Hou* are distinguished here from the Brahmans they may be Indian merchants.

³Pelliot says that the expressions means sometimes figures of Buddha and sometimes stupas.

It was originally a separate kingdom. One of the previous kings of Funan, Fan-man, was bold ; he subdued it ; at present Tun-sun is a dependency of Funan ”.

There is a further reference in the *Nan chou i wu chih* which seems to refer to Tun-sun ; it says “ the *ho hiang* grows in the country of K’u-sun ; it belongs to the class of perfumes designated under the name of *fou-fong* ; the plant has the appearance of the *tou-liang* (*eupatorium*) ; it can be used for the preservation of clothes ” (237, p. 27). Laufer says that K’u-sun is incorrect and should be Tun-sun, as there is much room for confusion between the characters *K’u* and *tun*. Luce, who writes it Ch’u-hsun, says that Laufer is no doubt right (229, p. 151).

These seem to be the only references during our present period but there is more information that must have been contemporary though it is included in later works.

Schlegel (174, X, pp. 33-36) gives a translation in English of a passage concerning Tun-sun in Tu Yu’s *T’ung Tien*, a T’ang work that is the basis of Ma Tuan Lin’s *Wen Hsien T’ung K’ao*, in which the passage concerning Tun-sun will be found translated into French by d’Hervey de Saint-Denys (230, pp. 444-447). These works say that Tun-sun was first heard of during the Liang dynasty ; but Pelliot has shown that it was known since K’ang T’ai’s mission. They repeat the information in the *Liang Shu* but bird burial is more clearly described and they state that the birds “ are said to be like geese, having bills like parrots, and of a red colour which come on flying in myriads ”. The great number of flowers produced in Tun-sun is mentioned and it is stated that “ every day several cart-loads of them are collected for sale. When dried, they are still more fragrant ”.

Groeneveldt (148, pp. 240-241) and Luce (229, p. 150) translated a passage from the *T’ai p’ing huan yü chi*, a geography published between the years 976 and 983 A.D., of which Groeneveldt remarks that its notices of foreign countries generally are inaccurate repetitions of the articles on the same subject in the histories of the preceding dynasties. The passage says that Tun-sun produces the *ho-hiang* “ if you take a branch of this plant and put it into the ground, it lives again. The leaves serve to make clothes. In this country there are more than ten different kinds of fragrant flowers, which come during the whole year, and every day many waggon-loads are collected in order to sell them. When dried they are still more fragrant and their offal is made into powder for rubbing the body ” The passage then deals with ‘ bird burial ’.

Before considering the information about Tun-sun we can add the only other references to P’i-K’ien.

Pelliot says that the passage from the *Liang Shu* appears word for word in the *T’ai p’ing yü lan* which cites it, however, from the 1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

fifth century *Fu nan chi*. The only other passage given by Pelliot (221, p. 273) is a mere mention of P'i-K'ien and the immortality of its Long-Necked King and Pelliot traces it back to the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries. Laufer (147, pp. 350-351) cites a passage from the *Huan lan or Yuan lan*, a T'ang work, which says that "in P'i-K'ien there is the Island of Blazing Fire, producing a tree the substance of which can be woven and which furnishes what is called fire-proof cloth", i.e. asbestos. Finally, there is a passage in Ma Tuan-lin which, however, adds nothing new (230, p. 448).

Apart from the cultural details the most remarkable thing about Tun-sun is the *ho-hiang* plant which is also mentioned in connection with Chü-tu-kun, or K'ou-tou-k'ouen, another toponym which dates back to K'ang T'ai's mission.

Pelliot (221, p. 266, n.) says that K'ou-tou-k'ouen is written like that nowhere else and it is his view that it is faulty for "the country of Tou-k'ouen", a well-known place which he thinks was on the Malay Peninsula though he does not say where.

Laufer (237, p. 24) translating from the *Wu wai kuo ch'uan*, containing information about K'ang T'ai's mission, writes that "Tou-k'ouen (on the Malay Peninsula) is situated more than three thousand *li* to the south of Funan (Cambodia) and produces the *ho hiang* (aromatic *ho*)". He also translates the following passage from the *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*:—"it is under the Sui (589-618 A.D.) that one first heard spoken of the four countries Pien-teou (called also Pan-teou), Tou-k'ouen (called also Tou-kun), Liu-li (called also Kieou-ya) and Pi-song. One reaches these four countries by crossing from Funan the great bay of Kin-lin and travelling south for 3000 *li*. In agriculture these peoples are identical with those of Kin-lin. Amongst the population there are many with white skins. Tou-k'ouen alone produces the aromatic *tsien hiang*. As for the *ho-hiang* tree it lives a thousand years. Its trunk and root are very big. Once cut, the wood decays completely and is destroyed in four or five years. Only the knots in the middle remain hard and healthy and it is only these that retain a fragrant smell. They are gathered and used for perfume" (237, pp. 25-26). Laufer notes that "this last information is peculiar, for all writers have insisted on the fact that only the leaf is used".

Ma Tuan-lin under the heading Pien-teou gives the exact passage which Laufer translates above (230, pp. 511-512).

Laufer has collected many passages dealing with the *ho-hiang* and gives illustrations from Chinese works; local botanists should study his article (237). It is sufficient for us to note that, though the various Chinese accounts are not consistent, Laufer on the sum of evidence considers (at p. 38) that the *malabathrum* of the ancients, the *tamālapattra* of India and the *ho-hiang* of the Chinese is the patchouli (*Pogostemon*) in connection with which

the reader should turn to Burkill's admirable *Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*. If Laufer is right, then the remarkable passage in the *Periplus* which tells of the market for *malabathrum* should be recalled. It is given by Schoff (35, p. 48) thus :—" every year on the borders of the land of This there comes together a tribe of men with short bodies and broad, flat faces, and by nature peaceable ; they are called *Besatae*, and are almost entirely uncivilized. They come with their wives and children, carrying great packs and plaited baskets of what look like green grape-leaves. They meet in a place between their own country and the land of This ". The leaves were afterwards rolled into balls ; " those made of the largest leaves are called the large-ball *malabathrum* ; those of the smaller, the medium ball ; and those of the smallest, the small ball. Thus there exist three sorts of *malabathrum*, and it is brought into India by those who prepare it ".

It is usual to equate these Besatai with " the Beseidais or Tiladais, placed by Ptolemy to the east of the Ganges ", to use Laufer's words (237, p. 9 ; see also 35, pp. 278-9). Renou, however, gives the name of Saesadia while McCrindle calls the Besatae of the *Periplus* the Sesatai ; a translation of Renou's passage (56, p. 52), which should be compared with McCrindle (102, p. 127), reads thus :—

" Between Mount Imaos and Mount Bepyron, the Takoraioi are situated furthest to the north, the Korandakaloi come below, then the Passadai, after whom, beyond Maiandros, are the Piladai ; it is thus that one names the Saesadai who are dwarfs, shaggy, with large faces but white skins.

" Above Kirradia, where it is said that the best *malabathrum* is found, live, the length of Mount Maiandros, the cannibal Gameraï.

" Above¹ the region of Argyra where, so it is said, are very many silver mines is situated the region of Khryse, neighbour of the Besyngeitai, which also has very numerous gold mines ; its inhabitants are similarly white of skin, shaggy, dwarfs and flat-nosed ".²

Kirradia is presumably the country where the Kirradeoi live ; we, therefore, get a picture of the tribes from the coast of Burma across to Siam and down to the Besyngeitai who must be placed in the country just above Junk Ceylon. The reader will remember what we have written about all this in previous parts of this essay.

Laufer writes (237, p. 39) that " the population of Tou-k'oun and Toun-sun, as we have seen, is identical with that short-statured savage tribe which every year visited the frontier

¹Or ' beyond ' as McCrindle has it.

²White Semang.

country of Thinaï to traffic in *malabathrum*. The resemblance which there is between the white-skinned Beseidaï of Ptolemy and the white population of Kin-lin¹, mentioned in the *T'ai p'ing hwan yu ki* is indeed curious."

Luce also considers all the questions in connection with the *ho-hiang* and Laufer's article from which we have quoted (229, pp. 129-137).

When we reach the next period of this essay, we shall get another very interesting reference to a trade originating from a race that seems to be either negrito or sakai or a mixture of the two.

Laufer is very certain that the *ho-hiang* is not a *Cinnamomum* and so rules out the camphor tree, the product of which in recent times was collected by the wild tribes of the Peninsula and which would seem to fit in with the passage from the *T'ai p'ing hwan yu chi* cited by Laufer. It may be, perhaps, that in the various Chinese texts a confusion has arisen between the patchouli and the camphor, though the former is a bush and the latter a very big tree. Local botanists should direct their attention to the question.

Now, where should Tun-sun, P'i-k'ien and Chü-tu-kun or T'u-kun be located?

Schlegel thought that Tun-sun was Tenasserim; Pelliot says that it was on the Malay Peninsula and Groeneveldt, from the internal evidence in the Chinese accounts "as well as from the universal testimony of Chinese geographers", is sure that it is on the Malay Peninsula, probably between 8° and 10° N. Majumdar (181, p. 145) says that Tun-sun is "a kingdom in Malaysia which cannot be exactly located". Schlegel was influenced by etymological reasoning which Pelliot effectively criticizes (129, p. 407). Luce seems to agree with Pelliot's suggestion that Tun-sun was on or near the Isthmus of Kra rather than the southern part of the Peninsula, which theory depends upon "whether, rather than passing through the Straits of Malacca, commerce took the land-route across the Isthmus of Kra".

The facts, however, are that Tun-sun, to the east of which was the China Sea, was 3000 *li* south of Funan and that it had a precipitous or rugged shore. One can call the *li* a Chinese mile but in point of fact, as Dr. Quaritch Wales notes, "a *li* has varied greatly according to the period, and no certain distance can be attributed to it" (228, p. 82 n.). Tun-sun was a meeting place for east and west and 10,000 persons resorted to it daily; it was in relations with Tonkin to the east and India to the west. It was, therefore, a great emporium of trade fed by the north-east and

¹This is a slip: it was not Kin-lin but the other four countries that had the white population.

south-west monsoons. It made a curve and went out into the sea for more than 1000 *li* and contained five kings. Its main town was 10 *li* from the sea.

From those facts surely the proper inference is that Tun-sun must have been a generic name for the Malay Peninsula and that its main town was a trade emporium some distance from the sea and, one can infer with safety, up a river. There is nothing to show whether this town was in the north or the south of the Peninsula but if at the north, then, it must have been served by a land-route.

Where was P'i-k'ien? Luce (229, p. 148, n. 3) writes that for reasons unknown to him Pelliot would place P'i-ki'en "whatever we are to make of the name, in the neighbourhood of the Irrawaddy and the shores of the Indian Ocean". From the facts given it is hard to see why Pelliot chose this district which seems to have been known by the Chinese as P'iao during the same period and we suggest that it was somewhere in Sumatra in which case its relations with Funan, over-lord of Tun-sun across the Straits, would be natural. It hardly seems credible that the condition of affairs in the neighbourhood of the Irrawaddy was such in the middle of the third century A.D. that merchants could not trade there because of cannibalism. All the data seem to contradict that. Luce subjects Pelliot's views to criticism (229, p. 158) and seems to incline to the view that Sumatra fits the facts better than Burma.

Chü-tu-kun or T'u-kun is considered by Pelliot to have been on the Malay Peninsula and here we would point out to the reader that there would seem to be a difference of opinion as to where exactly the Malay Peninsula begins. We ourselves follow the usual British view that 10° N. is the dividing line between the two peninsulas but some writers, e.g. Luce (229, at p. 143) appear to consider that Tenasserim was on the Peninsula.

Luce (229, pp. 144-5) records the information concerning Tu-k'un most of which was collected by Pelliot; and he cites the passage from the *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* which we have already translated above in connection with the *ho-hiang*. It says that the kingdoms of Pienteou, Tu-k'un, Chü-li and Pi-sung are 3000 miles south after you have left Funan and crossed the Great Bay of Kin-lin. Pien-tou is a mystery and there is no means of identifying it: but if T'u-kun is on the Malay Peninsula, then the inference is that all four places are on that peninsula and in that connection we recall that T'un-sun, which we take to be the Malay Peninsula, contained five kingdoms.

The location of the great bay of Chin-lin involves that of Chin-lin itself. D'Hervé de Saint Denys quotes a Chinese authority for the view that this great bay was the Gulf of Siam and
1939] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

it must have been (230, p. 511, n. 9) though Luce in a passage which is open to much argument (229, pp. 153-4) says that "the 'great bay' must surely be the Gulf of Martaban".

Luce, however, (*ibid.* p. 155, n. 1) admits that the texts known to him do not refute the possibility of its being the Gulf of Siam but he says that on this theory it would be still more difficult to explain the statements about Lin-yang, as to which last place see below.

Luce accepts the location of T'u-kun as being in the Malay Peninsula. To reach it the text says that one leaves Funan and crosses the great bay of Chin-lin and travels 3000 *li* south. How does the Gulf of Martaban fit into that picture? Luce (229, pp. 151-153) translates Pelliot (221, p. 266, n. 5.) and observes thereon that "for the present Pelliot obviously inclines to the view that Chin-lin refers to the region of Thaton-Martaban. There are objections, of course."

Let us look at Pelliot's references. A third century work, the *San tu fu*, mentions the Frontier of Gold and a seventh century commentator adds the note that it was 2000 *li* or more beyond Funan, that it produced silver, was plentifully populated and that its people liked hunting big elephants and capturing them alive, "when the elephants die, they remove their tusks". The *T'ai p'ing yü lan* adds that when the elephants were captured alive, they were used for mounts. The *Fu nan chi* speaks of the Chin-lin¹ or Torrent of Gold and also of the Estuary of the Elephants, the former of which is stated to be pure and the latter limpid. The same work seems to have said that 2000 *li* by land from a place called Chin-ch'en was a Buddhist kingdom called Lin-yang² to which it was necessary to go by carriage or on horse as there was no route by water. The *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, which tells us that Chin-lin and Chin-ch'en are the same places, says that according to K'ang T'ai's report Lin-yang was 7000 *li* south-west of Funan; the *Nan chou i yü chi* gives west instead of south-west. K'ang T'ai reported that in Lin-yang there were already several thousand Buddhist priests.

Pelliot, however, does not go further than equate the Chinese Chin-lin or Frontier of Gold with the pali Suvarnabhumi or Land of Gold. This latter must have been the same as Ptolemy's Chryse; we have already dealt with its location³ and seen that it corresponds in its most extended sense to the peninsula of Indo-China.

If Lin-yang was Upper Burma as Luce considered, then what is the difficulty in considering the great bay of Chin-lin to have been the Gulf of Siam?

¹Different characters.

²Which Luce considers to be in Upper Burma.

³This Journal, 1937, vol. XV, Pt. pp. 91-931.

Tu-k'un, as we have noted, is taken generally to be in the Malay Peninsula, following Pelliot ; but where ? and what does the name mean ? It makes one think of the malay *tukun* which Wilkinson says is Kedah malay for "hidden or sunken rock as a danger to navigation" ; and so is a very likely toponym. Cherok Tokun as we have seen is the site of an ancient inscription. What does *Tokun* mean ? *Cherok* means a "recess or cranny" while *cheroh* has the meaning "to level off a perpendicular surface such as the face of a river-bank". What is the true meaning of the name Cherok Tokun, how old is it and is there any possibility of a connection with the Chinese Tu-k'un ? Was this area ever covered by water and, if so, when ? The fact that it is on the west coast does not militate necessarily against the Chinese data which give only the distance and the direction. There were land-routes and there is always the possibility of a kingdom having stretched from one side of the Peninsula to the other. But we do not ourselves think that Tu-k'un could have been in Kedah, ancient or modern.

Let us next try to locate Chiu-chih and T'ou-chü-li. Pelliot writes Chiu-chih as Kieou-tche but he considered that the *tche* is a faulty reading for *li* (221, p. 266 n. 3). Luce summarizes Pelliot's views (229, pp. 145-147) and accepts Pelliot's suggestion that Chiu-chih is the same as Chü-li.

If Chü-li, or Kiu-li as Pelliot writes it, is the same as Chiu-chih (and the data show that it is) then we must not forget that Ptolemy placed on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula a town called Koli ; and we have already suggested that if Tu-k'un was on the peninsula then the other places also were.

Pelliot (129, p. 387, n. 6) says that when the monk Bodhibadra passed by Funan on his way to China in 509 A.D. the distance between Chü-li and Tun-sun is given in one text as eleven days and in another as twelve. Presumably this Tun-sun would be the main town of Tun-sun. Unfortunately it is not possible to do more than note this fact as Chavannes' article dealing with Bodhibadra is not available in Singapore where we are writing.

Luce agrees that Chü-li might be the same as T'ou-chü-li but he says that this is more doubtful. Sylvain Lévi proposed to identify T'ou-chü-li with Ptolemy's Takola and Pelliot would favour this if the reading could be sustained but he pointed out that the *Shui Cheng Chu* of the early sixth century (and so one hundred years earlier than the *Liang Shu*) contains a quotation from one of K'ang T'ai's works which says that "leaving the port of Chü-li and entering a great bay, one turns straight north-west, and after a little more than a year one reaches the mouth of the river of T'ien-chu (India) which is called the mouth of the river Heng-shui (Ganges)". It is clear that this reference is to the same port as the one in the reference which we have quoted previously about Su-wu's embassy to India.

Gerini (46) at first thought T'ou-chü-li (or as he wrote it Tau-Kiao-le) was the same as Takola (*ibid.* at p. 93) but he changed his mind (*ibid.* at p. 755) because he found that the Chinese characters were more correctly read T'ou-kou-li "making it very improbable that Takkola is meant". He considered that "some port of Fu-nan proper on the Gulf of Siam is evidently intended" but the facts in the Chinese notices make that suggestion quite untenable.

✓ We seem clearly to be faced with a port on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula or else on the west coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. We do not think that there can be any doubt that land-routes across these peninsulas were used in the third century A.D. though archaeology has not yet proved the fact. The convenience of sailing across the Gulf of Siam and transporting goods across the Malay Peninsula must have presented itself in the early stages of Funan's existence. It would not be so convenient obviously to have a land-route across the Indo-Chinese peninsula. We feel sure that Tou-chü-li must be looked for on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and that the Indo-Chinese peninsula can be rejected.

✓ Ptolemy gives us Takola as the northern emporium of the Golden Chersonese and he puts it south and east of the promontory at which he begins that peninsula. There can be no doubt on Ptolemy's data that this promontory must have been Junk Ceylon. We must, therefore, search for some place south of Junk Ceylon and, according to Berthelot's calculations, at least 110 kilometres south. As we have seen¹ Berthelot considered the spot to be Trang which is 140 kilometres south of Junk Ceylon. Dr. Quaritch Wales, however, identifies Takuapa (north of Junk Ceylon) as Takola and points to the fine harbour and easy land-route across the peninsula as evidence, and the fact that the harbour of Takuapa is opposite the Ten Degree Channel (228). The suggestion is tempting but it is in the teeth of Ptolemy's facts. Let us see if there are other places which fit those facts and also the necessities of the case.

Quite clearly Tou-chü-li, which we place on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, was an important place since it was the point of embarkation for India. Equally clearly at the same date there was an important emporium also in the Peninsula, namely, the unnamed principal town of Tun-sun, which we have shown to be a name for the Peninsula. That town lay 10 *li* up a river, 10,000 people came to it daily, and in it every kind of merchandise was procurable.

May it not be that Ptolemy's Takola, the principal town of Tun-sun and Tou-chü-li are one and the same?

¹See this Journal, 1936, vol. XIV, Pt. 3, pp. 23-4, 34-5.

Takola had a very long history for there is reason to think that it still existed in the eleventh century A.D. ; we shall give the detailed reasons for saying this as we reach them chronologically.

Takuapa has not been proved to have such a history ; Dr. Quaritch Wales does not seem to have found any proof later than the eighth century A.D. or earlier than the sixth except for potsherds of the period 220-589 A.D. Dr. Quaritch Wales takes these potsherds to their earliest date the third century A.D. but they might just as well have been of the sixth.

We would expect to find more than merely a good harbour and a land-route as the *raison d'être* of an emporium that had a history as long and as important as that of Takola. We should expect a surrounding hinterland of importance. We are not dealing with the south but the north of the peninsula. A harbour and the meeting of trade-routes is sufficient for a southern emporium served by both monsoons but not for the northern one. Let us see what the facts were in 1830 as given by Crawford in his *Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China*. We find (Vol. 2, p. 154) that there were at that time three land-routes which carried the traffic between the countries lying on the shores of the Straits of Malacca and bay of Bengal with the Siamese capital ; and they were (a) between Kedah and Singgora (b) the most frequented, between Trang and Ligor (c) between Pun-pin, opposite to Junk Ceylon, and Chai-ya. The land part of the journey took from five to seven days on elephants.

The principal port of Funan was at the mouths of the Mekhong River and the nearest shore of the Malay Peninsula contains the eastern termini of the three routes mentioned, which were also the most convenient in 1830 for trade with the Menam.

We believe that the routes mentioned by Crawford must always have presented great attractions and we note that the most popular of those routes reached the west coast at Trang which is some way up the Trang River and that by working out the probabilities of Ptolemy's data Berthelot adopted Trang as the site for Takola. We note also that Dr. Quaritch Wales found remains near Trang of a temple of Sailendra style. He describes the site as a Javaka site. Trang, however, does not seem to have a history which would fit in with that of Takola.

The big agricultural plain of Kedah must always have had great attractions for settlers and must have been a great source of food supplies. Singgora and Patani had a great trade history as long as they can be traced back.

It must be evident that the coast from the Bay of Bandon to Cape Patani must have played an important role from the time when trade began in the Gulf of Siam and with Indo-China. It

must also be evident that the fertile plain of Kedah on the west must always have played an important part also. With easy land-routes linking up these two important areas and a port on the west bringing them into connection with India and the shores of the Bay of Bengal it is easy to see that this Malayan area must have a great importance to the history of Greater India. Somewhere there lay a port and an emporium on the west coast but where? Takuapa or Trang or Kedah? Were not in all probability the port and the emporium the same?

We shall return from time to time to the question of Takola as it arises in chronological sequence.

We would prefer to identify Chiu-chih or Chü-li with Ptolemy's Koli on the east coast and separate it from Tou-chü-li, which we would place on the west coast.

Of Pi-sung nothing can be said except that, as Luce suggests (229, p. 158), the name is close phonetically to Ptolemy's emporium named Besynga but he says that the location 3000 *li* south of the bay of Chin-lin is hard to reconcile with Besynga.

There remain only Tchou-po or Chu-po, the Ma-wu Islands and Volcano Island.

There is another third century reference to Chu-po which Luce translates (229, p. 117) but it gives no indication of the locality of the place; the details are only cultural, the most interesting being that the girls of the kingdom weave the *po-tieh* cloth, for the nature of which see Luce (*ibid.* p. 116).

Laufer (147, pp. 351) identifies Chu-po, as he writes it, with Java since the name is a variant of She-po, as he writes it, or Shay-po, as Schlegel writes it, "by which Java became known from the first half of the fifth century". This conclusion, he thinks, is confirmed by a text ascribed to the *I Wu chi* and contained in the *T'ai ping yu lan* in which the Island of Blazing Fire is located in the kingdom of Se-tiao which he says is doubtless a misprint of Ye-tiao which is Yavadvipa and so Java. Since the *I Wu chi* in its account of Volcano Island depends upon the text of the *Liang Shu* it seems equally certain, he says, that Chu-po mentioned in the latter is the island of Java.

This does not seem very logical and it is perfectly clear that the equation Chu-po or Shay-po=Ye-tiao=Yavadvipa=Java is purely etymological. So far as Ye-tiao is concerned, we have already referred to it in the last part of this essay.

Ma Tuan-lin (230, pp. 518-9) cites the "Customs of Funan" by K'ang T'ai under the title Ho-chan or Fire Islands. Laufer (147, pp. 352-3) translates the passage and all that we need notice is that it mentions Volcano Island as about 1,000 *li* east of Ma-wu

Island and says that north of the country of Ko-ying and west of Chu-po there is a mountain, 300 *li* in circumference, which erupts with fire from the fourth moon and ceases in the first.

Pelliot in his famous *Deux Itinéraires* (129) has a very long and intricate discussion on toponyms for Java with which island alone he identifies Tchou-po and Cho-po (She-po or Shay-po); but in a later article (146) written in 1925 he renders Cho-po as Sumatra-Java (*ibid.* p. 250) where it occurs in a passage dating back to the third century A.D. concerning the country of Ko-ying or Kia-ying. Pelliot says that this last name is evidently to be looked for in the Protean one of Kalinga "which we recognize under the T'angs as another name for Cho-p'o (Sumatra-Java)". The reference is to the name Ho-ling which we shall find in the next period of this essay.

Before going any further we suggest as a proposition capable of acceptance that the name Yava and its various equivalents, Chinese and otherwise, was applied to various places at various times before eventually crystallizing solely in the present island of Java.

Let us leave etymology aside and see what are the facts as to Tchou-po. We are told that it is a great island east of Funan in the China Sea and that to its east are the Ma-wu islands while more than 1000 *li* further eastwards is Volcano Island; and west of Tchou-po and north of Ko-ying there is a volcanic mountain 300 *li* in circumference.

Pelliot (129, p. 260) admits that Java is certainly not east of Funan and hardly to the south-east. He says that the Chinese notice must not be taken as strictly accurate since apart from Java one could only think of Borneo and that is not really east of Funan. But curiously he makes no mention of the even greater difficulty that Java is not in the China Sea. Everyone agrees that as stated by Pelliot himself the Chang-hai or Great Sea is the China Sea from Hainan to the Straits of Malacca and that surely rules out Java.

The only answer to the data can be that Tchou-po was at this date the Chinese name for Borneo, as Gerini has suggested (46, p. 245). He makes the further suggestion that Tchou-po (Chu-po) actually is the northern part of that island still called Sabah in some modern maps.

The equation Tchou-po=Yavadvipa=Iabadiou is universally accepted. We have already shown in the last part of this essay that Ptolemy's data for Iabadiou cannot apply to Java but must apply to Borneo. We show here that the Chinese data for Tchou-po give the same result and so the data give us the equation Tchou-po=Iabadiou. Yavadvipa therefore in 150 A.D. and 250 A.D. cannot be Java or, following the latest way of stating it, Java-Sumatra but Borneo.

The whole question resolves itself into a very simple proposition, *viz* :—is one to rely upon etymology and reject the given facts or is one to do logical justice to the facts and leave etymology to its proper business of words? There surely can be only one answer.

The Ma-wu Islands will be for us the Philippines. Pelliot taking Tchou-po for Java says that Ma-wu must be faulty for Ma-li which was a later (much later) name for Bali ; he accordingly takes the Ma-wu Islands to be Bali.

The Volcano Island and the mountain east of the Ma-wu obviously cannot be located ; the southern seas are full of volcanic islands and mountains. Laufer, however, thought that Timor might be Volcano Island (147, p. 346).

We shall have more to say about Ko-ying later.

(To be continued).

CITATIONS.

- Tijdschrift = Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde.
- A. S. I. = Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
- Bijdragen = Bijdragen de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.
- B. C. A. I. = Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine.
- J. Bur : Res : S. = Journal of the Burma Research Society.
- (181) MAJUMDAR, R. C. Suvarnavipa, 1937.
- (182) GARDNER, G. B. Ancient Beads from the Johore River, J.R.A.S., 1937, pp. 467-470.
- (183) LE MAY, R. Buddhist Art in Siam, 1938.
- (184) WINSTEDT, R. The History of the Peninsula in Folk-Tales, J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1911, No. 57, pp. 183-188.
- (185) NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A. The Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China, I.H.Q. 1938, Vol. XIV, pp. 380-387. ✓
- (186) CUTTS, E. H. Chinese-Indian Contacts, I.H.Q., 1938, vol. xiv, pp. 486-502. ✓
- (187) NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A. Agastya, *Tijdschrift*, 1936, Deel 76, pp. 471-545.
- (188) GOPALAN, R. History of the Pallavas of Kanchi, 1928.
- (189) HERAS, REV. H. Studies in Pallava History, 1933.
- (190) VENKAYYA, V. The Pallavas, A.S.I. for 1906-7, (1909), pp. 217-243.
- (191) VOGEL, J. PH. The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman from Koetei (East Borneo), *Bijdragen*, 1918, Deel 74, pp. 167-232.
- (192) CHATTERJEE, B. R. India and Java, 2nd ed., 1933. ✓
- (193) AUROUSSEAU. Criticism of No. 176 *supra*, B.E.F.E.O., 1914, Vol. XIV, No. 9, pp. 8-43.
- (194) ANON. L'Annam, 1931.
- (195) MORIZON, RENE. Monographie du Cambodge, 1931.
- (196) ANON. La Cochinchine, 1931.
- 1939] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

- (197) LAIDLAY, J. W. Note on the Inscriptions from Singapore and Province Wellesley, *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*, 1st, series, 1886, Vol. 1, pp. 227-232.
- (198) KERN, H. Concerning some old Sanskrit inscriptions in the Malay Peninsula J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1907, No. 49, pp. 95-101.
- (199) FINOT, L. Inscriptions du Siam et de la Péninsule Malaise, B.C.A.I., 1910, Pt. 2, pp. 147-154.
- (200) COEDÈS, G. Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, Deuxième Partie, Inscriptions de Dvaravati, de Crivijaya et de Lavo, 1929.
- (201) EVANS, I. H. N. On Ancient Remains from Kuala Selinsing, Perak, J.F.M.S. Mus., 1928, Vol. XII, Pt. 5, pp. 121-131.
- (202) do. Further Notes of Remains from Kuala Selinsing, Perak, J.F.M.S. Mus., 1928, Vol. XII, Pt. 5, pp. 139-142.
- (203) do. Notes on Recent Finds at Kuala Selinsing, J.F.M.S. Mus., 1930, Vol. XV, Pt. I, pp. 25-27.
- (204) do. Excavations at Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, J.F.M.S. Mus., 1932, Vol. XV, Pt. 3, pp. 79-133.
- (205) WINSTEDT, R. The Prehistory of Malaya, J.R.A.S. M.B., 1932, Vol. X, pp. 1-5.
- (206) BRADDELL, R. The Perak "Pallava Seal", J.R.A.S., M.B., 1934, Vol. XII, pp. 173-4.
- (207) CHHABRA, B. C. Identification of "Sri Visnuvarman of the Perak Seal", J.G.I.S., 1935, Vol. II, pp. 71-75.
- (208) NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A. ✓ A note on an Inscribed Seal from Perak, J.R.A.S., M.B., 1936, Vol. XIV, pp. 282-283.
- (209) do. The Takua-pa (Siam) Tamil Inscription, Reprints from the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, n.d.
- (210) WALES, H. G. QUARITCH The Exploration of Sri Deva, an Ancient Indian City in Indo-china, I.A.L., 1936, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 61-99.

- (211) DE LAJONQUIÈRE, L. La domaine archéologique du Siam, B.C.A.I., 1909, pp. 188-266.
- (212) do. Essai d'inventaire archéologique du Siam, B.C.A.I., 1912, 1st part, pp. 19-181.
- (213) CLAEYS, J. Y. L'Archéologie du Siam, 1931.
- (214) COEDÈS, G. Les Collections Archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok; *Ars Asiatica*, 1928, Vol. XII, pp. 1-116.
- (215) VOGEL, J. PH. The earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java *Publicaties van den oudheid Kundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, Deel 1, 1925.
- (216) COEDÈS, G. A new inscription from Fu-nan, J.G.I.S., 1937, Vol. IV, 1937, pp. 117-121.
- (217) LINEHAN, W. Some Discoveries on the Tembeling, J.R.A.S., M.B., 1928, Vol. VI, Pt. IV, pp. 66-77.
- (218) do. Notes on the remains of some ancient brick structures in Pekan district, J.R.A.S., M.B., 1928, Vol. VI, Pt. IV, pp. 77-81.
- (219) do. Notes on some further Archaeological Discoveries in Pahang, J.R.A.S., M.B., 1930, Vol. VIII, pp. 314-317.
- (220) do. A History of Pahang, J.R.A.S., M.B., 1936, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, pp. 1-256.
- (221) PELLLOT, PAUL. Le Fou-Nan, B.E.F.E.O., 1903, Vol. III, pp. 248-303; 671, 672.
- (222) COEDÈS, G. Etudes Cambodgiennes, No. XXI, B.E.F.E.O., 1938, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 124-140.
- (223) FINOT, L. Sur quelques traditions Indo-Chinoises, B.C.A.I., 1911, No. 1, pp. 30-37.
- (224) COEDÈS, G. Etudes Cambodgiennes, No. XXXI, B.E.F.E.O., 1936, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1-13.
- (225) BOSE, P. N. The Indian Colony of Siam, 1927.
- (226) HIRTH, F. and ROCK-
HILL, W. M. ✓ Chau Ju-Kua, 1911.

- (227) TAKAKASU, J. A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695), 1896.
- (228) WALES, H. G. QUARITCH Towards Angkor, 1937.
- (229) LUCE, G. H. Countries neighbouring Burma, J. Bur. Res. S., 1925, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, pp. 138-205.
- (230) DE SAINT-DENYS, D'HERVEY. Ethnographie des Peuples Etrangers à la Chine par Ma-Touan, lin, Meridionaux ; 1883.
- (231) WINSTEDT, R. O. Perak the Arrow-Chosen, J.R.A.S.-S.B., 1920, No. 82, p. 137.
- (232) MAXWELL, W. E. The History of Perak from Native Sources, J.R.A.S., S.B., 1882, No. 9 pp. 85-108.
- (233) BLAGDEN, C. O. A Malayan element in some of the Languages of Southern Indo-China J.R.A.S., S.B., 1902, No. 38, pp. 1-27.
- (234) BLAGDEN, C. O. Early Indo-Chinese Influence in the Malay Peninsula, J.R.A.S., S.B., 1894, No. 27, pp. 1-56.
- (235) NOONE, H. D. Report of the Settlements and Welfare of the Ple-Temiar Senoi of the Perak-Kelantan Watershed, 1936, J.F.M.S. Mus., Vol. XIX, Pt. I, pp. 1-85.
- (236) AUBOYER, JEANNE. The Symbolism of Sovereignty in India according to Iconography, I.A.L., 1938, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 26-36.
- (237) LAUFER, B. Malabathron, J.A. 1918, Vol. XII, pp. 1-49.

SRĪVIJAYA, YĀVA EN KATĀHA

By
Ir. J. L. MOENS

Tijdschrift Voor Indische Taal-, Land- En
Volkenkunde.

(Deel LXXVII—Aflering 3, 1937.)

UITGEGEVEN DOOR HET

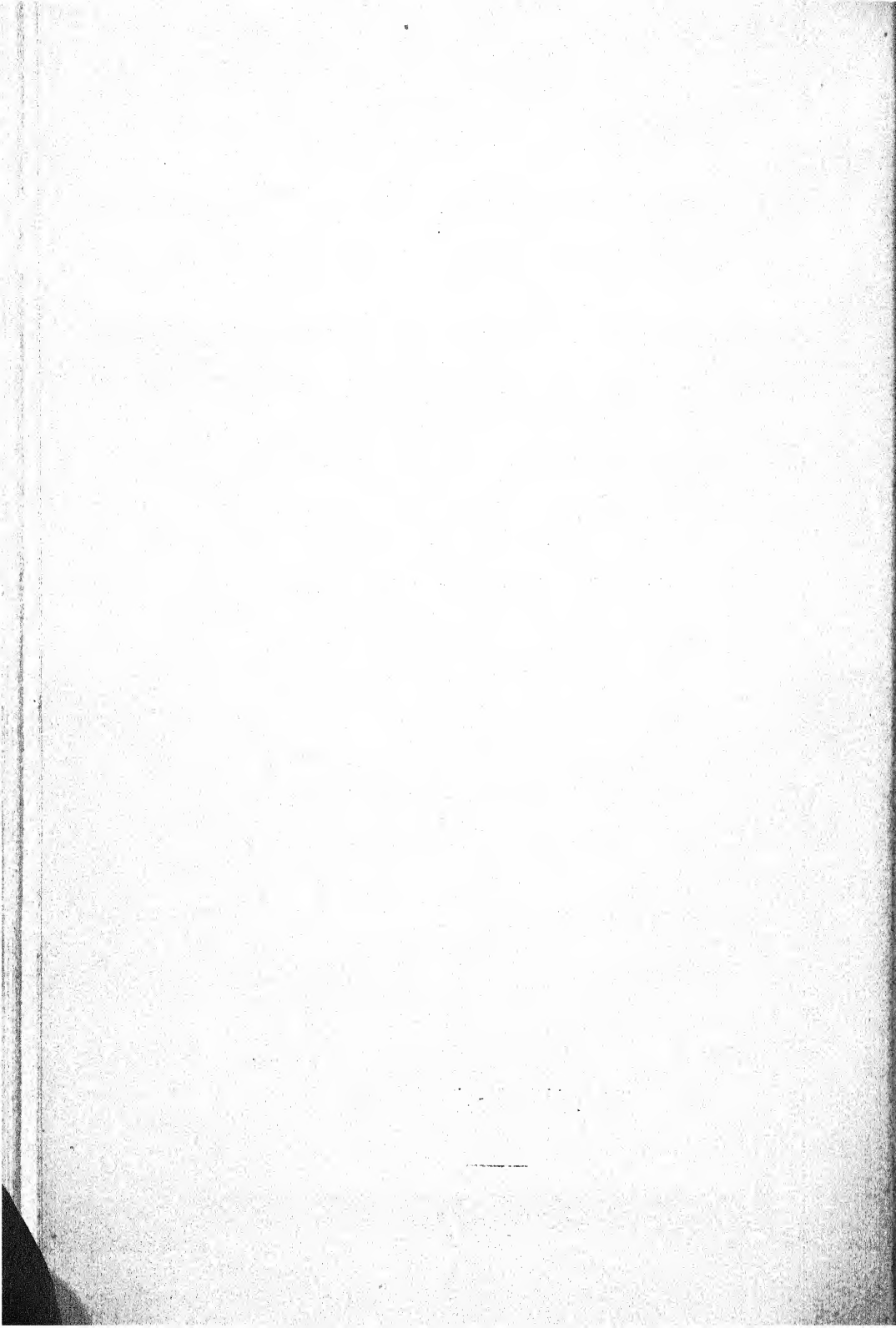
Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap
van Kunsten en Wetenschappen

An abridged translation by

R. J. de TOUCHÉ

*By kind permission of the Author and the
Royal Batavia Society of
Arts & Science.*

PRINTERS LIMITED
SINGAPORE
1940



SRĪVIJAYA, YĀVA AND KATĀHA.

By Ir. J. L. MOENS.

FOREWORD.

Much time and thought have been spent by historians and linguists (Dutch and foreign) upon the identification of the oldest sea-powers in the Indian Archipelago. What follows here is an attempt to review from a geographical viewpoint the voluminous data which specialists on matters Chinese and Arabian have made available ; this has opened a way to achieve by comparisons and identifications a picture more acceptable than the political maps hitherto accepted on a more philological basis. Into the following introduction for the student of the geographical history of especially the western part of our archipelago during the first millenium, historical conjectures will unavoidably enter. "As Geography without History seemeth a carcase without motion, so History without Geography wandreth as a vagrant without a certaine habitation."¹ These historical conjectures should be accepted primarily as a working hypothesis in the new geographical frame and require, therefore, close examination.

We apologize for the detailed citations from publications of scientists, which frequently are influenced by one-sided philological interpretations of geographical texts ; these could not be worded better and are literal references to old texts referring to our Archipelago.

For instance, what Franke says about the phonetic rendering in Chinese of foreign names² is a clear indication for judging the degree of accuracy which one believes to have been reached in the translation of particular names of places in various texts into their respective native equivalents. In the notes cited by me in mentioning the above references, analogous examples for our archipelago have been taken. These instances will be gone into more closely in the following chapters.

From Chinese descriptions of modern travel (where correct native names for places are identified with absolute certainty on current maps) Franke mentions "with what indifference the Chinese regarded the correct rendering of names and with what license they rendered it : now in one way, then in another altogether different way" (p. 249). Also Arabian students of travel are not free from blame, as we shall see presently. Either a writer interpreted the foreign name through ideograms with corresponding phonetical value,³ or interpreted the significance of the name of

¹General, Hist. of Virginia, mentioned by Sykes, Hist. of Exploration.

²Grundsätzliches zur Wiedergabe fremder Länder-und Ortsnamen im Chinesischen, Report of Conference, Prussian Academy of Science (Phil. Hist. Kl.) XV, 1934.

³Thus the name of Java is frequently rendered in Chinese by Ye-p'o (-ti) (in the 5th century) and by Cho-p'o (since the 5th century) and Tchao-wa and even Koua-wa (in the 13th century).

the place,¹ or an entirely different name was given.² (p. 249). The phonetical interpretations were rather vague: "previously consonant sounding ideograms replaced syllables which are definitely vowels in the original."³ Further the learned author concludes that the newer writers are not free from the faults of older writers, in which I agree with him: "the literati and civil servants of the Han and T'ang period were certainly not better schooled in phonetics than their successors of the 19th and 20th centuries and certainly not less accurate or less careless where foreign names were concerned" (p. 258)—"of any phonetical system in rendering foreign names there is no question. He who believes in a reconstruction of names of places from phonetic sounding words, or *vice versa* intends to prove that from a group of sounds no original interpretation may be rendered, leans on a staff of willow wood," that is, is ill supported in his theory.⁴ If we read the old Chinese accounts thus scientifically forewarned "we will nevertheless have gained so much that our identifications of old names will not be unduly obstructed by hindering phonetical threads (taking into account the Chinese point of view)"⁵.... All the more, however, in practical circumstances this is an unavoidable condition for identification.⁶ Geographical and historical circumstances may, however, sometimes be of more importance than strong deviations of Chinese names from their original forms.

It is not seldom that the descriptive meaning of a Chinese name may leave no doubt, that the original of the form remains hidden, because it has either been forgotten or misunderstood⁷ or a new name may have been invented and substituted by the Chinese" (p. 258).

¹For example the translation of Tch'e-t'ou for a native name which means 'red earth', but whose original form is absent.

²For example the 7th century Chinese name of Lo-tch'a or (Land of) Raksasas for the Moluccas.

³Franke mentions: A-la-pa (old pron.: °pak) for Arabia; Kia-or-Ko-ta (old pron.: °tap) for Calcutta. An equivalent exists for our Archipelago, Cho-p'o (old pron.: °wak) and the Arab Zabaj for Yava.

⁴For example the names, Tchouan-lo-p'o-ti in the new T'ang annals; T'o-lo-po-ti by Hiuan-tsang, and Cho-ho-po-ti by Yi-tsing which according to Pelliot (Befeo 1904, p. 223) all render the same name as Dvaravati. Also the name Malayu is written in many different ways: Mo-lo-yeou (Yi-tsing), Mou-la-yeou (1281 A.D.), Mou-lai-yeou (1292 A.D.), Mo-la-yeou (1299 A.D.) and Ma-lai-hou (1301 A.D.) all mentioned by Pelliot. Also for Ceylon (Simhala), Seng-kia-lo (Hiuan-tsang), Seng-ho-lo (Yi-tsing), Seng-kia-la (Yuan dynasty), and Si-lan (Ming dynasty); or Sseu-tiao, Sseu-ho-t'iao, Sseu-ho-tie or even Sseu-ho-kie for Simhadvipa.

⁵For example generally accepted identity of the names Che-li-fo-che and Srivijaya.

⁶Though Cho-p'o is a regular Chinese transcription for our name for Java, this land Cho-p'o cannot represent our Java, if it appears certain from the text that it was situated in the northern hemisphere. Nevertheless it may become clear afterwards from later tests and based upon geographical reasons, that Java is meant by that name!

⁷Mistaken identification of countries possessing different native names, but interpreted by Chinese with the same sound and identical ideograms.

Though all this sounds rather discouraging for those who rely for their identifications upon Chinese sources, still more caution is recommended when one considers the highly important publication of Albert Hermann: "*Irrtümliche Namensversetzungen*"¹ I mention the points and passages most apposite and bearing exclusively upon Chinese geographers. Numerous instances are cited by this learned writer: "most important it is to place the geographical point of view above all, when submitting geographical names to language comparisons. The danger arises of wrong or misleading conclusions from faulty assimilation of localities which may prove phonetically correct but may have a different meaning altogether geographically" (p. 112).²

He accentuates this with further examples to prove: "into what labyrinths scholars may be led, when the transition of names is not taken into account. It is not enough to take this viewpoint casually, but it should be in the foreground. Whenever geographical questions are to be decided this method may change an old text completely by disproving and making null and void all previous conclusions." (p. 143). A further difficulty (mentioned in the last chapter of this treatise, but possibly not experienced by Hermann) is the confusion between two empires geographically situated in the same country, but alternately come to expansion and governed from different capitals. I mention the kingdoms of Ho-ling (Zabaj) and San-fo-ts'i (Zabaj), both of which had their capitals in Southern Malaya respectively from the 7th to the 9th centuries and from the 9th to the end of the 12th centuries, and further the kingdoms of San-fo-ts'i-Kadaram (end of 9th until 12th century) and San-fo-ts'i-Malayu (end of 12th until 14th century) which were governed from Malayu. It is important to remember that with the expansion of geographical borders, old boundaries are erased by new geographical formations. In the D.E.I. Archipelago such events took place for Chinese and Arabs in a southeastern direction. With the increase of knowledge of the Archipelago beyond the trade routes between China and the East Indies,³ the name Java was first given to (east) Fu-nan and then to the Malay Peninsula and finally to the present Java. The Chinese had an identical name for it (spelt with identical sounding ideograms) which later changed into a name merging

¹Beitrage zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Kartographie, vornehmlich des Orients. Publishers Hans Mzik, 1929.

²Confusion of accounts of the countries P'o-li in the Leang and Souei annals, the composite tale in the T'ang annals, and the countries Ye-p'o-ti-Cho-p'o, and Cho-p'o-Tchao-wa. The sifting of this material is furthermore made more difficult through the custom of Chinese chroniclers "of incorporating bodily into their writings the work of others without giving the names either of the authors or of their books" (H. R. p. 36). This causes anachronisms to become practically untraceable. The same complaint is made by Ferrand with regard to many Arab authors. (Ferrand p. 6).

³This trade route ran originally over the narrows of Kra and Ligor and possibly through the Sunda Straits; only at a later date through the Straits of Malacca.

into the native name of "Jawa". In the same way the name of K'ouen-louen for the Philippine Islands passed over to the Moluccas, as mentioned by me in the third chapter to follow.

These mistakes are especially frequent among Chinese and Arab authors who have had to rely upon other sources, themselves being unfamiliar with the localities. Chinese chroniclers were much inclined to identify localities with nearly identical sounding names (but differently spelt) though they came from widely different chronological periods. "World famous names of countries and cities came to their ears but were to them only empty meanings. Their own imagination then built up stories from other sources (in various languages) well rounded off and containing material for future misunderstandings. Chroniclers copied the stories one from another through generations. These chronicles were expanded by new material, corrected, but often the old mixed with the new, though long ago out of date and unacceptable, thus causing confusion and contradictions. Predominant is always the indifference characteristic of the Chinese towards all things foreign...."¹ The Chinese (and Arab) sources are furthermore not to be considered too reliable, on account of the Chinese compilers of chronicles being inclined to have too much respect for names which previous generations had given to countries and people (p. 115) and because geographical knowledge of the "barbaric isles" (including the East Indies) was none too popular,—"an obscure, unprofitable hobby"—taken up only by a few officials, and with no appeal to the public fancy.² The use of such sources for identification is therefore to be accepted by the geographer with a critical attitude.

It is certainly in my opinion, wrong to misinterpret positive geographical indications by only relying upon phonetic identities of name. I cite as an instance the generally accepted identification in the 7th and until the 9th century of Cho-p'o (Ho-ling), which according to Chinese accounts must have been situated in the northern hemisphere, with our Java (Cho-p'o) which lies on the other side of the equator.

Casual coincidences of names (Hermann p. 125)³ must be taken into account; the pronunciation of Chinese ideograms changes with time and depends on the country of origin of the

¹Franke, p. 278. The instance mentioned by Pelliot (Befeo 1904 p. 174) is typical: Tou-lo-tch'eng, Tou-lo-tchou, T'ou-li-k'iu or T'ou-li-tcho referred to the Sanskrit name for Burma, Tulaksetra. After the old T'ang annals mentioned that this name was pronounced in a certain way by the people of Cho-p'o we read in a later Chinese manuscript that Cho-p'o and Tulaksetra supposedly represent the same country.

²H. R. Introd., p. 38.

³The Javanese name Kedu, which is a valley (Sanskrit: Katāha) is called by Indians, Katāha; the place P'o-li, which really has a different name, but is called so because crystal is found there (sphatika, Chin. p'o-li).

original inventor of a name ;¹ several names repeat themselves in the East Indies ; Ferrand more than once was driven to despair by Arab authors who interwove non-geographical elements into their travel tales—all these points make evident the difficulties which face one in the reconstruction of original names of countries from transcriptions handed down. Success is but occasional and mainly due to stubborn East Indian conservatism, which has preserved century old names.²

One can conclude that one is in the right direction in using geography and history as a medium of control. This control can be supplemented by finding a native name in the immediate vicinity, whose phonetic equivalent (even if only approximately) tallies with that of the given transcription. I quote a typical East Indian difficulty : a frequent shifting of capitals and spheres of power is notable in the annals dealing with the piratical tribes of the coasts. These constant changes took place until the 18th century, when European influence had a stabilizing effect. Even the very names of the various tribal kingdoms were changed. The numerous changes in the capitals of Johore at the beginning of the 18th century may be mentioned from Kota Lama after one year to Panchor : when the place was burnt down after 8 years, to Riouw, until 8 years later the Buginese and Menangkabaus chased the Sultan away from there : subsequently Johore Lama became again the capital, from which the Sultan fled again after a year—and all this within the reign of one Sultan !³ Frequently a capital was deserted because it proved to be unsuitable from a trade or strategic point of view.⁴ Finally it must be remembered that the geographical world at the time of the old authors frequently differed from that rendered by our modern maps.

Almost insurmountable⁵ difficulties arise when chroniclers rely upon hearsay and re-interpret the original source of their

¹Nio Joe Lan, "Iets over Chineesche Namen", Ind. Guide 1933 p. 416-7, from the Chinese transcription of the name Tjikembang one can deduce that the name given was Cantonese, since the ideograms used for the interpretation of the Javanese name in the Cantonese dialect are nearest to the original name.

²It is regrettable to see how government servants frequently have little regard for native names ; unnecessarily they are being mutilated, or worse, replaced by new ones. Even native officials are not free from guilt, increasing the difficulties by creating new names, built up by particles borrowed from a much older one belonging to a long dead language.

³Winstedt, History of Johore, J.R.A.S. Malay Branch 1932 p. 164 &c.

⁴Change of capital from Srivijaya and the familiar case of Johore (founded in 1530 A.D. by Hang Tuah's son-in-law) which was abandoned in favour of Bintang "as it was inconvenient owing to its great distance from the sea" (Winstedt p. 77). Kedah, the Lankasuka of Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa was abandoned by the 3rd ruler Sri Mahawangsa for Serokam "maka raja S. M. pun tiada suka dudok di-Kota Lankasuka itu karna jauh sangat dari laut". (Sturrock J.R.A.S. Str. Br. 1916 p. 64).

⁵The almost west to east centre lines of Malaya and Sumatra led Chinese and Arab geographers to commit numerous mistakes, which have caused serious misunderstandings.

information (which frequently enough was based on hearsay and rumour). Especially the older geographers¹ were inclined to experiment with imaginary data.² Contrary to the opinions of Franke and Hermann, Ferrand³ stubbornly holds the opinion that the old authors were handicapped because they had a totally wrong conception of the world and its geographical proportions. When contemplating the maps of Ptolemy and Edrisi, or the old Chinese maps, Ferrand concludes that the geographical information contained in all these is of no value whatever.⁴ "The uncertainty is eliminated when one finds a similar phonetic pronunciation of names in Arab and Chinese coupled with that of the natives of the land" (as if there did not exist a number of similar names all over the East Indies!) "which allows of a final establishment of their identity, even though the Chinese and Arab texts place the port or island in question in a different locality."⁵ Nevertheless, such an identification is considered unjustified when foreign transcriptions do not retain a similarity from one language to another. Undoubtedly the language method does not contribute to the solution of all geographical problems which present themselves, but it serves to eliminate unnecessary conjectures and improbable hypotheses—it is a medium of control and has a value as such only".⁶ Without abandoning the medium of phonetics, Ferrand luckily softens this uncompromising attitude, when he appreciates the difficulty of the name of a place being taken over by one people from another (possibly with a difference in culture); he appreciates that a name may change in these circumstances almost beyond recognition,— "it is pronounced differently, shortened, lengthened and adapted to the imagination and reasoning of the successors; the

¹The chapters in Tchao Jou-koua's book concerning Chinese and Arab trade in the 12th and 13th centuries in San-fu-ts'i and middle Java are based entirely upon verbal reports of Chinese and foreign merchants, according to the translators. (p. 37).

²Greek and Arab geography long maintained that the Indian Ocean was entirely surrounded by mainland.

³Ferrand p. IX.

⁴After having gone into the system of mistakes by which the maps were made, it appears that the former were not so serious (see foot note 1 above). Ferrand was well aware of the extent of these mistakes.

⁵See Coedès, *Srivijaya* p. 10: "These similarities have the value of other similarities based upon a simple phonetical analogy between two geographical names compared between centuries past and present." Ferrand's point of view in my opinion is a dangerous open door policy for prejudiced solutions. This was the cause of the serious mistake made in the case of Cho-p'o and Yavadvipa in connection with Java!

⁶Ferrand is not constant in applying his own method: The Straits Long-ya-men ("Straits of Dragonteeth" because flanked by rocks looking similar to these) is of course south of Malaya's Ujung Tanah. Ferrand concludes it is the Lingga Straits, *i.e.* the straits between the island bearing a similar name and the coast of Sumatra. He calms his philological conscience, because he must be aware that the only transcription—"the strict equivalent" is Ling-k'ia (*J. As.* XI Serie, t. XIII p. 287).

unfamiliar word, which is not understood, is changed into a name with a familiar sound".¹

From the standpoint of one who is not a philologist, who is not so convinced of the total worthlessness of ancient geography, who in opposition to Franke and Hermann is convinced that insufficient attention has so far been given to the geographical data contained in old annals, the question is being opened again. This is easier in the case of the East Indies because of the extensive cartographic material and accounts of travels by Dutch and natives, which are available here but have been seldom or never accessible to foreign scientists.² The question which Bosch put³ with regard to Stutterheim's hypothesis in his *Javanese Period In Sumatran History*—"whether indeed the old building erected from available information had now become so shaky"—must be answered in the affirmative, if the new interpretation of the available geographical material given in the 3 chapters to follow proves correct. The old interpretation will not bear partial renovation and will have to be replaced by an entirely new one.

¹K'ouen-louen, etc. p. 285.

²I have had to adhere strictly to the individual spelling of names quoted by Chinese and Arab authors, so that no uniformity in this respect must be expected.

³T. B. G. LXIX p. 138.

I SRĪVIJAYA. (with map No. I).

Coedès' famous works of 1918 are a milestone in historical investigations of the East Indies.¹ He caused the resurrection of the forgotten Malay Empire of the Indies which lasted a short time only, from the end of the 7th century until the end of the 9th century, a period far more important than hitherto appreciated. Coedès did not seek a solution of the geographical problem, "which country was meant by the name of Srivijaya". To the theories of Beal, Groeneveldt, Takakusu, Schlegel and Pelliot, all of whom insisted that Srivijaya must have been located near Palembang, he merely added "more substantial arguments to prove it", adding "I do not pretend that Palembang has always been its capital".² When, however, Majumdar insists that such a theory is without any solid foundation³ Coedès is not inclined to abandon his opinion about the role of Palembang.⁴ Only recently he announced his intention "to submit further arguments regarding his favouring of Palembang....." in a publication of the Journal of the Malayan Branch R. A. S.⁵

The Empire of Palembang did indeed play a great part during the 6th and 7th centuries. In the following paragraph further particulars will be given as to its name. Palembang and west Java situated on the Sunda Straits, the southern entrance gate to the East Indies, and southern passage of the way from the Indies to China—were the most important localities in those centuries.

In the northern part of the Malay archipelago Fou-nan and Cho-p'o dominated the Malay peninsula. They were the northern gates for a great trade route and it was there that they were paramount. With far-sightedness Srivijaya realized in the last quarter of the 7th century that it had to safeguard its sea trade against northern and southern competition by gaining supremacy in the Straits of Malacca. Toward the end of the 7th century it moves its centre of power to Malayu, succeeds completely in its southern strategy, and turns the Straits of Malacca into an integral part of the India-China trade route. By controlling the Peninsula it keeps its northern rivals in check until the end of the 8th century. The only resistance is experienced from Cho-p'o. Only toward the end of the 9th century a third power, San-fo-ts'i, gains complete control over the western part of the Archipelago.

By means of known sources, not based entirely on geographical data, I will attempt to prove where one must look for the capital of Srivijaya. For this purpose, chronology and the dates of sources

¹Le royaume de Srivijaya, Befeo XVIII.

²*ibid.* p. 3 note 5.

³BEFEO XXXIII p. 136.

⁴Gr. I. S. 1934 p. 63-4.

⁵BEFEO XXXV p. 380.

are of supreme importance. Pelliot's work is very useful, namely, "Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e Siècle".¹ Here it should be remembered that maps of those times were not stabilized and geographical differences in them are not shown on our present-day maps of the Archipelago. It has frequently been found that Chinese and Arabs believed the centre line of the Malay Peninsula (except the part where the peninsula joins the continent) to run parallel with Sumatra, from west to east,² whereas in reality the centre line runs from northwest to southeast.³ The wind directions have to be allowed for for identification purposes, as they were based on the above erroneous assumptions. This same error places Java (which lies southeast of Sumatra) more eastward, so that the Chinese even believed it to be to the southeast of Canton, the right position being southwest. The length of journeys varies with the monsoon seasons and the types of ships; for calculating distances such sources are, therefore, of little value.

We read in the Yi-tsing records of the Buddhist Religion (692 A.D.)⁴ "travelling from west to east one reaches first P'o-lou-che, then Mo-lo-yeou (Malayu), which is now the Empire of Che-li-fo-che (Srivijaya)". At some other place he mentions: "that the Empire of P'o-lou-che lies to the west of Srivijaya";⁵ while the new T'ang annals (618-908 A.D.) state that the western part of the Srivijaya Empire bears the name Lang-p'o-lou-sseu.⁶ Possibly Kern's identification of the names P'o-lou-che or P'o-lou-sseu is the only correct one; according to native transcription of the name Baros, it is situated on Sumatra's west coast. Since according to Chinese orientation the west coast of Sumatra would coincide with northwest upon our maps, it must be concluded that Srivijaya or Sumatra must be expected to have been closer to the equator than Baros, possibly even to the south of the equator.⁷

✓ According to this source the capital may have been situated either on the western or the eastern coast of Sumatra. It is more probable that it was on the eastern coast, because of the gradual switching over of the trade route to the Straits of Malacca. For the same reason one must expect it to have been

¹BEFEO 1904.

²Ferrand, Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques.

³Pelliot p. 265. I merely specify.

⁴Takakusu p. 10.

⁵Chavannes p. 36-37. This work of Yi-tsing's was also completed in 692 A.D.

⁶Lang-Lam (Achinese for landscape).

⁷And not in Malaya, because the Chinese account places Baros not to the west but to the south of Srivijaya. Pelliot (p. 339) places Srivijaya on Sumatra because: "the annals of T'ang prevent us mistaking, politically, Ho-ling or Java for Sribhoja; they are never mentioned elsewhere as two empires situated upon one island". Ho-ling is, however, not Java as we will show in the next chapter, but Malaya.

in middle rather than in south Sumatra. Yi-tsing describes the geographical situation of Śrīvijaya as being on the east coast of Sumatra (in an account dated 692 A.D., the date of completion of his "records").

Is it not noteworthy that six centuries later the later report of Kazwini (13th century) still points to the same situation? He states that Sribuza lay at the southern end of the "island" of Lambri.¹ North Sumatra is always called by Arab geographers Lambri, Lamuri, or Rami. Abu Zayd (916 A.D.) also mentions next to Rami the "island" of Sribuza and according to Kazwini this borders on the former. Ibn Sa'id, a contemporary of Kazwini calls the northern "island" Jawa and its capital Lamuri.² Abulfida (1273-1331 A.D.) places the city of Fancur (Baros) to the south of the "island" Jawa.³ Abu Zayd, Kazwini, and Abulfida therefore contradict the T'ang annals and seem more reliable; their opinion coincides with that of Mas-udi (943 A.D.)⁴ in regarding Baros as part of Lambri; Kazwini mentions Sribuza as being on the southern end of Lambri but not Fancur. Kazwini's statement is identical with that of Yi-tsing that Śrīvijaya lies to the southeast of Baros and therefore would be situated in middle Sumatra.

If, however, one is guided by Pelliot., who supposes that Lambri is not the name for north Sumatra but for the whole island, ("as we ourselves called the island 'Samadra' after its north western province"), one would have to seek Sribuza on the southern end of Sumatra. In that case one may as well let imagination run wild and place the capital in Jambi or better still, Palembang, entirely according to the current theory!

In any case the "records" of Yi-tsing refer to the period after the transfer of Śrīvijaya to the old country of Malayu, whereof the exact location was not certain. Yi-tsing only mentions: "Malayu is now Śrīvijaya". He does not mention that the new Empire had its capital in Malayu. The old "Malayu" which sent, in Yi-tsing's time (644-5 A.D.), a deputation to China (under the name Mo-lo-yeou) was mentioned in Chinese chronicles a century earlier, as will be seen from the following paragraph. The capital of Malayu, revived five centuries later, was not situated in Śrīvijaya.

Where was Śrīvijaya situated before? The sea journey from Tonkin to Nagapattam on the southeast coast of Dekhan took 90 days according to Yi-tsing⁵, Tonkin to Śrīvijaya 30 days; Śrīvijaya

¹Pelliot P. 339.

²Śrīvijaya p. 71.

³Reinaud, Géogr. d'Aboulfeda II, 2 p. 127.

⁴Ferrand p. 97 "Rāmin—In the neighbourhood of the country of Fañcūr, famous for its camphor".

⁵Chavannes p. 119 and 144, where the same distances are cited for the outward journey.

to Malayu 15 days ; Malayu to Kedah¹ 15 days ; Kedah to Nega-pattam 30 days. This account refers to the period before the conquest of Malayu, because Malayu and Srivijaya were mentioned in it as two different Empires, separated from each other by 15 days sea journey.

From another account of this period² it appears that the King of Srivijaya (where Yi-tsing remained in 671 A.D. for 6 months coming from Canton and on the way to Nalanda in order to learn Sanscrit) helped him with a ship's passage, where by Yi-tsing could travel to the capital of Malayu. The transfer of Srivijaya must, therefore, have taken place between 621 and 692 A.D. when Srivijaya was already established in Malayu. Very likely this event had taken place between 672 and 685. A.D. during the year that Yi-tsing returned from Nalanda to Srivijaya, because there is no proof that the capital was transferred during the period of his second sojourn (685-692 A.D.).

After going for a few months to China in 689 A.D. to fetch a few assistant writers he returns to the same Srivijaya to complete his "Record" and "Religieux Eminent" in 692 A.D. The inscription on the Kedukan Bukit found at the foot of Bukit Seguntang near Palembang makes it possible to place the then capital of Srivijaya within narrower confines. Chhabra³ mentions: "Srivijaya is successful in all undertakings and is in a flourishing condition". The connection between this and the wording of the inscription of 683 A.D. is not the year of the founding of Srivijaya in Palembang⁴ but the capture of Palembang during that year by Srivijaya with a force of 20,000 men! Coedès formulates his theory as follows: ⁵ "if the embarkation took place beyond the sea, a journey of 25 days had taken place by a foreign prince accompanied by a group of immigrants" (his military force) "who unshipped at the mouth of the Musi and reached some by land, others by way of the river, the site of Palembang. After a month (or longer) following their arrival a new power was established, conferring victory, success and riches upon Srivijaya". He, however, doubted this as a romantic interpretation. Two years later he⁶ was more inclined to take it for granted and believed that the word "Sriwijayajaya" in the text "may have signified a victory for Sriwijaya". With the geographical picture which I shall unfold, I hope to remove Coedès' last doubts. Srivijaya could only establish itself in Malayu after it had captured the capital Palembang and removed the ruling dynasty from there,

¹Beal (T. R. A. S. 1881 p. 552) identified Yi-tsing's Kie-tch'a rightly with Kedah.

²Chavannes p. 119.

³J.A.S. of Bengal vol. I 1935 p. 29.

⁴See o.m. Krom p. 121.

⁵BEFEO XXXIII p. 1002 and further.

⁶BEFEO XXXV p. 380.

to establish its seat of power elsewhere in the land of Malayu in the north, close to the Straits, which it would henceforth dominate !

The transfer of the capital must have taken place between 683 and 685 A.D. and the warning (3 years later) to the population of Upper Jambi and Banka not to resist the authorities of Śrīvijaya, must have been issued from the new capital.

From the aforementioned works of Yi-tsing (Rel. Eminent) we gather further geographical indications hitherto generally disregarded. After staying for 2 months in Malayu (671-2 A.D.) he leaves for old Kedah on Malaya's west coast. As will be seen later, this is the old city of that name close to the present-day Kedah ($6^{\circ} 5'N.$), judging from contemporary sun measurements.¹ The direction Malayu—Kedah is opposite to Śrīvijaya—Malayu, because Yi-tsing says : " I changed the direction in order to go to Kie-tch'a (Kedah) ". As the direction Malayu—Kedah is S.E.—N.W. the direction Śrīvijaya—Malayu should be N.W.—S.E. in accordance with Yi-tsing's repeated statements that the route from Tonkin first touched Śrīvijaya and subsequently Malayu;² this part of the journey must have taken place along the other coast of Malaya! As a result of the above conclusions the old Śrīvijaya must have existed on the east coast of Malayu. Judging from the length of the journeys from Malayu to Śrīvijaya as well as to Kedah—each 15 days along the coast of the peninsula—we may conclude that old Śrīvijaya was situated practically upon the same latitude as Kedah, $6^{\circ} N.$ ³

Does all this agree with data from known old Chinese chronicles? The new annals of the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.) mention :⁴ a sundial of 8' length casts in Śrīvijaya at 12 o'clock noon on the day of the summer solstitium a shadow southward of 2' 5" length, wherefrom we may conclude that this place of astronomical observation must have been situated on $5^{\circ} 50'$ latitude, ⁵ I believe approximately near the latitude of Kelantan.

This latest account of the oldest Śrīvijaya appears to tally geographically with the city mentioned by Yi-tsing in 671-2 A.D. ! Pelliot refers " to this observation taken literally, as unacceptable " He suspects the possibility of a double error by the chronicle writers of the T'ang annals who may have borrowed the observation of a northward shadow during midwinter, though Śrīvijaya then should have been situated in 6° south latitude—somewhere in Java—which possibility, however, he discounts.⁶ Also Barth

¹ See Yava.

² Pelliot p. 322.

³ That Śrīvijaya (according to the inscription of Kedukan Bukit) required 25 days for its conquest expedition of 20,000 men to Palembang for a distance which took normally 15 days, is acceptable.

⁴ Pelliot p. 334.

⁵ Gerini p. 482.

⁶ Pelliot p. 333-4.

and Chavannes thought Srivijaya to be in (west) Java because it took 15 days from Palembang to Java in a southeastern direction and they thought Mo-lo-yeou to be Palembang. Why expect Malayu to be in the prolonged direction of Kedah-Palembang if Yi-tsing states that the direction Malayu-Srivijaya was opposite? Besides, Java was far out of the way of the Tonkin-Nagapatam route. There is nothing inadmissible in my solution! And why should one think of errors when a reasonable solution is at hand from available information, and all this without opposition to other positive data?

There is other information available, which would have disagreed with these astronomical data, if Srivijaya had not been transferred in the meantime. This circumstance has been misleading for those who ignored this historically established transfer. The contradictory statement, however, also comes to us from Yi-tsing. He mentions it in his "Record" (692 A.D.)¹. He says that in the (new) capital where he lived for ten years (and where he was well known) no shadows could be observed from the sundial or man at (mid-summer and mid-winter) 12 o'clock noon. Also the maximum shadows (which happen in a year) north and southward are practically similar. This points to Srivijaya (after its transfer) having been very close to the equator.

Five and a half centuries later Yakut (1224 A.D.) mentions in his Encyclopaedia: "Sribuza (meaning Srivijaya) is an island in the land of the Indies which is situated on the equator".²

Finally I wish to cite Pelliot, who wrote about the material provided by Kia Tan (785-805 A.D.)³ wherein he mentions that after 7 days of journeying from the southeastern coast of Annam a narrow strait is reached, called by the barbarians "Tche", which has a width of 100 *li* from north to south.⁴ The Straits of Malacca at its narrower part, which Pelliot recognizes in the above, were therefore believed by the Chinese to run from west to east. According to this source the empire of Fo-che or Srivijaya⁵ (a century since transferred) was situated on the south coast of that narrow strait; as I believe, on the east coast of central Sumatra.

The empire of Lo-yue, not yet identified, lay according to this source on the opposite coast in the north. It seems evident that the latter must have existed near the great, wide Johore river,

¹Takakusu p. 143.

²Srivijaya p. 66-7.

³Pelliot p. 217.

⁴*ibid* p. 218. This, I believe, is only possible during the N.E. monsoon with a good wind filling the sails. Pelliot says: "this journey was decidedly rapid, with a good wind for the junks".

⁵Vajrabodhi reached this same Fo-che in 717 A.D. in one month's journey from Ceylon (Pelliot p. 336) within the same time therefore that Yi-tsing required to sail from Kedah to Negapatam.

which was strategically easy to defend. One easily finds a transcription for the Chinese name of Lo-yue. At the northern mouth of the Johore river one finds a tributary Sungai Seluyut, near Bukit Seluyut. The land cut by this tributary is named *Seluyut kanan* and *Seluyut kiri* respectively. The distance from the coast is 20 English miles. Also other geographical data cited by Pelliot from Chinese sources tally with this situation;¹ he himself opined that the empire of Lō-yue included Johore.

According to Kia Tan, Lo-yue was reached from Cambodia after traversing the Gulf of Siam "by traversing a small sea". The new T'ang annals mention that the city of Lo-yue lay 50 *li* (20-30 km.) from the seashore. The Sung annals (960-1278 A.D.) state that it lay 15 stages to the south of Tambralinga (identified by Coedès) near Taiya on the Bay of Bandon, and 30 stages from Cho-p'o (Java) which was in its southeast. We may therefore safely conclude that Lo-yue represented the empire of (Se) luyut on the Johore river.² From the reports of Kia Tan we may gather that Śrīvijaya had no (more) control over this state. Was this an outpost of Cho-p'o (Kedah) which on this side of the Straits attracted the China trade in competition to Śrīvijaya? We shall presently see that after the trade route was diverted to the Straits of Malacca, a strife for supremacy was continuously waged between the States in these Straits, especially near the southern inlet. Presently Kataha and Śrīvijaya began to compete, until both States came under one control of this part of the archipelago, first as San-fo-ts'i, and then later as Malayu (end of 12th century).

Are we now in the position to identify the capital of Śrīvijaya after it had been transferred to Malayu? This capital was very likely situated near one of the large rivers, where shipping was possible far inland. Most likely near the Kampar river, because this is the southern-most river of the three, Rokan, Siak, and Kampar, which flow into the Straits of Malacca from the east coast of Sumatra where the Strait is at its narrowest. Śrīvijaya must have been situated (according to above sources) on the Straits and also close to the equator.

The local conditions in the marshy Kampar river delta³ justify the assumption that large mud deposits have silted up previous sea surfaces during the period of twelve centuries. The accounts of Sribuza (Śrīvijaya) in Arab geographers are very apposite in

¹Pelliot p. 232-3.

²I mention for comparison Li-kian for (Se) leukis (Franke), P'o-li for (S)phati(ka) (Pelliot). According to Franke p. 273: "there is nothing unusual in discarding the s or the weakly accentuated se in Chinese". Pelliot refers to yue as an ancient "dental" final p. 237 so that the transcription yui is also accounted for.

³The marsh bush growing on this morass has a depth of 50 km. inland from the coast. (Tideman, Land en Volk van Bengkalis, T. Kon. Aardr. Gen. 1935 p. 788).

this relation. Bozorg writes in his *Ajaib al-Hind* (955 A.D.): "The estuary of Serbuza penetrates for 50 'parasangs' (200 klm.) into the island. It is a river far wider than the Tigris at Basra; its waters are fresh. There is no deeper bay (not penetrating far inland) in the whole island. Tidal influence makes itself felt at intervals of 12 hours.... Some dwellings are built on shore, but the majority are floating houses, supported by rafts, made of timber tied together...."¹ Ibn Sa'id (1208-1274 A.D.): "its city Sribuza is situated in the middle of the island, where a gulf penetrates into the island."² Abulfida (1273-1331 A.D.): "its capital is situated in its middle on the estuary of a river."³ From Arab sources one would conclude that even after the fall of the last empire it still went on to maintain itself, but this is doubtful.

For contemporary craft of those times, the Kampar river was open to shipping up to the capital. The city was easy to defend owing to the numerous creeks in the river delta, where a large fleet could hide unobserved. The large number of creeks issuing into the sea were likewise useful as points of vantage for attacks and control of the straits.

Very important, too, is the road inland, which must have existed for centuries (not *via* Kota Bahru, Payakumbuh, Fort de Kock and Padang Panjang). This road constituted the connection with the old port of Priaman, passing through the widest parts of the Padang highlands (plateau). In this manner Srivijaya was connected with the Straits of Malacca and the Indian Ocean. The rich produce could be shipped to India as well as China. A more favourable position could hardly be wished for a prosperous empire, and it was in every way preferable to any position on the east coast of Malaya. Indeed, until recently a lively trade existed between the lands along the Kampar river and Singapore (before the Emmahaven was completed near Padang) which was conducted by means of native craft. Downstream, below the point where the Kampar and Batang Mahat rivers meet, where the dreaded rapids *bating gadang* negotiated by Malays are situated,⁴ the lowlands are reached near Kuwo; from here on the Kampar is suitable for large craft until the port of Pelalawan, from where merchandise is transhipped to Singapore. Farther downstream from Kuwo, near Bangkinang, exists an old communication route with Patapahan on the Siak river⁵ constituting a second way to reach the sea. This is used during the *beno*, 3 days after full moon, when the Kampar river gains a great speed in its

¹Gerini p. 564.

²Srivijaya p. 70.

³*ibid* p. 74.

⁴Van Rijn van Alkemade, *Verslag van een reis van Siak naar Pajakombo* T. B. G. 1884 p. 220.

⁵The connection farther downstream near Taratak Buloh on the Kampar (near Pekan-baru on the Siak) is preferred nowadays.

current in the upstream direction for 60 to 70 km. A tidal wave of more than 1 meter high then endangers all shipping.¹ It remains an open question owing to changes which have since taken place, whether the same phenomenon took place twelve centuries ago.

Tradition has it that the *beno* (tidal wave) is a phenomenon which was observed for the first time nine generations ago.²

Ruins have been found near the Kampar river (according to Yzerman) at Muara Takus, Bangkinang, and Durian Tinggi. The largest are at Muara Takus. Westenenk reports: "no walls have been found on the western river shore, as Yzerman reported, but there are three such walls in existence, mostly of brick, and the outermost extends to Bataobasoeat (5 miles) and encircles nearly the whole rich plain for several hundred meters upstream of the ruin, and continues from there to the Kampar river". Was this the capital of Śrīvijaya? Muara Takus lies on the 0° 20' latitude very close to the equator and tallies very well with other information. According to Bosch³ these ruins date from the 12th century. Krom, however, states:⁴ "beneath the outer masonry (consisting of brick in good condition) a very well preserved understructure exists; an old structure has been enlarged and reconditioned, and a second layer built around the old (this is a known method in the East Indies)." Bosch also cites a Chinese report⁵ that a brick wall of many *li* encircled the city, but this refers doubtless to Sanfo-ts'i, which was in a totally different locality to Śrīvijaya.

Yzerman mentions a remarkable local legend regarding Muara Takus. He related that: "under the rule of the last prince of Raja Bichau, the state was so large that a cat walking from one end of it to the other would have needed 3 months." This is an illustration usually used by Malays to indicate a large city, but the name of Raja Bichau sounds much like a bastardised Raja (Śrī) Vijaya! It was worth while, therefore, to go through the old literature on this subject to discover possible traces of this famous name. The attempt has proved successful: Salomon Muller in his Reports of Sumatra⁶ twice mentions the name sought. He recalls that the head penghulu (headman) of the VI Kota's, a certain "Datu Siepiejaja", lived in Chacharan or Kota Bahru (0° 5' northern latitude) on the Batang May (read

¹Tideman, Tijdschr. Kon. Aardr. Gen. 1935 p. 791.

²*ibid.*, p. 793. It is mentioned here that in the beginning of the 17th century the Siak river had to be regulated in the part known today as Sungai "Bautan" (15 km. downstream of Pekanbaru).

³O. V. 1930 p. 149.

⁴Krom, p. 132-3.

⁵O. V. 1930 p. 155. Bosch: "from personal experience gained, the question has become insistent whether the Palembang of today was not the site of the old capital of Śrīvijaya." He is inclined to place the site of the old capital nearer to the mouth of the river (now completely swamped) solely on account of the discovery of a number of interesting bronze statues.

⁶Gids I. 1837.

Mahat, pronounced Mahè), which was the most prominent place of this country. Forty years later Rij van Beest¹ refers to this man as "Dato Siwijaya". This man was the chief of the *adat* who was authorized to grant marriage licences, issue permits for festivities to be held, the reclamation of land, etc. It is not improbable that the capital was later transferred to Kota Bahru with the increased use of the aforementioned trade route to the west coast of Sumatra. For this settlement the transit trade was very important, and remained almost entirely within the hands of the population of Kota Bahru. The name of the settlement "VI Kota Pangkalan" (*pangkalan*-storage place) is not without significance. The existence of extensive ruins in Muara Takus (coupled with the name of "Raja Bichau", the legendary last ruler of Muara Takus), makes it appear very likely that the capital of Srivijaya was situated near the junction of the Kampar Kanan and Batang Mahat rivers, in the heart of central Sumatra, within the immediate surroundings of Muara Takus (having been transferred from the vicinity of Kelantan on the east coast of Malaya—this after the conquest of the long since known land of Malayu).²

This solution of the problem seems most satisfactory, as it tallies with geographical accounts throughout the centuries as to the whereabouts of Srivijaya. Is there any indication supported by historical or topographic causes, for the rise of Kelantan or Kalatan (as the natives of this place call it)—which subjugated Malayu and eventually monopolized the trade route from China to India during two centuries?

The present capital of the State of Kelantan is Kota Bahru, 10 km. inland on the river estuary. The previous capital Kota Lama is farther upstream than Kota Bahru, from which one may conclude that this sandy unwooded coast is increasing so that old Kelantan of the 7th century must be looked for much farther upstream. This was very likely the case, because it lay on 5° 50' northern latitude, whilst the present Kuala Kelantan lies on 6° 15' N. latitude, or 45 km. more to the north. There is the possibility that sundial measurements cannot always be relied on, on account of their comparative inaccuracy (Gerini was not too particular about arriving at the result of 5° 50' N. latitude for old Srivijaya). Though the northeast monsoon in the China Sea makes navigation difficult from November until February, the sea is calm all the rest of the year. The Kelantan river is open to

¹T.B.G. 1877 p. 373, 376 and 413.

²The next chapter will answer the question of controversial statements with regard to the capital of Ho-ling (Cho-p'o) having been situated on 6°-6° 30' northern latitude, according to the new T'ang annals as the result of sundial measurements. I believe it to have been more to the west than Srivijaya and at the same time 4 to 5 days journey to the southeast from that capital (according to Kia Tan). It is best to be guided by local astronomical observations. The second orientation may have been a result of erroneous copying.

Malay shipping for 300 klm. upstream, and sailing boats with a draft of 8' can reach Kota Bahru, where the river has a breadth of 350 metres. Kelantan is well known for its gold, which next to that from Pahang is preferred by Malays. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud II of Malacca (end of 15th century) Kelantan was a more powerful state than Patani, with which its history was closely associated through centuries.

Both cities were frequented by traders between China and India, because from there the Gulf of Siam was crossed to Camboja. This was indeed the shortest route, and favoured especially Kelantan. During the northeast monsoon Patani was, however, preferable owing to its well protected harbour. In both these cities all merchandise could be found from the East Indian Archipelago, China, Indo-China, and India. Only occasionally stops were made at Ho-ling or Po-ling on the southern part of Malayu's east coast (according to Yi-tsing). I believe that it is more than a mere phonetic coincidence that the empire¹ Ho-lo-tan or Ko-lo-tan is identical with the empire on the Kelantan river: Pelliot believes that Ko-lo-tan, on the island of Cho-p'o, is identical with Kelantan.² The annals of the first Sung dynasty (240-478 A.D.) mention emissaries from there to China with crystal rings, parrots, Indian and native textiles, etc.³ Further geographical proof is substantiated by the Sui annals (589-618 A.D.)⁴ which mention that Ho-lo-tan lies to the south of the empire of Tch'e-t'ou, where a Chinese mission arrived in 607 A.D. and which in response sent a mission to China in 616 A.D.⁵ To the north this country bordered on the sea (see map No. II). The name Tch'e-t'ou seems to be a translation of a name signifying "red earth", perhaps Raktamrttika, which appeared on an old inscription found in Province Wellesley (5th century).

It is surely more than a coincidence that north of Kelantan (and Patani) in the old Patalung (now situated near the swampy lake—Tale Sap—with the new capital of Singgora founded by Siam near a splendid new harbour) the soil is pronouncedly red⁶

¹Pelliot p. 272; he believes this identification problematical because he sees in the word Cho-p'o the island Java.

²For further identification of the 5th century Cho-po with Malaya refer to Yava.

³Kelantan (until 1880 one of the densest populated states of Malaya). Trengganu and Pahang are still centres of textile weaving (Geogr. J. IX p. 27 and 36); silk and cotton textiles rank in importance next to gold. I believe that the name Ye-po (Pelliot p. 272, note 2 and p. 269, note 2) the origin of cotton textiles, which Ho-lo-tan used to export to China (besides Indian textiles) is Cho-p'o (Malaya), despite what Pelliot has to say. Especially so, as a text from the same annals mentions: "the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan of the island of Cho-p'o, sent an emissary offering produce of the land" (p. 127)—meaning Cho-p'o.

⁴Pelliot p. 272.

⁵*ibid* p. 284. Pelliot doubted if this country could have been Siam, as it had been generally thought.

⁶Geogr. Journ. vol XI p. 480.

and the harbour entrance marked by the red sandstone hills of Kao Deng (*Kao* = hills ; *deng* = reddish).¹ Patalung, now merely a well to do village, was a large city near a deep waterway, according to local tradition.² But even if the above identifications of Ho-lo-tan with Kelantan and Tch'e-t'ou with Patalung should be erroneous, the fact remains that according to geographical information the city must have been somewhere near 5° 50'N. latitude on the east coast of Malaya ; thus Srīvijaya must have existed on the Kelantan river before its transfer to Malayu. This becomes the more likely if Kelantan is identical with the Ho-lo-tan of the 5th century. Kelantan must have adopted the famous name of Srīvijaya before the first visit of Yi-tsing, else he would not have mentioned it. Also the fact that the T'ang annals mention emissaries from Che-li-fo-che (670-673 A.D.) is in favour of this view. The adoption of the name may have been prompted by the intention to impress Cho-p'o and other states with its might and power (670-1 A.D.). It is noteworthy that nothing was heard in China of Cho-p'o during a whole century (666-767 A.D.)³ and the conclusion is that Che-li-fo-che (Kelantan) was already during 666-670 A.D. a power which exerted a supreme influence in Malaya.

Srīvijaya appreciated the much wider possibilities of a central seat on the Straits of Malacca, and chose to settle on the Kampar river in Malayu. This step proved a success because it began immediately to prosper much to the detriment of Palembang. Shortly after it had broken the power of old Malayu (683 A.D.) in the heart of Sumatra, it punished that part of Java until then not subjugated (which probably had been an ally of Palembang) in 686 A.D. When it attacks, half a century later, Kedah and expels Sanjaya⁴ from there and settles in the straits half a century later,⁵ it is master of all land and sea routes between India and China (the sea routes of Malaya and Sunda and land routes on the peninsula). These key positions are, however, not for long in the hands of Srīvijaya. We have no inscriptions which confirm it. Coedès says, referring to Srīvijaya in common with other pirate states: "if only but insignificant epigraphic monuments have been left, it is clear that their kings were too preoccupied to watch the trade in the Straits and had no time to build temples or cause their history to be carved in stone". Srīvijaya did not send any further emissaries to China after 742 A.D.; the last went under King Lieou-t'eng-wei-kong (Rudravitrāma). This may be in

¹Smyth, vol II p. 92.

²Geogr. Journ. vol XI p. 483.

³Pelliot p. 286.

⁴See Yava.

⁵BEFEO 1918. Compare with inscription of Ligor (published by Coedès) or Jaiya, as Quaritch Wales believes. (Ind. Art. and Lett. N. S. vol IX p. 30). Perhaps the name Maravijaya for the central Buddha of the there-mentioned religious rite is significant. The hint, however, that Brahma created Srīvijaya "as if that god could have foreseen the duration of its existence", causes me to prefer Ligor (Dharmarajanagara) as the probable place of erection of the stupa.

consequence of the wars with Cho-p'o, which suffered serious reverses at its hands during this year or the following.

During this period Srivijaya succeeds in expelling Cho-p'o from Kedah; we know from Chinese sources that the capital of Cho-p'o was removed to Bruas between 742 and 755 A.D. During the same period the isthmus of the Malay peninsula was conquered. The anniversary of this event is celebrated in 775 A.D. by the second generation of straviras appointed by Srivijaya. Both successful conquests followed one campaign about 750 A.D. which, however, proved a Pyrrhic victory, because since then there are no more references to Srivijaya. Though the empire managed to hold its own for another three-quarters of a century on the isthmus of the Malay peninsula it appears from Arab sources that its opponents gained the upper hand before 850 A.D. Cho-p'o recovers completely and regularly sends its emissaries to China from 767 until 779 A.D. Shortly afterwards follows a decline in the empire, and Jayavarman II takes the opportunity to escape to his tribal home,—then to free Camboja from the sovereignty of Java (Cho-p'o) in 802 A.D. It is hard to say whether this period of a quarter of a century proved favourable to Srivijaya. From 785-805 A.D. Kia Tan journeys through the Straits and visits besides Srivijaya the kingdom of Seluyut on the opposite side of the Straits. Did this strategically favourable kingdom constitute an independent state (free from the dominance of Srivijaya) or had it become a vanguard of Cho-p'o? In any case from 844-848 A.D. Cho-p'o uninterruptedly sends its emissaries abroad. From Arab sources we learn that the isthmus belonged again to Cho-p'o¹ before 844-848 A.D.² Chinese sources state that Jambi (Tchanpei) considered itself independent to send emissaries in 871 A.D. From the above one may conclude that the roads over the narrows of the isthmus as well as the southern entrance to the Straits were practically closed to Srivijaya. Shortly after this (as it were prepared by circumstances) a new great power arises in the Archipelago, which only requires to conquer the states of Seluyut and Jambi in order to annex Srivijaya without much effort. When this power vanquishes Cho-p'o (in \pm 875 A.D.) and gains the isthmus of the Malay peninsula, Cho-p'o is completely encircled and is completely vanquished towards the end of the 9th century. The new great power established on the eastern entrance to the Straits is mentioned in Chinese annals as San-fo-ts'i, with rulers of the famous Sailendra dynasty.³

¹Ferrand p. 28.

²Pelliot p. 347 note 5.

³Majumdar in his "The Kings of Sailendra of Suvarnadvipa" (Befeo XXXIII) arrives (for epigraphical reasons) at the conclusion that the inscription of Ligor (775 A.D.) consists of two absolutely different parts; one part originating from a ruler of Srivijaya, and another added by a Sailendra king, so that the Sailendras therefore did not belong to Srivijaya—none of the inscriptions of Srivijaya found at Palembang mention this dynastic name—and that this kingdom and San-fo-ts'i were two different states; a conclusion which Coedès endorses. This deduction will be substantiated in the following chapter.

II JAVA.

(with maps No. I, II & III).

In order to avoid confusion among the numerous names homophonous with Java, one should consider geographical information in addition to indications from the various periods of time. Above all, one should attempt to free oneself from the conventional opinion, based upon intuitive identifications of local geographical dispositions. It appears that names like Yavadvipa of the Ramayana and the inscription of Sanjaya of 732 A.D., the 2nd century Iabadiou of Ptolemy, the 3rd century Tchou-po, the 5th century Ye-p'o-ti and Cho-p'o, the 6th century Tou-po, the 7th century Yen-mo-na of Hiuan-tsang, the Ho-ling of Yi-tsing (which also bore the name of Cho-p'o in the T'ang annals 618-906 A.D.), and the last Zabag or Zabaj (Arab reports in the 9th century)—did not refer at all to the present Java, (as has been supposed by many until today)—but really referred to more than one different island. Java became identical with Cho-p'o in the Sung annals (906-1279 A.D.) from the beginning of the 10th century; as can be clearly gathered from the geographical indications mentioned in these chronicles. It is this latter Cho-p'o (not as Pelliot¹ erroneously concludes the Cho-p'o of the 5th century) which in the 13th century becomes phonetically similar with Java—the Chinese name for it having changed into Chao-wa and sometimes being misspelt as Koua-wa.

Why then (in spite of geographical and astronomical data) should the 7th and 9th century Ho-ling represent Java,² as it is evident that Cho-p'o became identical with Java after Ho-ling ceased to exist as an independent state?

Why, on the other hand should Yavadvipa (the classic land of gold mines) be persistently represented as Java? It is unlikely that during the first centuries gold was found in Java in such quantities as to have made it the mythical "gold land", which more likely was Sumatra, Malaya, or perhaps even Mindanao.³ Why should the Chinese, Arab and Greek names refer to Java,

¹Pelliot p. 265.

²Kern disagreed with this identification in 1897 (V. G. VI p. 217). Likewise he disagreed with the identification of P'o-li with Bali (generally accepted even today) because of contradictory geographical indications, which arise from Groeneveldt's translation of Chinese reports referring to it; despite this people generally persisted in the erroneous assumption, because P'o-li lay to the east of Ho-ling—instead of considering that as P'o-li could not represent Bali, neither could Ho-ling stand for Java!

³Ferrand writes in his *Srivijaya* p. 149 (1922): "a tradition long since accepted—the equivalent of Javadvipa = island of Java in our maps. It seems that the identification is definitely established and undisputable as such, if men like Kern and Sylvain Lévi have adopted it beyond doubt". At the end of this chapter we shall see that such an identity did not exist before the 10th century.

despite all geographical difficulties solely because a phonetical likeness exists? In the following part of this chapter I will attempt to prove that most of the identifications accepted today are erroneous.

a. Cho-p'o, before the beginning of the Sung period 960-1279 A.D.

In the previous chapter we encountered this name from the annals of the first Sung dynasty (240-478 A.D.). If I am correct in my identification of the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan of the 5th century on the "island" of Cho-p'o as being Kelantan on the east coast of Malaya, then this "island" of Cho-p'o represents Malaya. As we shall presently see, the southern part of the peninsula (south of the narrows of Kra and Ligor, the "island" connected by these two "land bridges" to the mainland) was referred to by Chinese chronicles as Cho-p'o.¹

In the old and new T'ang annals (618-906 A.D.) we find descriptions of the country Ho-ling, which in the later chronicles is also referred to as Cho-p'o (after its capital of that period); the new T'ang annals mention "that the kings of Ho-ling resided in the city of Cho-p'o".² Whereas previously the country was called Cho-p'o, during these centuries one preferred to call the capital Cho-p'o and the country Ho-ling. It seems as if writers of chronicles cannot contrive to rid themselves of the conception that Yava was Cho-p'o. Yi-tsing who visited the city and country, refers no more to Cho-p'o (in the 7th century) but calls the country Ho-ling; he refers to the capital by its native name Kie-tch'a. Cho-p'o and Kie-tch'a evidently represent the same place. The T'ang annals mention very clearly borders and states bordering on Ho-ling³ as can readily be seen on the maps of the countries referred to (map No. II). It must be remembered, however, that the Chinese orientation of the central line of the peninsula runs almost west to east and is twisted for about 45°. To the south Ho-ling borders on the Straits of Malacca. To the north lies Tchen-la (Cambodia)⁴ with the Gulf of Siam between. To the west (this should be N.W.) it borders on the state of T'o-p'o-teng, a state that has not been identified. It is known, however, that in its turn the last mentioned state was named MI-LI-TCHO, and this name appears to be a ready transcription of Mergui

¹Compare Ferrand, J. As. 1919, p. 189; "Jaba and Zabag (of the IXth and XVth centuries) denote the same island; the island of Java". Pelliot says p. 295: "The Ho-ling of the T'ang otherwise named Cho-p'o is and cannot be anything else but Java".

²Pelliot p. 225.

³Pelliot p. 280.

⁴Schlegel has already objected to a northern border with Cambodia, if Ho-ling should represent Java. (T'oung-Pao IX, p. 276). Pelliot p. 273 agrees that Koua-wa of the 13th century (which beyond any doubt represents Java) was bordered in the north by Champa. Yi-tsing (Rel. Em. p. 77) places Ho-ling to the south of P'an-p'an on the Bandon Bay, which tallies with my opinion.

(at present a port of significance),¹ long famed for its high grade pearls. In consideration of the above it is more likely that the unknown T'o-p'o-teng would have to be looked for to the east (which should be S.E.) of the narrow neck of the peninsula.

This neck is formed by the two land isthmuses of Kra and Ligor; both can be recognized clearly as "bridges" between the following three points:—the southern "headland" formed by Malaya, the middle formed by a widening of Ulu Salang and Ligor, and the northern headland formed by Mergui. It is hardly surprising to note that this neck was given the name of "two bridge land". The old native translation would be "Duaw-watan", a very acceptable equivalent of the Chinese name of "T'o-p'o-teng".

We may conclude from this that the isthmus was previously called "Duawwatan" and rendered by the Chinese as T'o-p'o-teng. Here existed many roads to cross from the Gulf of Siam to the Gulf of Bengal; I only mention those best known of today:—Kra-Chumphon, Trang-Bandon, Trang-Ligor, Trang-Patalung, and Kedah-Singgora. Of these the way from Trang to Bandon is even today still available to light boats which have to be carried for a short distance.² This land section, called 'Dua-wwatan', must have long played an important part for the trade between India and China. The journey was shortened by $\pm 2,000$ klm. and one avoided passing the pirate infested Straits of Malacca; which became popular only after the transferred Srivijaya created safer conditions. The above-mentioned reference to T'o-p'o-teng confirms that Ho-ling (Cho-p'o) was meant to represent that part of Malaya to the south of the narrowest part. I shall give further supporting proofs for this supposition in this chapter.³

Yi-tsing reports that the land Ho-ling was Buddhist and that he met there the learned monk Jnanabhadra with whose assistance the Chinese pilgrim Hwui-ning translated (from 664-5, 667-8 A.D.) hinayanistic texts.⁴ This state Kaling sent emissaries to the Chinese court from 640-648 A.D. until 818 A.D. with the interrup-

¹Gerini p. 490.

²Smyth, Geogr. Journ. 1898 p. 476. "The right or eastern branch (of the Bandon river) takes its rise within comparatively few miles of the Bay of Bengal, where the watershed is so low. . . . that a four oar boat can be taken right across with a very short portage to the upper waters of the Trang river, the total distance to Trang (from Bandon) being 170 miles."

Compare with "China Sea Directory", Gerini p. 751. He believes that "the old water connection between both sides of the Malay Peninsula was between Trang and the inland sea of Singora."

³The story of the poisonous girls which Krom uses as an objection to this geographical definition of Ho-ling is not so. Abdallah bin Abd al-Kadir writes in 1838 from personal experience of his journey from Singapore to Kalantan (transl. Dulaurier p. 91). "I saw in Kalantan a great number of women prostitutes. In the evening they were wont to promenade by foreign ships walking in file (there follows the description of their attractive dress). Certain men function as procurers and board the ships to offer their services. This is an accepted custom of the land...."

⁴Krom p. 107-8.

tion of one century 666-767 A.D. according to the old T'ang annals¹ The new T'ang annals mention emissaries from 860-873 A.D.² After that it was evidently superseded by the new empire of Malaya, called San-fo-ts'i, because in 904 A.D. emissaries of this country and of Kaling are mentioned in the Chinese chronicles.

Before contemplating Ho-ling's eastern neighbour it is desirable to pay attention to various accounts of this empire. One is written by Kia Tan and dates from the period of 785-805 A.D.³ when Śrīvijaya was already transferred from Kelantan to Malayu near the equator (see map No. I). We learn that Ho-ling was situated 4 to 5 days journey to the east of Fo-che (Śrīvijaya). Kia Tan, however, travels from China to Ceylon and passes the Straits in a S.E.—N.W. direction or, according to Chinese orientation, in the direction east-west. Since he reaches Ho-ling having left Fo-che and leaves Ho-ling in a westerly direction through the Straits on his way to Ceylon, Ho-ling must have lain rightly to the west, so that the statement that it lay to the east is an error of the copyist.

In connection with data in the previous chapter about the location of Śrīvijaya, according to which Śrīvijaya lay to the south of the Straits of Malacca, we deduce from the above-mentioned T'ang annals that the Straits formed a southern border of Ho-ling; the "island" Ho-ling must have lain to the north of Fo-che. To the north, opposite Fo-che, across the Straits, lay Lo-yue near the south point of the Malay Peninsula; the whole island Ho-ling must have lain to the west of Lo-yue (all according to Chinese orientation). If Kia Tan identified in his report the capital of Ho-ling, which is probable (we shall see later that it is located after 742-755 A.D. in Bruas), then Ho-ling or Bruas should have been situated at least 4 to 5 days journey to the west of Śrīvijaya, instead of to the east.

Finally there is the account of Yi-tsing which mentions that one reaches first Ho-ling when travelling from China to India, before coming to Malayu.⁴ It is possible that he intends to indicate a stoppage at an unnamed place on the east coast of Malacca alias Ho-ling, or he means Po-ling.⁵ According to Gerini⁶ the land of Puling could be meant by this, which is situated on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula near the mouth of the Kuantan river where one also has a beach and hill of the same name.⁷ This seems to be the only correct interpretation. (see map No. I).

¹Pelliot p. 286.

²Notes p. 140.

³Pelliot p. 265.

⁴Chavannes p. 42.

⁵*ibid* p. 60 comp. Pelliot p. 286 he mentions about this name, likening Ho-ling to Java, that it is a form " of which the origin is difficult to trace."

⁶Gerini p. 476.

⁷Comp. map of Malaya 1911 scale 1: 506880 issued by the Straits Branch of the R.A.S.

Ho-ling's eastern neighbour (should be S.E.) was the country of P'o-li. The new Tang annals frequently mention "that the land P'o-li is also called Ma-li." Schlegel¹ put forward the suggestion that two countries were meant by this P'o-li and Ma-li and that confusion had taken place.

He accepts the identifications which Pelliot discarded.² In my opinion Schlegel is right when he sees in Ma-li an incomplete version of Ma-li—Yeou (Malayu), a possibility which Pelliot accepts. Pelliot rejects Schlegel's solution chiefly because he sees in Ho-ling the present Java so that Ma-li lying to the east must be Bali! Though neither geographical nor historical data point to Bali, this traditional identification has been accepted.³ The argument that 13th and 17th century Chinese accounts (700-1000 years later) should have used Ma-li for Bali has in my opinion no bearing on the case. The connection between P'o-li and Ma-li must be sought elsewhere. I shall attempt to prove that better results can be obtained from the Chinese accounts. If one regards P'o-li and Ma-li as names for two different countries which the Chinese have boiled down to P'o-li, thus causing a confusion defying solution, the following has to be considered. In the first instance Yi-tsing writes in the 7th century in his "Records" that Malayu and P'o-li are two different countries. With Malayu he identifies the place where Srivijaya had been transferred and by P'o-li he means the lands of the archipelago to the east of Malayu, and to the east of Ho-ling.⁴

What have the Chinese annals to say about these two countries? The tale regarding P'o-li being also called Ma-li which is served up in the new Tang annals (680-906 A.D.) is easily disposed of by reference to the annals of the previous dynasties, to accounts of P'o-li which one finds in the Leang annals (502-556 A.D.), about another land P'o-li from the Sui annals (518-617 A.D.) and about a third land named Lo-tch'a mentioned in the last reports dated 607 A.D. when China sent a mission to Tch'e-t'ou which was also visited by Lo-tch'a.

Though there lies but a century between these two accounts of P'o-li it is noteworthy that they have nothing in common; it is possible that they refer to two countries accidentally named P'o-li of which one, according to Yi-tsing, was called Ma-li (to the west). The third land Lo-tch'a which is a transcription of the Sanskrit "raksasa"⁵ has a population likened to devils: "black skin, red curly hair, nails like bird of prey, teeth like wild beasts and holed ear lobes." Though the new Tang annals report that P'o-li lies to the east of the aforementioned lands and has the same

¹T'oung Pao IX p. 290/2.

²Pelliot p. 285.

³Ferrand, Krom, etc.

⁴Takakusu p. XXXIX: beginning with Baros, Yi-tsing mentions the countries of the archipelago to the east enumerating Malayu, Ho-ling, P'o-li, etc.

⁵Pelliot p. 281.

customs, the same description of the population of P'o-li is given.¹ It is clear that this confusion arose because one island P'o-li lay to the east of the other also called Ma-li, and Lo-tch'a lay to the east of P'o-li; if the latter should be Ma-li, Lo-tch'a and the second P'o-li would represent the same land. This latter supposition is, however, unlikely. Pelliot believes² that the paragraph in the new Tang annals devoted to P'o-li actually refers to the land Lo-tch'a, because neither in the old Tang annals nor in other Chinese sources is the above-mentioned description of the population cited in the paragraphs referring to P'o-li. The best way to arrive at the solution is to define Lo-tch'a as being to the east of P'o-li and the latter to the east of Ma-li. In the frequently cited account of P'o-li it is mentioned that this country is also called Ma-li and that "in this country mountain crystals, lenses, and fireglasses are in use and exported to other countries by the people of Lo-tch'a."³

Let us examine this special subject closer. In P'o-li there exist⁴ "a sort of fire pearls"⁵ which are "as large as a hen's egg, white of colour and scintillate for a distance of several feet. If exposed to the sun's rays the scintillation increases." In this report two facts have been confused. ⁶The so-called "flaming fire pearl" is probably the much coveted white florescent mustika of the civet cat, which according to Eredia is so scintillating—found on the island of the shining stones near Gilolo (Halmahera)—that they are used by the population as a night light; it may also be this stone which in daylight gives the impression of reflecting the sunlight, the so-called "sun stone", a yellow spotted feldspar. The crystal lenses of P'o-li that reflect the sun's rays are of a different mineral; they are a very pure form of quartz. The name of "fire pearl" is a literal translation from the Chinese *huo-chu* and the Sanskrit *agnimani* (Jav. *kumbalageni*); this latter mineral has the property of the stone "*suryakanta*, beloved by the sun and so called because it produces fire under the influence of the solar rays."⁷ The modern Javanese name *suryakanta* for our magnifying glass (fire glass) is the consequence of a similar confusion, as mentioned above, of the two meanings of "beloved by the sun". A similar confusion has evidently given rise to the fusion of the meaning of light-scintillating and light-transparent stones in the T'ang annals referred to.⁸ As we shall presently see that Lo-tch'a

¹*ibid* p. 283 note 3.

²*ibid* p. 283 note 3.

³Laufer, Optical Lenses. T'oung Pao XVI p. 189.

⁴Notes p. 206.

⁵Schlegel translates this word "carbuncle".

⁶Mills p. 251-2 "the oriental carbuncle is a luminous stone", (cites this author who is as much addicted to geography as his Arab colleagues.) "in the shape of a bird's egg" (the T'ang annals exaggerated to a hen's egg!) "found in the head of the animal called laco-cacho... or civet cat."

⁷Laufer, T'oung Pao XVI p. 217.

⁸Laufer p. 202 note 2 mentions that according to the old T'ang annals "these fire pearls" were similar to crystal.

is a name for our Moluccas the confusion between Lo-tch'a and P'o-li is evident. Laufer mentions¹ that in the T'ang annals the fire pearls (*hou-chu*) are associated with the people of Lo-tch'a, living to the east of P'o-li.

The Sanskrit name for rock crystal is *sphatika* of which the equivalent in Chinese is *p'o-li* according to Pelliot.² It is probable that the Chinese called this land where *sphatika* was found by its second name P'o-li which possessed such magic and healing properties !

It is known that Banka produces these crystals also ; we find in Rademacher's Sumatra (1824) on page 142 this information : " previous stones are found on Banka, a sort of crystal frequently found in tin mines and depending in quantity upon the richness of the tin ore." ³ The people of Lo-tch'a first got their crystal from P'o-li (Ma-li). They traded the lenses in Champa and the Chinese were acquainted in this way with fire glasses. ⁴ L'o-t'cha did not obtain its first lenses from Kashmir as Laufer believes (p.124) and which Hiuan Tsang mentions in 646 A.D. (p.212). Probably the Danau Raja, the diamond of 376 carats, for the possession of which wars raged in western Borneo and which afterwards proved to be rock crystal, originated from Banka. It is not improbable that not only the people of L'o-t'cha but also other barbarians of Ma-li bought their lenses in Champa. The very "wild" devils of Lo-t'cha were not so uncivilized, but traded regularly with the coasts of the hinterland of India.

It is difficult to conclude which of the 6th and 7th century P'o-li was Ma-li and which P'o-li was situated to the west of Lo-t'cha.

The geographical position mentioned in the Leang and T'ang annals are confusing because they refer to P'o-li as being to the southeast of Canton and Camboja which would refer to the locations of either of the two P'o-li's. Fortunately both descriptions of the Leang and Sui annals come to the rescue. A special mention of the 6th century states that P'o-li was a Buddhistic country ; of the 7th century P'o-li nothing similar is said, so that we may conclude that this land was not the one in question. Geographically we must locate P'o-li to the southeast of Ho-ling with which the south of the Malay Peninsula has been identified.

¹Laufer p. 208.

²I believe that the diamond is meant by the " fire pearl ", the *scintillating* of which, in its uncut state, is still called *poa* by Malays in south Borneo.

³These " crystal wares " (Schlegel) belong also to the tributes brought from P'o-li to China ; mentioned in connection with the emissary of 523 A.D. by King Kalavinka (-kinnara), the successor of Kaundinya of P'o-li, mentioned in the Leang annals. Groeneveldt translates " glass utensils ", but Laufer improves it into " rock crystal ", Pelliot translates p'o-li by " glass " (T'oung Pao XVI p. 200).

⁴Laufer p. 213.

We must therefore look for it in south Sumatra or farther east in Java. Buddhistic remnants are found in both countries, in Palembang in the 6th century already—witness the stone Buddhas erected in Amaravati style found in Seguntang, three meters high as reconstructed by Schnitger—and in Java only in the 8th century, at the height of Cailendra's glory.

The 6th century Buddhistic country mentioned in the Leang annals where King Kaundinya ruled is none other than the Palembang country (see map No. 1). This was the land P'o-li also called Ma-li, the country where according to Yi-tsing Srivijaya was transferred (in 683 A.D. before Yi-tsing's return to Srivijaya in 685 A.D.) after it had vanquished Palembang and had founded its capital on the Kampar river. Middle Sumatra belonged, therefore, before that to the classic Malayu which sent, probably from Palembang, its emissary in 644-5 A.D. to the imperial court of China. Even in 517 A.D. (when still under the name of P'o-li) it did so simultaneously with the rulers in the north of the archipelago: Fu-nan.¹ If the identification of Srivijaya with Palembang is accepted, Malayu must be sought elsewhere, obviously in the vicinity of Jambi. The generally accepted opinion that the oldest Malayu, Palembang and Jambi were in south and middle Sumatra must be rectified. If Palembang was the most important city of Malayu (517-683 A.D.) and thereafter Srivijaya (683 to end of 9th century) Jambi became prominent much later (1178 A.D.) as we shall see from the following chapter; during the passing of hegemony from Srivijaya to Kadaram it became temporarily independent under the name of Tchan-pei and it sent emissaries to China in 853 and 871 A.D.²

The other country P'o-li we must seek in the non-Buddhistic country east of Ma-li about which the Sui annals say was in Java. "The people of Fu-nan were handy in throwing the cakra, a disc of the size of a Chinese mirror with a hole in the centre and a border like a saw."³ Even today in Javanese tradition this weapon is well known. To Lo-tch'a farther to the east we shall return presently.

According to the Leang annals south Sumatra should be the country to the southeast from Canton (two months' sailing) on an island in the southern sea. It was 50 days journey from east to west and 20 days journey in breadth.⁴ It is not surprising that the south-eastern direction from Canton would point to the Philippines on our maps; the Chinese map-picture was confused on account of their supposition of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula lying on a west to east running axis and their maps showed a

¹BEFEO 1903 p. 256 the emissaries went out from Kaundinya of P'o-li and Rudravarman of Fu-nan, the son of Kaundinya Jayavarman (p. 270).

²Pelliot p. 347 note 5.

³Notes p. 205.

⁴Notes p. 203.

southeastern direction instead of a SSW. direction from Canton. The same is the case with the 7th century P'o-li in Java which according to the new T'ang annals lay southeast of Champa. Ma-li appeared to have a length double its width, which coincides with the shape of south and middle Sumatra.¹

This was the southmost of the two "islands" forming Sumatra according to 7th century Chinese ideas: P'o-leu-che (Baros) or northern Sumatra was the "western" and Mo-lo-yeou (Malayu) the "eastern" island.² It is interesting to compare this with Tchao Jou-koua's (1225 A.D.) long stretched form of Cho-p'o, which in the 13th century geographically represented Java³ and which had a west-eastern length of 75 days journey and a north-southern width of 7 days journey, an approximate proportion of length to width of 10 to 1 which agrees approximately with the shape of Java. In the Sui period and possibly during the T'ang period the shape of Java was unknown. It was believed to be part of a mainland reaching to Africa and forming a south coast to the Indian Ocean. Whilst the Sui annals believe it to be twice as long and twice as broad as south Sumatra, the old T'ang annals state its length to south as many thousand kilometers.⁴ P'o-li sends, according to the latter annals, an emissary to China in 630 A.D., coinciding with the approximate period of the middle Java inscription of Tuk Mas.⁵ This is not the Buddhistic land whereof numerous ruins of the old Hindu-Javanese Sivaite temples on the Dieng plateau testify today: we should not seek the capital, by which the Javanese country of P'o-li was named, near the city of the dead at Dieng as Krom believed.⁶ The above evidence should be sufficient indication that none of the countries P'o-li must be sought on Bali as Pelliot believed who admits Bretschneider's interpretation in favour of Borneo.⁷

Is Ma-li now an acceptable name for south Sumatra? (see map No. I). When the Leang annals were compiled in the first half of the 7th century Malayu was not yet conquered by Srivijaya; in 645 A.D. it sent ambassadors to China. This Malayu, is associated with Sindan in later Arabic accounts and was renowned for its produce of pepper. It is well known that Palembang and Banten (Sunda) were famed for their pepper trade ✓

¹Also from the disconnected Tjarita Parahyangan this combination of south and middle Sumatra is called Malayu. I quote the text: "in the west at the extreme end of Soenda, crossing the sea to Malayu. . . Sang Sividjaja in Malayu." (Poerbatjaraka, T.B.G. LIX p. 471). It appears that Srivijaya may have been in Malayu or directly opposite the Straits of Sunda part of Sumatra also called Malayu.

²Compare with Yi-tsing's description of the "islands" of the archipelago.

³H. R. p. 76.

⁴Pelliot p. 285.

⁵See for the inscription dated, Krom p. 103. According to the following chapter the embassy dated from the period of Hu-lan-na-po or one of his successors of the same dynasty.

⁶*ibid* p. 127.

⁷Pelliot p. 285.

during the earlier centuries ; I therefore recognize Malayu and Sindan in these two countries.¹ Ferrand supposes that Malayu represents Malabar in south India and Sindan is a neighbour of Sindapura!² Ibn Khordadbeh (844-848 A.D.) supports this supposition as geographically possible³: according to Al Fakih (902 A.D.) it is improbable because he enumerates the products from these countries as follows:⁴ amber comes for the "island" Salahita (west coast of the Malay Peninsula), pepper from Malayu and Sindan, "wood of Brazil" from the south coast of Salahita, cloves and camphor from Zabag etc. Into this series of geographically closely situated countries, south Sumatra and Banten fit better than two countries on the Malabar coast. From Edrisi (1150 A.D.)⁵ it is more evident because he mentions the country "Malay" to be situated 12 days journey from Champa "across the islands and rocky hills which rise from the sea"; Edrisi refers to Riouw and Lingga archipelago. "The island Malay is very large with wooden houses and castles which can be moved over the water!" This complexity of geographical indications, the floating dwellings included, evidently refers to the surroundings of Palembang and Jambi.

The journey from Champa to Malaya in the Dekhan takes, according to Ferrand, not 12 days but five times as long!

It is finally this Malay or P'o-li which not half a century later, after its first envoy had visited the Chinese court, is conquered by Śrīvijaya in 683 A.D. (according to inscriptions found on Kedukan Bukit near Palembang) and whose inhabitants three years later menaced Kota Kapur. The inscription also mentions that *yan bhuṃi java tida bakki ka Śrīvijaya* "Java's disloyalty to Śrīvijaya" had been properly punished!

Was this "part of the land lying across the sea" not the Palembang associated with Sunda through the centuries? This is highly probable because the Chinese mention a country in their annals which for geographical and historical reasons must be located in west Java and which after the above-mentioned punitive expedition was eliminated from the number of independent states. We read in the Leang and T'ang annals of the empire To-lo-mo (see map No. 1) which sent emissaries to China in 528 and 535 A.D.

¹Eredia (1597-1600 A.D.) divides Sumatra into three empires: northern Sumatra called Atjeh and southern Sumatra comprising two empires "the western coast belonging to the crown of Minancaboo and the eastern coast belonging to different crowns and called the land of pepper". (Mills, J.R.A.S. Mal. Br. VIII part I p. 237-8). Tchao Joukoua (1225 A.D.) mentions also pepper as a produce of "Sin-to", the best of all peppers (H. R. p. 70 and 222). Barbosa (1516 A.D.) says the same of "Zunda".

²Ferrand p. 32 note 2, and p. 95 note 8.

³*ibid* p. 32.

⁴*ibid* p. 64-5.

⁵*ibid* p. 193.

and between 666 and 669 A.D.¹ After this period the annals are silent with regard to this state. Geographically this state appeared to be situated on the well known route to the south (Sui annals) or southeast (new T'ang annals), which led *via* Tch'e-t'ou and Tan-Tan to P'o-li. Nothing is known geographically of Tan-Tan,² except that it lay to the southeast of Hainan according to the T'ang annals; we should read a correction into our map-picture of the above as being to the southwest and would find it situated somewhere in the south part of the Malay Peninsula because of its position between Patalung (Tch'e-t'ou) and Palembang (P'o-li).³ Travelling from Tan-Tan to To-lo-mo the route runs again to the east or southeast according to the T'ang annals.⁴ This indication is not sufficient to place the empire of To-lo-mo in west Java though it identifies the correct direction with regard to the Malay Peninsula.

From the inscriptions of Purnavarman of the 5th century which were found in west Java it appears that this ruler referred to his kingdom as Taruma which name, remembering the unphonetic rendering of foreign names by Chinese writers of chronicles of that period, as mentioned in the first chapter, could very well be the origin of "To-lo-mo". In connection with the cessation of appearance of emissaries from Taruma at the Chinese court after 669 A.D., it is probable that Srivijaya became master in the 7th century of Palembang and the kingdoms of Sunda. This latter country represents part of *bhumi java* referred to in the inscription at Kota Kapur, from which we may deduct that the whole island of Java (including Sunda) were called *bhumi java* (Sanskrit: *Yavabhumi*). This name Yavabhumi for our Java we find mentioned in the well known inscriptions of Nalanda of approximately two centuries later. The first Sailendra ruler of the new empire of Kataha boasts that his grandfather had been a Sailendra ruler of Yavabhumi and the Sailendras had been for two previous generations, towards the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th, known in Java as is evident from the inscriptions found there. The grandfather referred to was a Sailendra successor mentioned in the inscriptions of Kelurak of 782 A.D.

Because of P'o-li having been to the east of Ma-li and Ma-li being thought a part of Sunda one may conclude that P'o-li refers to middle Java in particular (see map No. I). For the name P'o-li as capital of middle Java an excellent native equivalent exists in the present district town Pati, which local legends speak of as an ancient city. This town is situated on the great postal route on the north coast to the southeast of the many

¹Schlegel, Geogr. notes XIII Tan-Tan, T'oung Pao X.

²*ibid.*

³Possibly in the "Tantan Velho" of Valentijn near Singapore?

⁴Pelliot p. 284.

peaked volcano ruin Muria, approximately 1600 meters high, and must have been in earlier times on the sea when Muria was probably an island separated from the mainland to the south by a strait, where the Serang-Lusi river deposited its mud.

This strait which has gradually narrowed into the delta branches, Tanggulangin and Jawana, is even today not too far consolidated to prevent communication by boat from coast to coast at high water. At the time of Daendels it still formed an inland lake, the Rawah Besar, through which the great postal route was built with great difficulty.¹ It is therefore possible that Pati (P'o-li) was the leading port of the country in the southern seas, easily identified by the landmark which the Gunung Muria formed² and well protected against the northwest and southeast monsoons. The harbour of Pati was always approachable especially from the Jawana side as the entrance on this coast was protected by the chalk mountains of Lasem which continue to the south of Kudus. Pati was therefore situated nearer the east than the west coast of the island of Muria; Jawana, the old name of which in itself had a significance, served as an entrance harbour. With the silting up of the port, trade shifted to Japara which was an important trade centre in the 17th century where the market places were filled "by the various nationalities of Indian people (Persians, Arabs, Chinese, Malays, people of Burma, Koromandel, Gujrat, etc.); it seemed that everything was trade there which Asia and other parts of the world had to offer."³ The height of confusion is reached in the T'ang annals, compiled in the 11th century, if the conclusion reached at the end of this chapter is correct; that the ruling house of the south Sumatran P'o-li (Ma-li) migrated to middle Java P'o-li, after having been expelled by Śrīvijaya in 683 A.D.

I mention a 7th century account which Pelliot believed inexplicable wherein the country of P'o-li is mentioned (see map No. III).⁴ It refers to the empire of Kin-li-pi-che,⁵ to the southwest of Canton and in the north-south direction approximately between the Lieou K'iu islands (on our maps referred to as Riu Kiu situated between Japan and Formosa) in the north and P'o-li to the south.⁶ For this P'o-li we should, in connection with the

¹Encycl. Ned. Ind. s. v. Demak Waterworks, p. 582.

²H. R. p. 85 note 2 "The Pau-lau-an mountain" (this is the Muria then called by a different name, this peak is the lowest of the ten main mountain-tops, not all visible from the coast), "is in the country of Su-ki-tan" (middle Java). "All foreign ships sight this mountain before arriving... the Ki-li-mon shan (the Karimon Java islands) faces the Pau-lau shan" (the Pau-lau mountain, the mountain of the island). For identification of Pau-lau—Pulau, refer to notes of Hirth and Rockhill.

³Schouten, 1659 A.D. Encycl. Ned. Ind. s. v. Japara.

⁴Pelliot p. 324 notes 4 and 5, and p. 326.

⁵Pelliot sees in it a misspelling of Che-li-fo-che or Che-li-pi-che. Geographically this comparison with Śrīvijaya is, as we shall see, impossible.

⁶Pelliot identifies this P'o-li with the P'o-li already discussed earlier (p. 326 note 5).

north-southern direction, with regard to Riu Kiu islands think of Java rather than Palembang, because Java is situated to the south of this island group rather than south of Sumatra. In connection with this latter geographical statement southwest is a misinterpretation of southeast from Canton. The Riu Kiu islands are to the northeast of Canton and Java to the southeast according to the Chinese map-picture. The connecting line between Riu Kiu and Java lies, therefore, to the east of Canton the middle of which passes through Kin-li-pi-che to the southeast of this capital. It lies farther to the east of Tch'e-t'ou (Patalung) and to the west of that unknown country Tch'e-wou which probably is a misspelling of Ma-wou, the clove islands (Moluccas), of which we shall presently find confirmation. By reason of the above-mentioned geographical information we must seek the country of Kin-li-pi-che (is Girivijaya not a good equivalent for this name?) in the vicinity of northern Borneo, with the highest mountain peak of the then known archipelago the Kinibalu (4170 meters high or 500 meters higher than the Sumeru on Java) in the centre. A more prominent landmark it is difficult to imagine. Is this the mountain Cicira ("Kille") "whose peak reaching to the heavens, lay beyond Yavadvipa (to the east of the Malay Peninsula)" and was visited by gods and demons, of which the Ramayana sings?

Inadvertently one is tempted to connect this empire with another one equally far to the east the empire of Tchou-po already known in the 3rd century and referred to during the Sui period (589-618 A.D.) and also called Tou-po (see map No. III).

This lay on a large island where more than ten kings ruled and according to the Leang annals (502-556 A.D.) it lay to the west of these Ma-wou-tcheou (clove islands) scores of days journey to the east of Fu-nan in the Tchang-hai (China Sea).¹ As Tchou-po and Tou-po geographically represent the same countries and, according to Pelliot, have the same phonetical names which also may be spelt Cho-p'o—a country that is for him Java—he proposes to read for this the country Ma-wou situated to the east, being the island of Ma-li which would be our present Bali. One would in this case have to ignore all previous geographical data. Pelliot's assumptions are stated with a certain reserve with regard to his identifications.²

The names Tchou-po and Tou-po are, according to Pelliot, transcriptions of native names which end on a "guttural final".³ Instead of seeing in "Java" the original name it is evident that one should recognize the name Toubouc or Tabouc, the old name

¹Pelliot p. 270, 275-7.

²D'Hervy de Saint-Denys (Pelliot p. 276 note 3) seeks it on account of the situation to the east of Fu-nan, rightly on the Philippines, though he refers to it specially as on the island of Panay.

³Pelliot p. 278.

of Kota Batu the most powerful city of the later Moros of Mindanao which city would answer to all given data and would be geographically correct.¹ This name is found on the oldest Dutch and French maps as the capital of Mindanao.²

Also from the viewpoint of trade strategy the position of the capital is justified in this locality, because the Chinese trade in the Moluccas had to pass through the "sieve" of the Sulu islands between Mindanao and northern Borneo. It is quite possible that the capital was at one time on the Mindanao side (Toubouk of the 3rd to 6th century), then again on the north Borneo side (Kin-li-pi-che of the 7th century). Later again the trade centre lay in the middle of the "sieve": near the mighty Jolo which in Spanish times formed the trade centre of the whole eastern archipelago;³ it had no other rival than Brunei.⁴

The mighty empire of the Sulus and Moros, of these "hardy, self-willed and terrific fighters, accustomed to the sea,"⁵ must have controlled, since the earliest centuries Chinese and Arab trade in the spice islands (Ma-wou-chou), as Śrīvijaya and later San-fo-ts'i, controlled all trade which had to pass through the Straits of Malacca.

Not only Pelliot⁶ but also the Chinese confused Tou-po with Cho-p'o⁷ and Arabic chroniclers included accounts of Tou-po under Zabaj.

¹Cordier, *Mel. Geogr.* T'oung Pao XVI, p. 546 believed that Tou-po "is one of the names for Borneo;" because much later Chinese chronicles mention that Koua-wa is also called Tou-po: he believed that Kouawa represented a part of Borneo.

²See Pas-caert of Doncker of 1650 A.D., *Nova Tabula Indiae Orientalis* of Allard 1679 A.D., Greville's map of 1680 A.D. (Paris), the map of Ottens of 1755 A.D., etc. In 1625 A.D. Kitchil Gousserat was the name of the king of Toubouk to whom the ruler of Ternate was a vassal (Van Dijk, *Nederland's Earliest Relations*, etc. p. 254 and 258). The Dutch ship Orange which was despatched on the 30th August 1628 with letters and presents from the Moluccas to the king of Toubouk to investigate the possibilities of obtaining support in a possible expedition against the Spaniards (p. 253) landed on October 5th in the Bay of Mindanao at the palace of Toubouk "which lay in a beautiful flat land of fields near a small river with excellent fresh water protected by a square port on the seaside" (p. 256).

³Saleby, *Hist. of Sulu*, p. 137 "It seemed destined by nature to be the emporium of commerce of the south" (p. 341).

⁴It is interesting to remember the Japanese aims of our present time to gain access to this passage by gaining a foothold in Davao on Mindanao's south coast and opposite to it in the vicinity of the strategically favourably situated bay of Sandakan in north Borneo wherein the whole British navy could anchor. America's intended fortification of Palawan the main island of the northern "entrance sieve" to the Sulu sea, serves as a good comparison.

⁵Forbes, *Philippine Islands II*, p. 11. The Sulu pirates have until recent times been the terror of the archipelago; their island group possessed the most valuable pearling beds in the world. "Their famous pearl industry has prompted them to trade since time immemorial." (Saleby same p. 137).

⁶Pelliot p. 270 and 275.

⁷O. m. Ma Touan-lin, Pelliot p. 276.

When Al Fakir (902 A.D.) refers to Zabaj and mentions that there are also "antelopes similar to mountain oxen" with tails of gazelles and unedible meat, we are reminded of the description of the typical dwarf buffalo (*anao* of north Celebes, *tembadau* of northern Borneo, *tamarau* of Mindoro) "most fierce, never domesticated" and with an unpleasant tasting meat, which are not to be found in the Malay Peninsula. Also the gigantic camphor trees one finds in Borneo and the tremendous snakes which "swallow humans, buffaloes and even elephants" one finds in the Philippines as well as in northern Borneo.¹

The constant mention by Arab authors since Sulayman (858 A.D.) of the ever active volcano on the small island near Zabaj recalls strongly the always active peak of Ternate (see map No. III); this active volcano is 1715 meters high and during the last four centuries it has erupted 70 times.)² Valentijn³ calls it a "terror and awe-inspiring fire mountain. Since olden times it used to . . . spue fire, which was best visible at night, at other times heavy steam and smoke issued forth." The following is what the Arabs say about it (Sulayman, Al Fakih, Mas'udi, Edrisi, etc.)⁴ adding the following details: "at the base of the mountain of fire there is a spring of cold water and also one of hot water," also mentioned by Valentijn:⁵ "all this, however, does not prevent clear water sources springing from the mountain's base and clear rivers running to the sea beach." Mas'udi locates this fire mountain (he refers to two mountains)⁶ as being close to the Pacific Ocean.

"These isles (of the Maharaja of Zabaj) in the direction of the south China Sea touch upon a sea of which the limits of extension are unknown (the Pacific Ocean). In their remotest parts there are mountains . . . From these mountains a continuous fire exudes which blackens the sky of the day; the heights of these mountains rise into the clouds. These eruptions are accompanied by lightning and thunder most terrible . . ." Also in the Leang annals we find this "fire island" mentioned at a distance of 1000 *li* (400-500 klm.) to the east of the clove islands (Ma-wou-tcheou), which are situated to the east of Mindanao (Tchou-po) which in its turn lies to the east of Fu-nan.⁷ With the existing inclination of locating the demon island at the eastern border of the then known world and thus lengthening in an easterly direction the

¹Forbes Philippine Islands I p. 26 and 28. Owen Rutter, North Borneo p. 11 and 15. The gluttony of these pythons extends to a full grown deer.

²Enc. Ned. Ind., Ternate p. 318.

³Dl. I Moluccas p. 5 and 10.

⁴Srivijaya p. 54, 55, 63 and 66.

⁵*ibid* p. 10.

⁶Ferrand p. 99-100. The other volcano lay between Mindanao and Ternate the still active G. Awu on the island of Siau. This volcano is 1900 meters high and a clear landmark for shipping. Valentijn mentions this "mighty burning and smoking volcano which with certain winds emits thunderous noises" (also Med. Enc. Bur. 1912 II p. 11-12).

⁷Pelliot, BEFEO 1903 p. 265 note 1.

map-picture of the archipelago, we may take it for granted that the intention is to specify the island in an easterly direction (south-east) of Mindanao within the group of the clove islands. Upon this island "which burns by itself" there is found asbestos supposed to have been the bark of a tree growing upon the volcano; textiles of several feet in length have been made from this. When these are dirty they are thrown into fire and the cloth is clean again.¹ Also the reports with regard to the enormous wealth of gold of Mindanao remind us of the gold wealth of Yavadvipa and Zabaij. We only have to read the reports of Pigafetta (1519-1522 A.D.) to learn that these pirates wore ornaments of massive gold, ate from golden plates and dishes and that their dwellings were covered partly with gold. Gold was the chief trade article.² The Sui annals mention that "more than ten kings ruled on that island" and Pigafetta mentions: "there were many petty kings or chieftains without any effective overlord".³

It is therefore strange to read the history of the North Borneo Company wherein it is mentioned that their representative was given the title of Maharaja of Sabah by the Sultan of Jolo! It may have been that Mindanao belonged to the famous Wak-wak (bako-bako) archipelago⁴ which the Arabs located near China in the Far East of the then known world⁵ and whereof the gold was of a better quality than that of the African Wak-wak archipelago. "The gold is plentiful, the horse bits, the chains and necklaces of moneys, dogs and other beasts are of gold. The chiefs used golden bricks for their houses and forts and official decrees are engraved upon golden plates."⁶ In this land of Wak-wak lived the Maharaja, king of the islands.⁷ The possibilities of confusion between Tou-po with Cho-p'o and Zabaij were very numerous indeed.

Where should we seek the land of Lo-tch'a which already in the 7th century was located to the east of Java (P'o-li) (see map No. III). The people of Lo-tch'a with their curly hair and black skin remind us of the inhabitants of the eastern part of our archi-

¹This tradition of cloth being cleaned by fire is known today at the court of Solo where H.R.H. The Susuhunan wears such a garment beneath his *pusaka*.

²Mentioned by Forces p. 33.

³*ibid.*

⁴The Philippines with their numerous beach forests of nipa wood which is very handy for the use of firewood. Compare this name with Bakuwi. Ferrand, p. 463, mentions 1600 islands belonging to this archipelago whilst there are about 7000 of which 5000 are nameless.

⁵Hordadzhbeh, A. Fakih (Ferrand, p. 30 to 35).

⁶Ferrand "Le Wak-wak est-il le Japon?" J. As. 1932 p. 197. Ferrand comes to the conclusion that this island group is located in the archipelago around Sumatra. Hordadzhbeh mentions that besides dog and monkey chains of gold the island was famous for ebony wood, (Ferrand p. 31) which until today is one of the chief export articles of Mindanao.

⁷*ibid* p. 198.

pelago. Also Yi-tsing gives this land of black skins and curly hair a location to the east of P'o-li in the known list of Buddhistic empires upon the islands of the southern seas; he calls it the empire of Kiue-louen and adds:

"As the people of Kiue-louen were the first to come to Kiao-tcheou (Tonkin) and to Kouang-tcheou (Canton) all the countries were called by the general name K'ouen-louen. But the genuine K'ouen-louen have frizzy hair and black skin."¹ We find the same name in the Sung annals (960-1279 A.D.) standing for the Empire of Java (Chō-p'o) 15 days journey to the east.² According to Pelliot,³ this latter passage is quoted from Tchao Jou-koua (1225 A.D.) who is more complete and says: "To the east of Chō-p'o one reaches the sea. The sea level gradually lowers itself. There is the kingdom of the women; more to the east is the place where the waters have been replaced by Wei-lu and no human beings live there. If one embarks (from the kingdom of women?) one arrives after half a month's journey at the kingdom of K'ouen-louen". On account of the foregoing descriptions one is tempted to locate this eastern kingdom "in the land of savages" the Raksasa. In all probability by both names K'ouen-louen and Lo-tch'a the same island kingdom is meant—the Moluccas—in a wider sense the whole island group between Celebes and New Guinea, Mindanao (Molucca *besar*) and possibly northern Celebes. The distance of half a month's journey to K'ouen-louen has possibly been calculated in the aforementioned text from the kingdom of women and not from Java as Pelliot thought; it was to the east of Java but more distant from it than Strīājya! As the detailed reports of Tcheou K'iu-fei (1178 A.D.)⁴ do not mention K'ouen-louen we must conclude from his description, locating the kingdom of women, that K'ouen-louen was indeed still farther southeast of China. "In the southeastern sea is the kingdom of Cha-houa-kong. The inhabitants often go to sea to practise piracy....more to the southeast is the kingdom of Kin-fo. It consists of many savage islands. Barbarous thieves inhabit them; they are called Ma-lo-nou. Whenever the wind drives a merchant ship into this country they seize the crew, roast them, and then securing them on bamboos eat them.

The chiefs of these barbarians pierce their teeth and decorate them with gold....The farther the islands the more numerous the brigands. More to the southeast is the kingdom of the women. The water flows incessantly eastward....upon the waters float lotus seeds of more than 1 ft. length and peach stones of 2 ft. length. These the inhabitants take and offer to their queen." By these gigantic "lotus seeds and peach seeds" are meant the small *klapa laut* and *klapa jengi* (*Lodoicea sechellarum*) which

¹Pelliot p. 221.

²Pelliot p. 296. Chō-p'o mentioned in this text is Java as we will prove toward the end of this chapter.

³*ibid* p. 299.

⁴*ibid* p. 301.

the Gulf Stream carries from the land of their origin, the Seychelles Islands to the northeast of Madagascar to the East Indian Archipelago. This strange double fruit is found either drifting on the sea or on the beach and is still highly esteemed by the population of the archipelago who manufacture from them *sirih* dishes which are frequently found at native courts.¹ By the name Cha-houa-kong to the southeast of China are meant the lands belonging to the pirate kingdom of the Sulus in northern Borneo, the Sulu islands, and Mindanao. The kingdom of Kin-fo may be located with safety more to the southeast. The people living there were called Ma-lo-nou. These are the Malanau Dyaks on Borneo's west coast between Brunei and Sarawak.² To this day the Sarawak Dyaks pierce their teeth and fill them with copper; Chinese reports speak of the gold fillings of Malanau chiefs.³ The Malanaus are "cruelly disposed and are in the habit of putting their enemies to death by horrible and barbarous tortures".⁴ Cannibalism as described by the Chinese was previously practised by the Malanaus⁵ though they limited their practice to the consumption of magic strength-giving potions of their slain enemies.

One is strongly tempted to see a similarity between the name Kin-fo of the Malanau empire and the shortened name of the previously mentioned Kin-li-fo-che or Kin-li-pi-che which was already known in the 7th century.⁶ This empire was supposed to cover not only northern Borneo (Sabah), but also Brunei and Sarawak. Furthermore Yi-tsing's Fo-che-pou-lo, one of the Buddhistic countries could be located in the southern seas; (Giri) vijayapura should be the name of the capital on the Rejang river⁷ even before Brunei had achieved this role. On the map of Mercator of 1587⁸ we find as the chief ports on the west coast of Borneo (Brunei), Malano and Puchavarao (*i.e.* Vijayapura).

By the kingdom of women, which according to Tcheou K'iu-fei is the last destination on the journey from China in a south eastern direction and earlier reached from Java than from the

¹Enc. Ned. Ind. Lodoicea p. 605.

²See "Volkenkaart van Borneo" Adatrechth. XIII Borneo 1917 and not the Malayus as H. R. p. 151 mentions. Pelliot was not sure of this people's name. His translation from the text of Kin-fo is more accurate than that of H. R. p. 150.

³Ling Roth Natives of Sarawak II p. 77-79.

⁴*Ibid* p. 215.

⁵*Ibid* p. 126.

⁶Pelliot mentions from old Chinese transcriptions (p. 268 note 1): "a Hindu word formed by two syllables is rendered in Chinese by two characters: Na-sien = Nāgasena, p'ou-sa = bodhisattva".

⁷The Rejang River is navigable for 140 miles. Yi-Tsing's Fo-che-pou-lo is probably the transcription of the capital (Vijayapura) and not the name for the country which probably is the case with the Portuguese Puchavarao. Pelliot calls it Bhojapura (p. 337) without locating it.

⁸Insulae Indiae Orientalis praecipuae, in quibus Moluccae celeberrimae sunt; also on the Amsterdam map of Hondius of 1631, Asia recens and the map of Jaillot of 1694. In "L'Asie divisée en ses empires" we find this place mentioned in western Borneo.

kingdom of K'ouen-louen, is surely meant the Celebes to the south-east of Borneo. Although the women were socially more or less in the foreground in the whole archipelago "the position of the woman among the Buginese is very favourable in comparison with other peoples of the archipelago... in public life she plays a very important role".¹ I recall the Queen of Tanete (1775 A.D.) the blood-thirsty grandmother of Aru Palakka, the Aru Pitu's of Bone, for which women and men were eligible, the Queens of Tello, Sopeng, Lawu, Wayo and the dignitaries of the court of Boni whose privileges were hereditary.

It is not surprising that the Chinese called this land Strirājya.

Although not all the countries and peoples which the Chinese named K'ouen-louen are represented by the Moluccas (Silvain Lévi proved that the significance of this name as also that of *Dvipantara* is: "the far lying islands in the southern seas")² it is clear that the land K'ouen-louen (east of Celebes and south-east of China on the border of the inhabited world) is a specific locality, the East Indian Archipelago, where barbarian devils lived and endangered the seas. In the kingdom of K'ouen-louen the volcano is located where asbestos is found.³ This coincides with the volcanoes of Ternate and Siau southeast of Mindanao. The name K'ouen-louen or Kou-louen and K'ou-louen used by Yi-tsing remind us of the native name *Kolano* (ruler)⁴ The numerous warring rajas of the Moluccas (the famous Kalanas of the modern Wayang Gedog with their splendid clothing, frightening masks, animal lustful eyes and savage teeth are well known) so that the land of Kolano is a fitting name for the Moluccas. In Hobson-Jobson⁵ it is mentioned that the present name is derived from the Arab Jazirat-al-Muluk (king's islands). It is possible that the Chinese (who called the Philippines K'ouen-louen) transferred this name to the Moluccas.

Yi-tsing reports thus of the water clocks (clepsydra) of K'ouen-louen, the land with two kinds of cloves:⁶ "a large copper vessel filled up with water is used. In its bottom a hole is made through which the water is let out. Every time the vessel becomes empty (every 1½ hrs.) a drum is beaten"...⁷ Valentijn reports of the clepsydras of the Moluccas⁸: "Although they possess no clocks they divide their day into three equal parts which they measure by cocoanut shells filled with water from which water drips

¹Enc. Ned. Ind. Boeginese p. 329.

²Appendix 88 (1931 p. 621).

³Pelliot p. 230.

⁴Valentijn, *Molukse Zaeken* p. 127-8: "the chief Colano of the four (Gilolo, Ternate, Tidore and Bachan) was Gilolo or Batuchina (Halmahera)" The successor of the Colano was not his son but his brother's or sister's son.

⁵Anglo-Indian glossary—S. V. Moluccas.

⁶Takakusu p. 129.

⁷*ibid* p. 145-6.

⁸Dl. I. Moluccos p. 23.

through a small hole, or by the position of the sun. At specified times five large drums are beaten to proclaim the time of the day." In the land of the clepsydras Sanskrit sūtras and grammar were taught in the 7th century.¹ It is not surprising that the more cultured Lotch'as traded with Champa to sell their lenses from P'o-li.

We shall now attempt to locate the capital of the empire of Chō-p'o. The T'ang annals contain much useful information for us. An astronomical observation of importance which rather confused Pelliot is as follows: "at midsummer a column 8 ft. high throws a southern shadow 2 ft. 4 ins."²

A simple calculation proves that the place of observation, the capital Cho-p'o, was located between 6° and 6° 30'N. It is unnecessary to specify the measurement more correctly because the length of the sundial shadow differs in accuracy from modern measuring instruments.³ We may deduct from this that it was too far to the north to be identical with Sumatra; the only choice is between east and west Malaya. If in Yi-tsing's time Kie-tch'a (Kedah) was the capital and identical with Chō-p'o, with which the astronomical observations are identical, 6° to 6° 30'N. would coincide with Chō-p'o on the west coast of Malaya. The following account in the new T'ang annals is further enlightening (map No. II).

This account, translated by Pelliot, describes the journey from Mi-tch'en to Chō-p'o⁴. Mi-tch'en is located by Pelliot in the Irrawadi delta "despite certain contradictions in the text".⁵ This seems unlikely to me in connection with the contents of the report. Because "from Mi-tch'en to the south⁶ one comes to the land of K'ouen-lang where the tribe of the small K'ouen-louens live. They have the same habits as in Mi-tch'en and the king's name is Mang-si-yue." The latter information points to the kingdom of Pagan where the kings bore the title of Mang.⁷ Mi-tch'en lies therefore to the north of Pagan, probably in the basin of Chindwin in upper Burma.

From the account we may conclude further that the kingdom of Pagan extended to the south coast of Burma, because the journey

¹Takakusu p. 169.

²Pelliot p. 293 suspects a double error in the localization of Chō-p'o in Java: "reversing the observation, i.e. taking a mid-winter calculation with the shadow of the column thrown north" (p. 294), an explanation supported by Barth.

³Gerini places it at 6° 18' N.

⁴Pelliot p. 223-4.

⁵*ibid* p. 172.

⁶*ibid* p. 225. We have the general direction of the itinerary which divides at Mi-tch'en in the south of Burma.

⁷J. Burma Res. Soc. 1932 p. 101 Ma Mya Than. "Some of the earlier kings of Pagan: " Mang Luling = the young king; Thiliung Mang = the king of Th.

is continued overseas ; the kingdom comprised the present country of the Karēns between the Sittang and Salwin rivers. Therefore the land K'ouen-lang and the small K'ouen-louen represent the Karenni and the Karens lands so that the Chinese transcriptions of these names are correct.¹ " From the country of the K'ouen-louens, one reaches by sea in half a day the fortified city of Mo-ti-p'o.² Farther oversea travelling for 5 months (Pelliot corrects days) one comes to the kingdom of Fo-tai... this land produces many rare incenses. In the north is a port where merchandise and ships from various countries collect. From there oversea one reaches Cho-p'ol" The latter name is a mistake because the kingdom and the capital of Cho-p'o one reaches, according to the same report, within two weeks travelling south. Most probably they returned to land when on the point of departure at Mo-ti-p'o from where the regular communications were maintained to Fo-tai ; the journey overland to Cho-p'o must have started from this place. Presently we shall see that my explanation fits best with the whole complex of facts mentioned in this account.

When looking at the map one follows the route and sees that no other alternative is possible than from upper Burma *via* Pagan and the Karenni lands to the south coast of Burma and from there along the west coast of Tenasserim to Mo-ti-p'o ; from here to north Sumatra and back again to Mo-ti-p'o. For such a journey one requires more than 5½ days (compared with other sea journeys of that century.)

The Chinese ideograms for day and month are easily misunderstood, as Pelliot rightly suspects. We may assume that the journey to Mo-ti-p'o took 15 days and the subsequent journey to Fo-tai took 5 days. The journey from Burma's south coast to Acheh should have lasted 20 days ; Yi-tsing required for his journey from Palembang to Kedah and from Kelantan to Palembang 15 days. Mo-ti-p'o would, therefore, not be in Martaban³ ; it must have been located more to the south about three quarters of the distance between Burma's south coast and Acheh, in the vicinity of Takuapa⁴ " the wonderful harbour nature has here provided... it could at trifling cost be made the first harbour in Siam and the port of the whole of this part of the Peninsula. Neither Chantabun (S. E. to Bangkok) nor Songkla (Singgora) has such depth of water or such commodious anchorage, neither is so well situated with regard to foreign markets and neither has such fine provinces at the

¹The name K'ouen-louen is not always identical with Karen ; there are many K'ouen-louen peoples (barbarians) in the Indian Archipelago. The great K'ouen-louen people are neighbours of the Karen where the land is wider ; these are the people of Mon-khmer in the basin of Me-nam.

²Pelliot p. 224 questions the identification of this with Martaban.

³Pelliot p. 225 calls the identification of " Martaban " problematical.

⁴If the trading post on the north coast of Acheh was on 6° N. and the outlet of the Sittang and Salwin rivers lay on 17°N., we should look for Mo-ti-p'o on 17°N. — $\frac{3}{4}(17^\circ - 6^\circ) = 9^\circ\text{N.}$ = the geographical position of Takuapa.

back of it."¹ An equivalent native name for Mo-ti-p'o (Marta-pura ?) is not to be found on any available maps. Possibly all these names were "Siamized".

The journey from Mo-ti-p'o to Fo-tai is probably only a casual trip. It appears that the name Fo-tai (Udyana ?) was a name for Aceh during the 8th century.²

It is reported that Fo-tai exported rare incenses, which points to Aceh. Al-Fakīh (902 A.D.) referring to northern Sumatra (Ramini) says that this island has kings who own aromatics like sandalwood, mace, and nobody has them but they.³ Abu Zyd Hasan (916 A.D.) says about Rami⁴, "that these islands have plantations of Brazil and camphor wood and other essences." Wasif Sah (1000 A.D.) says about Rami "one finds there camphor and rare aromatics." This is the island Attib (island of perfumes) of all sorts of spices⁵. Edrisi (1154 A.D.) placed Rami as part of Sribuza and says "various kinds of aromatics and perfumes attract the merchants."⁶ Ibn Sa'id (13th century) calls northern Sumatra Jawa and locates it to the south of the islands of the Maharaja, calling it "great, famous, where the ships call for numerous Indian spices (medicinal aromatics)"⁷. Abul Fida (1273-1331 A.D.) calls it also Jawa, and places Fancur (Baros) where the famous camphor is found, to the south of the island of Jawa, "a large island, famous for the abundance of spices"⁸.

Ibn Batuta (14th century) refers to this Jawa, the land of small benzoe gum: "these spices come from inland where there are barbarians and no Arabs".⁹ Eredia writes in the 17th century about lesser Jawa (Jawa minor) which comprises Ferlech (Perlak), Lambri, Basman (Pasei): "it contains an abundance of spices never seen in Europe".¹⁰ Rademacher writes in 1824 that the chief products of northern Sumatra are incense and gold!¹¹ This probably gave the country the name Udyana (spicy pleasure garden). Probably Daya, the name of a province in N.W. Aceh, is

¹Smyth, vol II p. 25-26.

²Though it is possible that Fo-tai is not identical with Aceh, and lay on the Malay Peninsula, and Cho-p'o in Sumatra, it appears improbable from the text cited. The large trading post lay to the north of Fo-tai. This could only be either in Sumatra or Malaya. According to ancient calculations this "northern coast" could be Malaya, to be reached by direct sea route from south Burma.

³Ferrand p. 56.

⁴Śrīvijaya p. 56.

⁵Ferrand p. 156 and 152.

⁶Śrīvijaya p. 65.

⁷*ibid* p. 74.

⁸*ibid* p. 74.

⁹H. von Mzik, Ibn Batuta p. 394. Arabs were on the coast which tallies with reports of the Ming period, that Aceh was formerly a Ta-shi country. Kazwini (13th c.) "merchants (Arabs) travel only to Jawa; all other countries are inaccessible owing to distance and difference in religion."

¹⁰Mills, Eredia p. 244.

¹¹Sumatra p. 9-11. South Sumatra is the land of pepper and tin; middle Sumatra is known for gold, camphor and cotton.

still a remnant thereof. Possibly an older term for Aceh was known during the 5th century; this is the Chinese Kin-t'o-li for which the native names are Kandari or Kandali. No geographical indications for this country exist. Ferrand searched for an equivalent of the Arab Kandari from the text of Ibn Majid (1462 A.D.)¹ which should represent Sumatra. He argued that the Chinese identified it with San-fo-ts'i, which was Palembang. The Chinese texts have produced erroneous information regarding Palembang. We must remember that San-fo-ts'i represented Malayu during the Ming period and the Chinese called Sumatra by this name.

Kan-t'o-li represents Aceh or northern Sumatra because it was known for its perfumes and medicines which its ruler Gautama Subhadra sent to China in 502 A.D.² The Sui annals mention a book of magic draughts of Kan-t'o-li.³ A 7th century Chinese medical book mentions medicines from Kan-t'o-li.⁴ The ruler of this isle in the southern sea Che-p'o-lo-na-lien-t'o (Icvaranarendra?) sent emissaries to China in 451-464 A.D.⁵ The population had habits like those of Fu-nan and Champa. There was contact between these countries because they lay on the great India-China route which was owned by Fu-nan until the 6th century. In Aceh Champa Malay words are still in use. This Buddhistic country sent emissaries in 519, 520 and 563 A.D. It was in contact with Cho-p'o and vanished like this country in the 9th century. First it was ruled by San-fo-ts'i—Kadaram, later by San-fo-ts'i—Malayu. The Chinese placed Malayu and Kan-t'o-li in Sumatra. It is possible that after Edrisi (1154 A.D.) Aceh was synonymous with Sribuza and went under the name of Jawa.⁶ It was in close relationship with Kedah and revived the old name Cho-p'o (Yava).

This contact lasted until the 17th century. The twin empires dominated alternately the northern entrance to the Straits of Malacca. In recent times⁷ the land was "not governed by a king but always by a queen, the males being excluded from that inheritance by the laws of the kingdom." It is a fact that until the 18th century women sat on the thrones of Aceh and in the Malay States, as the Chinese refer to Cho-p'o (Kedah) in 674 A.D. that "the people of this country took as their ruler a woman of the name of Sima. Her rule was most excellent."⁸

¹J. As. 1919, p. 238-241.

²Notes p. 185-7.

³Ferrand J. As. 1923 p. 20-21.

⁴Ferini p. 603.

⁵Ferrand p. 238.

⁶Kazwini (13th c.) calls it by this name during the end of Arab trade in China and his contemporary Ibn Sa'id locates Jawa near the cities of Lamuri and Pancur to the south of the islands of the Maharaja (p. 71).

⁷Gemelli Careri's Journeys to Naples in 1695, J. As. Soc. Mal. Br. XII 1934.

⁸Notes. p. 139

The T'ang annals mention the journey from the north coast of Acheh to Cho-p'o: "in 16 days we passed two great mountains called Tcheng-mi and Cho-ti. We then came to Cho-p'o with its ruler Sri Maharaja. The same customs prevail here as in Fo-tai. Passing the valley of To-jong-pou-lo (Tanjong Pura) we came to Cho-p'o. Eight days journey south we reached the city of P'o-houei-kia-lou". Pelliot compares this name with P'o-lou-kia-sseu¹ the new capital of Cho-p'o under king Ki-yen.² If the capital was transferred in 742-755 A.D. it would coincide with the prosperous times of Srivijaya,³ in consequence of a second expedition sent by this country against Cho-p'o.⁴

With regard to the capital we read the following: "The royal palace had golden tiles, the kitchen silver, the palace halls were decorated with pearls (from Mergui?) and there are two ponds with golden shores".⁵ Pelliot likens this city to the Arab Zabaj which he believes to be in Java. I believe, however, that we may conclude that the Arab Zabaj was the same as the older Cho-p'o of which the Arabs knew by reputation. Although they left no contemporary reports about Yava, later Arab writers may have confused the same land with Java, Jawaga or Zabaj (Zabag). P'o-lou-kia-sieu, the Chinese name for a capital of the Malay Peninsula's west coast was 8 days journey (160 klm). to the south of Cho-p'o which bore the name of Baruas. This name led the Chinese to confusion with Bharukaccha in N.W. India.

This 8th century Baruas is now insignificant and lies on the silted delta of the Perak river ($4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.). On 18th century maps of Malacca the Perak delta shows clearly Baruas.⁶

Tradition in Perak⁷ relates the downfall of the old city: "situated on that estuary Bruas possessed an ideal capital.... the modern village is many miles to the seaward of the old site.... one must believe the local tradition, that the rice fields of Dendang were once a harbour." Malays say that many Buddha statues were found here, which agrees with Ferrand's translations from the Arabic "the king of Jaba adores images of Buddha".⁸ "Legend declares, that the lost town was so large it took a cat three months

¹Pelliot p. 225.

²Notes p. 139.

³Pelliot p. 225 "I do not know from where comes the indication of the time of transfer".

⁴The first expedition which expelled Sanjaya took place in 732 A.D.

⁵Pelliot p. 226.

⁶Mercator map of 1587 A.D. shows two river arms surrounding the island of Perak where Baroes was situated. Ottens map of 1770 A.D. calls the northern delta Songi Boroas without giving the place, whilst the map of M. Visscher mentions Barua without naming the northern delta branch.

⁷Winstedt and Wilkinson, History of Perak p. 6.

⁸Ferrand p. 28.

to do the circuit of the roofs....Bruas has survived in fact and in myth because it was the spot from which those great Malay imperialists, the Bandaharas of old Malacca, needled the way for the present Perak dynasty."

There are further, the legendary drumming grounds (*tanah gendang*) connected with the unexplored lime caves of Baruas¹ which formed an island in the Perak delta and which were associated by the Arabs with Zabaj. Ibn Khordabzbeh (844-848 A.D.) calls this island "Bratayil which resounded every night with musical instruments and drums. Sailors believed that the devil lived there."² The wonderbook of Wasif-Sah (1000 A.D.) recalls this description.³ From the above it is evident that as Takuapa or Mo-ti-p'o and Baruas were on the west coast the whole journey *via* Chō-p'o passed along this coast⁴ and Chō-p'o lay on the west coast of Malaya.

If one divides the distance from Baruas to Takuapa into three stages (the geographical difference between the two places is $9^{\circ}-4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}=4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$) one should arrive, according to the foregoing, after 8 days journey, at the northern part of Baruas (about $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}+1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}=+6^{\circ}$ N.) near the mouth of the Kedah river, where the capital of modern Kedah is situated (Alor Star on $6^{\circ}10'N.$). This would appear to agree with the astronomical specifications in the T'ang annals. The name of this capital was Ho-ling (Chō-p'o), identical with the Cho-p'o and Kie-tch'a of Yi-tsing. The sundial fixed the position of the capital Cho-p'o about 6° N. The distance from Cho-p'o to Mo-ti-p'o was about twice as long as that from Cho-p'o to P'o-lou-kia-sseu (geographical difference Kedah to Baruas about $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$). Mo-ti-p'o was $6^{\circ}+2\times1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}=9^{\circ}$ N. The same result is obtained for this place by splitting the journeys from the south coast of Burma to Mo-ti-p'o. So it is corroborated that the return journey from Fo-tai to the coast of Malaya was to Mo-ti-p'o and not to Cho-po, as the T'ang annals erroneously report. It is noteworthy that the neck of the peninsula where Takuapa was situated did not bear the name of Ho-ling (Cho-p'o)! There are indications mentioned by Pelliot which support the location of the capital as above. Kedah is called now Sai Buri: this Siamese name dates only from the 13th century.

This name appears to be a translation from the Malay name Tanjong Pura, because "sai" means "sandy place, sandy soil of a river shore". If this is right, the name of the valley of "To-jong pou-lo" would be identical with the valley of Saiburi or the Kedah river. The capital Cho-p'o lay, therefore, near the northern border of the kingdom. One of the mountains mentioned during

¹Winstedt and Wilkinson, p. 6.

²Ferrand p. 29.

³*ibid* p. 153.

⁴The crossing from Takuapa to the east coast and back to Baruas on the west coast lasted much longer.

the journey from Takuapa may be identified with the name Cho-t'i. One passes to the north of Kedah a mountain called Bukit (Putri) Yatee. "On the mountain is the district Lang-pi-ya where the king of Cho-p'o frequently goes to look at the sea", report the T'ang annals.¹ In the eastern Kedah mountains begins the river Rambai which reaches the Kedah River near Kedah; this name Rambai or Rambia is phonetically identical with Lang-pi-ya. All these particulars are mentioned because they tally with present-day names and with early Chinese chronicles.

The T'ang annals report a journey from the Irrawaddi delta to Kedah to a port unnamed *via* Mo-ti-p'o on the west coast of the Peninsula near Takuapa with a call at Acheh. From Mo-ti-p'o the overland journey took 14 days to Kedah and a further 8 days to Baruas.

The identity of the old Cho-p'o with Fa-hien's Ye-p'o-ti (which is a correct transcription of Yavadvipa²) is correct. Pelliot's comparison of Yavadvipa with Java relies upon the erroneous interpretation of Sanjaya's inscription (732 A.D.)³.

In this Yavadvipa is not referred to as if Sanjaya lived on it when he founded the Linga temple on Wukir, and in commemoration of this caused the inscription to be made; but he referred to the Yavadvipa where his ancestors ruled before their emigration to Java. In the 7th verse he refers to Yavadvipa rich in gold mines that "were".⁴ He refers to the golden Yavadvipa of the past "the splendid, incomparable island, rich in grain and seeds, rich in gold mines" (7th verse),⁵ already famous in the Ramayana much earlier: "the gold and silver island rich in gold mines".⁶ In Cho-p'o there was (in the 7th century) the miraculous shrine of Cambhu. The Siva shrine is not the Linga temple of Wukir (as Krom doubted); nor was it in Java, as Krom believed,⁷ but in Yavadvipa! The 8th and 9th verses mention that the shrine was on the island of Yava, where Sannaha ruled and died. It was there that Sanjaya succeeded him (10th verse) and not in Java! It was there that the people (12th verse) "unafraid of robbers or other dangers went asleep on the highways".

¹Notes p. 139. He identified Cho-p'o with Java and concluded that Lang-pi-ya was near Imogiri.

²Pelliot, p. 274.

³*ibid* p. 317. Schlegel relies upon Chinese chroniclers who refer to the wealth in gold of Cho-p'o and places it in Sumatra or Malaya. Pelliot asks: "Are the Chinese reports more accurate than the inscriptions?" Krom agrees with him, when Ferrand pleads in favour of Sumatra; "The presence of gold in Sumatra does not eliminate Java, because a document referring to gold was found in Java in gold mines." (p. 63).

⁴Kern (V. G. VII p. 122) drew attention to this error.

⁵Kedah was meant thereby, one of the gold producing countries of Malaya, free from mountains and suitable for agriculture.

⁶We shall see presently that Sanjaya was justified in making a difference between his Yavadvipa and the classic Yavadvipa of the Ramayana.

⁷Krom p. 124.

This safety was equal to that in Cho-p'o when queen Sima ruled there in 674 A.D. The T'ang annals report that "even things dropped on the road were not taken up".¹

The gold mines of Malaya, the mythical Chryse Chersonesos of Ptolemy were famous even before those of Suvarnadvipa (of Sumatra) and Java could hardly lay any claim to these. Sanjaya emigrated from Cho-p'o to Java when he was expelled with his dynasty by Srivijaya,² though the latter did not seem to have established itself firmly in Kedah. According to the T'ang annals³ Cho-p'o sent during one-and-a-half centuries emissaries to China (from Bruas). This also explains the story of Sanjaya's blood feud mentioned in the rather confusing, Tjarita Parahyang-an; he fights against Srivijaya, Champa and Cambodia, and after conquering these, returns again to Java. Probably we are nearer the truth in assuming that Sanjaya undertook these expeditions from Cho-p'o, was beaten at last and fled to Java. One of these raids is mentioned by Abu Zayd (916 A.D.), who refers to an "old king" of the island of Jawaga (Zabaj), who vanquished and decapitated the king of Khmer. This "island" Jawaga, which was 10 days journey from Cambodia, should be southern Malaya. It is likely too that the same Cho-p'o is referred to in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom with "Java", from which Jayavarman II of Cambodia freed himself in 802 AD. by introducing the Devaraja cult and taking advantage of the weakening of this kingdom by repeated attacks from Srivijaya during the 8th century.

This Java was Malaya, according to Ferrand⁴ and Finot⁵, synonymous with Yavadvipa. This is doubted by Coedès⁶ and Bosch, who believe it to be the present Java: "but this question cannot be solved definitely, even if one knows that in the 8th century Cambodia became independent from Java by the institution of the Devaraja cult by Jayavarman II". Of Cambodia's dependence on Java nothing is known in our history, but of its dependence on southern Malaya we know by tradition!

Fa-hien reports that he travelled from Ceylon in 414 A.D. and landed in Ye-p'o-ti where he stayed for 5 months and continued his

¹Notes p. 139. Rouffaer drew attention to this similarity, but saw in Sima a queen of Kedu on account of the wrong interpretation of Sanjaya's inscription.

²Or as Sanjaya mentions in the 7th verse of his inscription: "when Yavadvipa had been seized by the immortals...."

³Notes p. 140.

⁴J. As. 1919 p. 187-8 Ferrand adds erroneously: "this refers to the kingdom of Srivijaya which occupied part of the peninsula" (Ligor since 750 A.D.). Abu Zayd who knew Sribuza did not mention that one of the previous kings of Zabaj had attacked Khmer. Ferrand did not know better than that Zabaj was San-fo-ts'i = Sribuza.

⁵BEFEO XXV p. 293.

⁶BEFEO XXVIII p. 117.

journey to China.¹ He took 90 days from Ceylon to Ye-p'o-ti (the normal journey from Ceylon to Malaya occupied 30 to 60 days).² He journeyed 2 days in the right direction, met a storm which lasted for 13 days and his ship sprung a leak and had to be beached on an island for repairs. They continued their journey but a storm broke out again and clouds prevented the finding of directions. As there were many pirates they preferred to drift with the wind (in the Gulf of Bengal). Finally the weather improved.

They were able to find the right course and arrived at Ye-p'o-ti.³ Leaving Ceylon they travelled east and their right course must have been west to east. Ferrand does not say that he found in Ye-p'o-ti a country to which he did not intend to go, so we may conclude that in the 5th century the way from Ceylon to China passed *via* Malaya and not through Java. Fa-hien drifted about in the Gulf of Bengal where there were many pirates and finally landed on the west coast, *i.e.* northern Malaya, crossing the Peninsula to the east coast, during his 5 months sojourn in the country. He did not land in Java; this transpires from the further text of his report. If he had left Java for Canton his captain would not have left in a north-eastern direction and he could not have kept to this course during 1½ months. He would either have landed in Borneo or should have taken a northern course in the beginning.⁴

Though Fa-hien's reports prove to us that Ye-p'o-ti represents Malaya, there is no proof that he travelled *via* Java. We deduce that the 5th century Kelantan was in Cho-p'o, the 6th century Tch'e-t'ou in the vicinity of Patalung and it is probable that the 5th century Yavadvipa of Fa-hien represents the 5th century Cho-p'o (Malaya). Gunavarman the Buddhist Kashmirian monk who stayed in Cho-p'o until 424 A.D. from where he went to China *via* Champa likewise travelled from Ceylon *via* Malaya. This appears to have been the centuries old normal route to China when the Straits of Malacca were not in use,⁵ and the journey was

¹Pelliot identifies on phonetic grounds the island of Ye-tiao with Yavadvipa. It was geographically known that it lay beyond the borders of Je-nan (northern Annam). Ferrand (J. As. 1916 p. 528) concludes that it represents our Java.

²Notes p. 131-3.

³Gerini p. 604-609 forgets this important part of Fa-hien's journey. He believes that the south-western storms in autumn forced Fa-hien to make a northern detour through the Gulf of Bengal. Gerini believes that he landed on Sumatra's east coast near Jambi or Palembang, ignoring Malaya's west coast—an improbable solution.

⁴The Sui annals (518-617 A.D.) mention that for the journey from Tonkin to Java (P'o-li) a southern course had to be set. According to Chinese maps Java lay to the south east of Canton, so that Fa-hien leaving Java should have taken a north western course.

⁵Compare the journey in the 5th century of the Mahanavika Buddhagupta of Raktamrttika (Tch'e-t'ou) on the coast of eastern Malaya to the north where his inscription was found. The greetings at the end of it denote that this journey was not without danger.

via Kra, Trang, Kedah overland from Malaya's west coast. Fa-hien travelled *via* Ligor, and Gunavarman *via* Kedah; the first mentioned met few compatriots (hinayanists) and many renegade Brahmins. The second journeyed *via* a purely Buddhistic city.¹ We may assume the identity of Yavadvipa = Ye-p'o-ti = Malaya and bear in mind Ptolemy's report of 132 A.D. that the route in the 2nd century passed through Malaya and that this "island" was called Iabadiou, a faithful Greek transcription of the name Yavadvipa.

The journey went past the capital Argyre (where the sun stood twice a year in its zenith) "on the west coast of the island which is exceptionally rich in agriculture and produces much gold". It will be seen that Argyre is identical with Ligor (Magara).² Ptolemy locates Iabadiou on 8° 30' S. One would be tempted to believe this to be Java bearing in mind geographical errors of that time.³ Besides that, on the same latitude lie the three (?) Sindai and the three (?) Sabadibai which together could represent Java and would tally with the geographical situation. Ptolemy mentions cannibals on these islands, and that is all that he has to report. Kattigara, a harbour in Sinaï (China) lies on the same latitude and the five Barousai (the island of Baros) on the 5° 20' S.; on our maps, in the northern hemisphere. We must attach importance to the gold production of Iabadiou in order to identify it with the golden Peninsula where gold had been found from earliest times.⁴ Ptolemy borrowed the name Yabadiou and its products from the Ramayana.

This Epic relates that Yavadvipa was the island of gold and silver.⁵ Ptolemy says that it produced much gold and that its capital was called Argyre (silver).⁶ The T'ang annals (618-906

¹For confirmation of the religious status of Kedah (Cho-p'o) I refer to Ho-ling and Baruas; for that of Ligor, refer to chapter under Ligor (Lankasuka).

²The province Ligor is as rich today as it was in the times of Ptolemy. Of the population of 300,000 there live today "200,000 in the great fertile plain two days west of the mountains...it is intensely rich with well watered plains on both sides of the hills; the water supply is never short, for the mountains catch the rains of both monsoons...it is growing more rich than any province of Siam, and the cultivation is increasing every year; it feeds more cattle than probably all the states south of it combined...." Smyth II p. 128-9.

³Krom p. 58.

⁴I refer to the prehistoric gold mines of Pahang "on a scale which has no counterpart in southern Asia" and to the centuries old "city of gold" (U Thong) on the border of Burma and Siam which produced much gold (Harvey, History of Burma p. 310.11).

⁵Old silver mines of any significance are found only in the northern part of the Siam peninsula.

⁶Krom p. 60 believes that an Indian word has wrongly been translated to mean silver. Gerini p. 40 mentions "in fact Ptolemy is perfectly silent as to silver being found at Argyre. Though he mentions gold among the productions of the surrounding country, he does not say a word in regard to the less noble metal".

A.D.) mention the production of both metals by Cho-p'o.¹ The Sung annals (906-1279 A.D.) continue this tradition when Cho-p'o signified already Java.² Yi-tsing (who knew Srivijaya in Malaya and Sumatra) mentions "Kin-tcheou" (gold island) and means by it not merely Sumatra (Pulau Mas).³ When Biruni (1030 A.D.) refers to India and mentions Zabaj as the gold islands, he specifies in his book of instructions for astrological principles that the island of Zabaj contains gold and omits to say this about the island of Sribuza, which he mentions simultaneously with the other.⁴ We can only choose between Sumatra and Malaya⁵ and finally decide in favour of the Malay Peninsula.

Confusion is caused by reports in old literature about the gold and silver production of the Malay Peninsula.

In the Ramayana, Yavadvipa is referred to as rich in gold and silver; silver was found in the northern part of the peninsula—this the Chinese knew before the 3rd century. The old Yavadvipa comprised the whole peninsula. The Arabs report about Yavadvipa calling it Zabaj and Jawaga. According to Al-fakir (902 A.D.) Zabaj borders on Rahma (south Burma).⁶ Old Chinese geography splits Malaya into many parts. According to Pelliot's translation the peninsula is divided as follows.⁷

In the north lies the land Kin-lin (referred to in the 3rd century) the golden borderland⁸ or Kin-tchen (Skt. *kancana* = gold?) which produced silver (see map II). It borders on the Gulf of Siam of which the northern part was called the great Gulf of Kin-lin. The silver export to China took place from here and that to India overland *via* the west coast ports, Tavoy or Mergui. In Kin-lin there were still large elephants which already in the 3rd century were used for transport and today are the only medium for it. Yi-tsing (7th century) mentions Kin-lin and Kin-tcheou (Skt. *Suvarnadvipa*) and probably refers to the north and south parts of the Malay Peninsula as producing silver and gold. It is not surprising that this part of the peninsula was called the gold and silver island. Sometimes it was called Yavadvipa, then again *Suvarnadvipa*, this name being later transferred to Sumatra when the gold industry developed there.

¹Next to elephants which also did not live in Java in historical times.

²Srivijaya p. 119.

³As Srivijaya was only situated in Sumatra this idea is acceptable. Later reports (Valentijn) mention wealth of gold in Acheh; Rademachers speaks of gold treasures in Sumatra.

⁴Ferrand J. As. 1923 p. 2.

⁵Java is not identified by it; compare with what has been written about the Yavadvipa of Sanjaya.

⁶Ferrand p. 64. In India there is a country called Rahma which is on the coast. Close to this kingdom is the country Djawaga with a king called Maharaja. Fournereau (Ancient Siam vol. I p. 50-52) says that in the Annals of Luang Phrabang the land Yava (Yavanadesa) is situated in the north of the peninsula and borders on Ramanyadeca, the present Pegu, part of Burma.

⁷This geographical explanation differs from Pelliot's interpretation.

⁸BEFEO 1903 p. 266.

Yi-tsing refers to Che-li-fo-che (Srivijaya) and calls it twice Kintcheou¹ meaning by it Srivijaya before it was moved from Kelantan in Malaya; he arrives there both times coming from China. Three centuries later Malaya is still known by the name Suvarnavipa and serves as a residence for Candrakirti, a Buddhist high priest, whose follower was Dimpankara for 12 years.² The headquarters of Buddhism were then in the Sailendra empire San-fo-ts'i (Malaya) which acquired the name of Suvarnavipa in the 9th century. Four centuries later Nuwayri (1332 A.D.) calls Fansur (Baros) Suvarnabhumi.³ This same name is found on the inscription of the Amoghapaca statue of Krtanagara destined for Malaya in 1286 A.D.; Adityavarman uses in 1378 A.D. a synonym of it in his title—Kanakamedinindra, lord of the gold land. In old geographies there were several Insulae Auri, but Java was never one of them.

The silver producing land of Kin-lin was 1000 *li*⁴ closer to Fu-nan than the kingdom of Tiouen-siun or Touen-souen (see map II). This cape or *tanjong*⁵, the southern part of the peninsula, was subject to Fu-nan in the 3rd century⁶; it formed its southernmost province and extended for 1000 *li* into the sea, its east coast toward Tonkin, its west coast toward India. These deductions are made from the Leang annals (502-556 A.D.)⁷.

The capital of this Tanjong lay 10 *li* from the coast; numerous merchants came to trade in this market of east and west.⁸ 500 Parsee families lived there⁹ who let their dead be eaten by vultures; and 1000 Brahmins from India. There were two Buddhist temples. This description fits the city of Ligor which was the capital of Tiouen-Siun, the later T'o-p'o-teng (Dua-wwatan); of these two temples one exists, the Wat Pratat which is of the Ceylonese type (hinayanist) with a height of 100 ft. The gilt spire is one of the few landmarks for shipping, whilst the temple is famous because it does not cast any shadow.¹⁰ Fa-hien passed

¹Chavannes p. 181 and 186.

²Srivijaya p. 122-3.

³Ferrand 1b23 p. 9.

⁴The measuring unit *li* is not permanent. Pelliot p. 182 mentions that a *li* of Kia Tian differs from that of Hiuan-tsang by 33%.

⁵Barbosa describes this peninsula: "The said kingdom of Ansiane (Siam) throws out a great point of land into the sea which makes a cape"; he also compares it with a *tanjong*.

⁶BEFEO 1903 p. 263 and 282.

⁷*ibid* p. 263.

⁸*ibid* p. 263.

⁹*ibid* p. 279.

¹⁰Smyth p. 125-6 illustration p. 127. Gerini p. 107-8 says that this temple is regarded as one of the most ancient in Siam because the building contains the famous tooth relic of Buddha. This is only "one of the many Buddhist traditions transplanted on Siamese soil from India". The sandy plain of Ligor is identified with Vajra Valuka (diamond sands) of the Andra coast where the Tooth of Buddha on its way to Ceylon arrived on the first stage at Dantapura, and was placed in a temple richly decorated beyond compare. This temple Wat Pratat was a sister temple of the one at Ghantacala.

Ligor in 414 A.D. As he mentioned, he met very few of his own faith but numerous renegade Brahmins, Parsees and Sivaites. Such conditions never prevailed in Java during the 5th century. Ligor was at that time already of considerable age. It bore the name of Lankasuka.

South Malaya, the "island" to the south of the narrowest part of the Peninsula outside of Touen-siun, had its own name P'i-k'ien, as mentioned in the Leang annals 502-556 A.D. (see map II).¹

It is evidently compared with Lanka of the Ramayana which also was joined by a bridge (Dua-wwatan) with the mainland of Fu-nan. "On that great island in the sea lived an immortal king in great splendour (this reminds us of Ravana's name Dacamukha)." "On this island was a mountain which produced gold; it appeared in veins in the stones in very large quantities. The giant king often offered to the king of Fu-nan (his neighbour) golden service sets as presents consisting of plates, and deep bowls sufficient for 50 persons". This sounds as if P'i-k'ien had to pay tribute to Fu-nan. Such yearly tributes were till recently paid to Siam by the Malay States of Kelantan, Patani, etc., in the form of small gold and silver trees 1 metre high. Mas'udi (943 A.D.) compares the situation of south Malaya (Zabaj) with Khmer (Fu-nan) and with Lanka opposite the mainland.² If we collate what we know about the wealth of gold in Baruas and Kedah then it is not strange that we have here on this golden "island" a second Lankasuka as a capital.³ The account of P'i-k'ien must contain an older tradition than that of the island Cho-p'o which comprised this same land in the 5th century. The tradition, two centuries later than that of Cho-p'o, calls the same land Ho-ling or by the older name "also Cho-p'o." This name Ho-ling or Kaling was formed only in the 7th century when the predecessors of Sanjaya installed their Kling dynasty, probably with the consent of Fu-nan which retired to the south a century before. Finot mentions: "the ancient kings lived obscurely and enjoyed only a nominal rule over their ancient kingdoms".⁴

We note that this new injection of Hindu culture-bearers into the vegetating Fu-nan (its name was from olden times Yava)⁵ gave

¹BEFEO 403, p. 264.

²Srīvijaya p. 62. It is possible that Valmiki was inspired by the fight of south Malaya against Fu-nan in his story of the fight between Ravana and Rama.

³This name was given in the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa to the much younger capital of Kedah; this Lankasuka lay on the Sungai Merbuk in the vicinity of the Gunung Jerai (5° 40' N.)

⁴BEFEO XVII p. 59. Yi-tsing mentions toward the end of the 7th century the kingdom of Pa-nan which was previously called Fu-nan. The Buddhist religion prospered there. It was at the southernmost end of Jam-budvipa (mainland). Pelliot Befeo III p. 284.

⁵We shall see later why this is justified.

new life to it so that from the new centre of the kingdom (Kedah) the tradition of Fu-nan (Yava) was foisted upon Yavadvipa.

The geographical position of the oldest Lankasuka can be found in the T'ang annals, partly cited by Pelliot and rendered complete by Schlegel.¹ P'an-p'an lies on a bay to the south of Champa and is separated from it by a small lake (Gulf of Siam); it borders on Lankasuka and has Ko-lo, also called Ko-lo-fou-chalo, to the southeast; (Pelliot and Ferrand refer to it as Ko-lo-chafou-lo or Kalacapura). According to the Sui annals² Tch'e-t'ou lies south of Lankasuka (I located it near Patalung).³ From Champa to that place one passes Lankasuka. According to these accounts one passes from north to south the following ports on Malaya's east coast: P'an-p'an, Lankasuka, Tch'e-t'ou and Kolo (see map II). Lankasuka between the Bay of Bandon and Patalung is no other than Ligor.

For the identification of P'an-p'an with Punpin on a river on the border between Jaiya and Bandon I refer to Pelliot⁴ "passing Lankasuka on the way to Tch'e-t'ou", say the Chinese reports of 607 A.D. "one sees in the west the mountains of that land". This tallies with the situation of Ligor: one observes during the journey 10 to 15 peaks of a mountain chain 1000 to 2000 meters high which separates Ligor from the valley of Bandon. The identity of Lankasuka and Ligor has now been established without the sleights to which Coedès had to resort.⁵ Lankasuka was a vassal state of San-fo-ts'i and, according to Tchao Jou-koua, 6 days sea or land journey from Tambralinga⁶ in the vicinity of the Bay of Bandon. Both cities lay on the same coast of Malaya (east). Pelliot⁷ quotes the text of Yi-tsing who mentions that crossing the Gulf of Siam from Fu-nan one lands at Lang-kia (-chou). Tchao Jou-koua recalls the names of the ports from south to north along Malaya's east coast: P'eng-fong (Pahang) Teng-ya-nong (Treng-ganu), Ki-lan-tan (Kelantan), and Ling-ya-seu-kia (Lankasuka).⁸ Pelliot was right to identify this

¹T'oung Pao IX Geogr. notes II.

²*ibid.*

³This report (compare with Ferrand) mentions that having passed Lankasuka one has to pass south of the islands of Ki-long to reach Tch'e-t'ou. If I am right, one has to pass south of Kaw Yai to reach the entrance of Tale Sap. I am ignorant of the meaning of Yai but the name Ki-long (Malay Gilang = glistening) would match the 7th century name of the island Yai as we know that at night the surf made a line of phosphorescent flame (Smyth II p. 90). The southern entrance to Pulau Gilang would form a confirmation of my supposition that Tch'e-t'ou is near Patalung.

⁴Pelliot p. 229.

⁵Coedès p. 17-18.

⁶H. R. p. 68.

⁷BEFEO 1903 p. 284.

⁸Pelliot p. 344-5.

Lankasuka with that of the Sui annals though he located it erroneously in Tenasserim.¹ Also in the list of Buddhist countries in further India, which Yi-tsing records, my identification of Lankasuka with Ligor holds; these countries are: Sriksetra (Burma), Lankasuka (Ligor), Dvaravati (Cambodia) and Champa.²

Yi-tsing locates his Lan-kia-chou to the southeast of Burma and west of Cambodia.³ The Lankasuka cited by Coedès was the second of its name and lay on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. The 6th century Lang-ya-sieou or Lang-ya-siu (Ligor) sent in 515, 523, 531 and 568 A.D. envoys to China.⁴ According to Schlegel's translation of the Leang annals this city was said in 515 A.D. to have been founded 400 years earlier. Ligor dates from the 2nd century and could very well have been mentioned by Ptolemy (132 A.D.)

As the last mentioned king of Fu-nan, Rudravarman, sent his last envoys to China after 539 A.D. he was ousted by his vassal Mahendravarman (Citrasena) of Tchen-la from his capital T'o-mou before 616-7 A.D.; he settled in the south founding a new capital Ma-fou-na which Pelliot renders Navanagara. From this capital envoys were sent between 618-626 A.D. and 627-64 A.D.⁵ Where this city lay is unknown, since the last chapter of Fu-nan history remains in the dark. "We shall remain in ignorance until a Khmer or Sanskrit equivalent for the name T'o-mou is found", says Coedès.⁶ For centuries Ligor was called Nagara Sridharmaraja. The Dharmaraja title was especially popular among the early Pallavas in southeast India in the fourth century and the adoption of this title by Champa and Cambodia rulers was a clear indication of their relation to the Dharma empire of the Pallavas.⁷ The capital T'o-mou is a Chinese transcription of Dharma (rajanagara) and the new capital was called Nava(dharmaraja)nagara.

¹*Ibid* p. 406-8. Coedès p. 12-13 condemned this comparison of the Chinese Lankasukas; his Lankasuka which he compared with the Ilangogam of the inscription of Tanjore (1030 A.D.) was a different city on Malaya's west coast near Gunong Jerai. It is questionable whether a list of conquests by Rajendracola I out of geographical order is of use for identifications of a city on the west coast.

²Pelliot p. 221.

³Same p. 227.

⁴Pelliot p. 405-6.

⁵BEFEO 1903 p. 295 and 274. The first envoys from Tchen-la in 616-7 A.D. went out from Citrasena's son Icanasena. Fu-nan was only conquered by Icanavarman shortly after 627 A.D. p. 275.

⁶BEFEO XVIII p. 130.

⁷With regard to King Bhadravarman I of Champa, the Dharmamaharaja, this is certain (rock inscriptions of Cho-dinh, end 4th and 5th century). Also Kaundinya "the Indianizer of Cambodia" (Coedès) received his spear (power) from the mythical forefather of the Pallavas, the eminent Brahmin Asvatthaman, son of Drona (inscription Mi-so'n verse III, transl. Finot).

This was towards the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the 7th century (after 568 A.D. the last year of envoys from Lankasuka and before 618-626 A.D. when Na-fou-na first sent envoys—saw the official name of Lankasuka for Ligor).¹

It is known that the "neck" of the peninsula belonged to Fu-nan in the 3rd century and it is possible that this was still the case in the 6th century. The Sui annals (519-618 A.D.) relate that the land Tch'e-t'ou (Patalung) was another colony of Fu-nan.² From the tribute paid by P'i-kien it may be concluded that Fu-nan still held sway in Malaya. A transfer of the capital of Fu-nan to Ligor, the capital of its most important southern province, becomes quite acceptable. Also when Hiuen-tsang the famous Buddhist monk traveller in the 7th century, reports about the island of Yen-mo-na which lay to the southwest of Champa³ he evidently means by it the peninsula. It is not impossible that he had heard the Sanskrit name Yamana (gara) a synonym for Dharmarajanagara with which he indicated Ligor. This is also a confirmation of the supposition that this name was accepted at that time. Langkasuka had then been known by its new name for a century.

The name Yamanagara is similar to the synonym Yamakota, the Djemguerd, of the old Persian tradition or the Jamkut of Arab geography.

These old geographers borrowed their knowledge of this legendary city from the old Persians and referred to it centuries later after it had changed owing to political and economical changes. Jamkut was a second Lanka (Ceylon, the original Lanka, lay to the south according to Indians and Persians), but it lay more to the east, on the border of the inhabited world in the farthest corner of the kingdom of Manes, where Yama swayed his sceptre. Whether this was the reason for calling this new Lanka "Yama city", or whether it concerned an entirely new locality with a similar name is not certain. The truth lay perhaps halfway; any way this Yamanagara lay to the southeast at the end of the then known and inhabited world.

Can this city have been Ligor? It was old enough and had got its name in the 6th century., before the Arab geographers had mentioned the city of Jamkut (750 A.D.). Even with regard to the geographical position Ligor would answer the des-

¹I wish to mention for the sake of curiosity that such an exodus took place to Ligor by the Brahmins who saw a chance of escape in 1767 A.D. when Ayudhya was destroyed by the Burmans. During the reconstruction of the empire king Tak recalled them.

²BEFEO 1903 p. 272.

³Pelliot p. 278.

cription, because Jamkut lay supposedly to the west of the China Sea, on an island close to the mainland. Besides that, the name Lankasuka was known to the Parsees, because the Leang annals (502-556 A.D.) report that 500 Parsee families resided there. The identity of Lankasuka with Yamakota is supported by the Persian tradition that¹ "Paschoutan, son of the king Gustasp, during whose reign Zoroaster lived, preached by order of his teacher religious sermons in Djemguerd". It may be also that Jamkut did not stand only for Yamakota, but may have been a bastardized Yavakoti² at the farthest end of Fu-nan—Yava.

Kern thought it lay at the east end of Java, or in Koetei.³ Kern also believed⁴ that Yavakoti (which according to the 4th century reports of Sryasiddhanta was the easterly cardinal point of the equator, and was surrounded with golden walls and dates) derived this description from the classic Yavadvipa of the Ramayana, but he never located the city. In any case I conclude that Yavakoti is a much older name for the later Yamakota, standing for Yamanagara or Ligor. This tallies with my opinion that Fu-nan bore the name of Yava in earlier times; according to Al-Fakih (902 A.D.) this Yava (Zabaj) bordered on Rahma (Pegu). Yavakoti was thus at the farthest end of Fu-nan on the mainland in the East; or in the language of Yi-tsing "the meridional angle of Jambudvipa", and this tallies with Ligor.⁵ To the south of it lay only the "island" Yavadvipa—Cho-p'o. The realistic Ptolemy, who had gathered much accurate information in the 2nd century knew that Iabadiou lay more to the east and that it was no island, but a chersonese. He located, quite correctly, this famous eastern city on the mainland as capital on the western point of the "island" Iabadiou. He probably bastardized the Indian name Nagara into Argyre, a name which in his ears sounded closest to Ligor,⁶ and which seemed to him natural, after the reports of the silver wealth of Iabadiou.⁷

I would like to add to the foregoing. When Fu-nan was vanquished by Tchen-la it transferred its capital to Ligor—Na-

¹Reinaud, Geogr. d'Aboulfeda I p. CCXXII from whom particulars about Jamkut and Djemguerd have been gleaned.

²Pelliot, p. 278. "Yen-mo-na could not represent anything else but the Sanscrit word "yavana"." According to my own opinion this is an example where a non-geographical axiom has connected a city in the south with Yama, though the truth was that the city name goes with that of the country Yava.

³V. G. XV., p. 84.

⁴V. G. V. p. 308.

⁵If Kern was right in assuming it to be Java's east point, it would more rightly have been Yavadvipakoti. Yi-tsing's orientation to the south of this "koti" from Jambudvipa would justify the name Yamakoti.

⁶Portuguese rendering of the Siamese Nakawn (Nagara).

⁷This western capital was located by Gerini on Sumatra's northwest point in Acheh (p. 458); Krom located it in Java (p. 58).

fou-na and led an existence chiefly based upon its past glory ; after the appearance of the Kling dynasty of Sanjaya the centre of power shifted to the south in Ho-ling—Kedah (7th century). This coincides with Chinese accounts which mention Fu-nan only between the 3rd and 7th centuries, about the time of the said South Indian influx. Fu-nan disappears from the number of the more powerful states. The new blood continues the old tradition on Yava (Cho-p'o-Ho-ling) until the 9th century from which time onwards the Arabs refer to it as Zabaj (Yava). They tell of one of the " former " kings of Zabaj who " punished " for far-fetched reasons the king of Khmer. Probably the new Cho-p'o (Ho-ling) subdued Cambodia into paying tribute until finally Jayavarman II made use of a temporary weakening of Cho-p'o through the attacks of Srivijaya and freed this country in 802 A.D. from further tributes.

The next port after Lankasuka is Tch'e-t'ou (Patalung) to the south.¹ The next port is Ko-lo-cha-fou-lo or Kalasapura to the southeast. This latter port is probably Patani, protected by a promontory in S.E—N.W against the N.E. monsoon. Ferrand² came to this conclusion, whereas Pelliot located Kalasapura at the mouth of the Sittang river.

Suvarnadvipa could only represent Sumatra, according to Ferrand but as according to the new T'ang annals Patani was in Malaya, Suvarnadvipa, where the Kathasaritsagara locates Kalasapura must have been Malaya.³ From the same source we gather that in the 7th century Patani possessed a stone wall and governed 24 provinces. ⁴In the 18th century it was the mightiest rebel state on the east coast ; its power was finally broken by the Siamese when they split it into 5 or 6 smaller states, whereof the present Patani is the smallest. The new port Singgora overshadowed Patani. It is possible that since the 5th century the then known Ho-lo-tan called itself Srivijaya having become master of Kalasapura which had a better port and was situated on the great sea route China-India. There the trade route (the Straits of Malacca was not in use at the time) split into the northern branch from India to China (from Patani *via* Patalung, Ligor or Chumphon with connections to Kedah, Trang and Kra), and the southern branch to the archipelago (*via* Kelantan southward along Malaya's east coast).

¹This port was the most important next to San-fo-tsi during the time of Tchao Jou-koua (1225 A.D.) : here Arab trade was concentrated. Its name was Fo-lo-an (Belawan ?), four days journey from Lankasuka. It was subject to San-fo-tsi.

²J. As. 1919 p. 237.

³Tawney-Penzer IV, p. 191.

⁴Patani and Kelantan whose history runs parallel were at intervals rivals and allies. In the 15th century Kelantan was the more powerful state.

b. Chō-p'o during the Sung period 960-1278 A.D.

The Sung annals¹ mention the state of Tan-mei-lieou (Tcheou K'iu-fei 1178 A.D. calls it Teng-lieou-mei) which sent envoys to China in 1001 A.D. The correct location of this state which was southwest of Cambodia must have been on the east coast of Malaya, though the annals confuse it with other countries.

According to Tchao Jou-koua, Teng-lieou-mei was subject to Tchen-la (Cambodia) which extended to Grahi on the Bay of Bandon; it must have lain to the north of Grahi, 15 days journey north of Lo-yue, which we located in Seluyut on the south point of Malaya and 45 days northwest of Cho-p'o (see map I).

From the above we may conclude that from 1001 A.D. Cho-p'o represents Java as it lay $45-15 = 30$ days southeast of Lo-yue. Franke says that the Chinese chronicles "confuse the new with the old and long ago superseded". The Sung annals relate that San-fo-ts'i paid tribute to China in 904-5 A.D. and had to be reckoned as an established sea power. The report of 1001 A.D. locates Teng-lieou-mei on Lo-yue known from the voyage of Kia Tan in 785-805 A.D., though Lo-yue had long ago been absorbed by barbarian states.

As the Cho-p'o of 1001 A.D. was Java it was likely that the slightly earlier accounts of this period referred to Java.² In 971 A.D. a shipping office was opened in Canton and mention is made of merchants who trade with Cho-p'o.³ After this year Cho-p'o was frequently mentioned in shipping references in China.

This represents Java during the reigns of the successors of King Sindok. The Sung annals mention that Cho-p'o was in the southern sea; in 992 A. D. King Dharmavamsa of Java sent envoys. These envoys of the Maharaja (this title is usually given to Malay rulers and is strongly indicative of Java) tell of continuous wars between their country and San-fo-ts'i.⁴ The same annals mention an invasion by Cho-p'o of San-fo-ts'i⁵ in 991-2 A.D. These annals mention that San-fo-ts'i lay between Tchen-la and Cho-p'o which makes it certain that the latter is Java, because the south point of Malaya lies between Cambodia and Java. The Sung annals (compiled in the 14th century) devote a chapter to Cho-p'o and locate it in Java. Very likely this latter description has been borrowed from Tchao Jou-koua (1225 A.D.)⁶

¹Pelliot p 233..

²"There is no reason to see in the name Cho-p'o a double meaning as quoted by the Sung annals", says Pelliot p. 305.

³Rockhill, T'oung Pao 1914 p. 420.

⁴Notes p. 114 and 144.

⁵Srivijaya p. 18.

⁶Pelliot p. 295.

We further read about the geographical situation of Cho-p'o¹ (see map III) "journeying for 15 days N.W. one reaches P'o-ni² coming from Cho-p'o; subsequently one reaches in 15 days San-fo-ts'i".

Again it is a journey of 30 days between the southern point of Malaya and Java (as mentioned in the orientation of Tan-lieou-mei) in the same general direction S.E. N.W. This lends further support to the supposition that Cho-p'o is Java. The length of this island is east to west 75 days journey long; and north to south 7 days journey wide.³ It is a long and narrow island like Java. Java then had been circumnavigated. On Java's south coast much porcelain of the Sung period has been found (Kediri, Pachitan, Kidul, etc.); probably much shipping was done by the Chinese to those coasts. Tcheou K'iu-fei (1178 A.D.) locates it to the southeast of Canton.⁴

The right orientation of Java should have been S.S.W. but it was erroneously depicted on the Chinese maps in relation to the position of China. Tcheou describes his journey from San-fo-ts'i and Cho-p'o to China.⁵ From San-fo-ts'i one travels north *via* the Chang-hia-tchou islands and the Gulf of Tonkin; from Cho-p'o to the northwest *via* the Karimata Straits (?) passing the rocks of the twelve sons and then the Tchou islands. These routes indicate that Cho-p'o is Java. It is noteworthy that Javanese seafarers were no longer forced to put in at San-fo-ts'i at the end of the 12th century (to pay the tax). It was no longer "master of the Straits through which, in both directions, foreign traffic passed by land or sea.... If a merchant ship passes without calling, their boats put out to sea and attack it.... For this reason this country has become an important maritime centre", wrote Tchao Jou-joua in 1225 A.D.⁶ According to Tcheou K'iu-fei half a century earlier San-fo-ts'i was the trading centre for the lands in the south but the

¹*ibid* p. 296.

²There were two P'o-ni known then: the other P'o-ni was 45 days journey from Cho-p'o and 40 days from San-fo-ts'i. Not always did these differences in the length of journeys depend upon the sea, wind or size of vessels. It is possible that P'o-ni is a second rendering of Brunei. The distances from Brunei to Java and Malaya are 55:40 and 45:40 but these differences do not exclude the acceptance of Brunei. Geographically P'o-ni lay on the west coast of Borneo half-way between Java and the south point of Malaya; the only place which would coincide with Chinese transcription and possess a thousand years history is Ponti (anak). If one accepts the identification of P'o-ni with Pontianak, then tradition seems right because in the second half of the 9th century this city is mentioned by Pelliot and could not possibly be the centuries younger Brunei. In an unnamed port of the Gulf of Siam merchants meet from P'o-lomen (possibly Ligor, the eastern Brahmin land) from Po-sseu (the Irawady delta), from Cho-p'o (not Java but in that time Baruas) from P'o-ni (Pontianak), and from K'ouenlouen (Moluccas).

³Pelliot p. 296.

⁴H. R. p. 79.

⁵Pelliot p. 319.

⁶Srivijaya p. 13.

southeastern trade in the archipelago had been absorbed by Cho-p'o (Java).¹ The island of Java which is called in the Sung annals Cho-p'o, a name by which earlier chroniclers refer to Malaya, was called in the second half of the 13th century Chao-wa, a regular transcription of the native Djawa.²

San-fo-ts'i had only portions of Java under its influence. Tchao Joukoua frequently cited old reports as contemporary and relates that San-fo-ts'i bordered on the east on Jong-ya-lou or Tchong-kia-lou,³ *i.e.* Jangala, the old name for east Java (see map III). According to him it included middle Java. He says Sin-t'o⁴ was subject to San-fo-ts'i and that Su-ki-tan abutted on Siu-t'o.⁵

Very little is known of relations between San-fo-ts'i and middle and east Java from the 10th to the 12th centuries. At the time when San-fo-ts'i sent its first envoys to China (904 A.D.) the east Java ruler Balitung (successor of the Sanjaya dynasty of Mataram) is lord of middle Java; he dates a document (906 A.D.) in the Sanjaya calendar and calls his kingdom again Mataram. In this period the name Yava(dvipa) is fixed for Java. The Chinese refer to Java as Cho-p'o from the 10th century. Probably Yavadvipa-pura referred to in 908 and 911 A.D. in temples built in Champa is Balitung's capital.⁶ Further, the Manjucrimulakalpa mentions before 980 A.D. the island Yava (near Bali) and Erlanga calls Sindok Yavapati, his predecessor Dharmavamca Yavadhīpa, and himself Yavadviparaja.⁷

Something happened in middle Java a quarter of a century after San-fo-ts'i sent its first envoys so that King Sindok (929-947 A.D.) transferred his capital to east Java.

The Javanese envoy informed the Chinese in 992 A.D. that "his country was at enmity with San-fo-ts'i and that they were always fighting together". This may have led to the removal of the capital in 929 A.D. or shortly before that year and to the destruction of the palace of king Wawa (924-927 A.D.) at "Chedang in Mataram." Krom⁸ remarks on "the complete absence of traces of purposeful destruction of ruins of middle Java monuments": the Sailendras of San-fo-ts'i would take care not to destroy the monuments of their forefathers in Java. Krom refers to the transfer of government to east Java. "Sympathy with the erstwhile royal house (Sailendras) was still in evidence in middle Java. There is reason to question the wisdom of having transferred the seat of government to middle Java, as it would have

¹H. R. p. 23 and 25.

²Pelliot p. 265.

³H. R. p. 62.

⁴*ibid* p. 62.

⁵H. R. p. 82.

⁶Krom p. 189.

⁷V. G. VII p. 97, 99 and 101.

⁸Krom p. 207.

been better to leave the government in east Java¹". Java attacked its arch enemy with success in 992 A.D. under king Dharmavamca Anantavikrama the successor of king Sindok's grandson (the borders of this kingdom are not known but probably comprised middle Java). The envoy to China mentions that his country was invaded by Cho-p'o in the winter of 992 A.D. It is natural that the Javanese king is attacked by San fo-ts'-i in 1006 A.D. after its restoration, and was killed by a punitive expedition led by Maravijayottungavarman who destroyed the Javanese *kraton*.²

Only 30 years later under his successor, king Erlanga, did the country recover, and freed itself from its enemies, because San-fo-ts'-i had left Java in peace, having its hands full because of the Cola invasions in 1023-4 and 1068 A.D. It must have been known in San-fo-ts'-i that Erlanga had assumed in 1019 A.D. the royal title of Sri Lokeçvara Dharmavamça Airlanga Anantavikramot-tungadeva, being also a close blood relation of San-fo-ts'-i former ruler.

There are no certain data about the relation between Erlanga and the Dharmavamça. The following supposition, so far not mentioned, will do much to clear up the final episode of the house of Sindok. Udayana I, a high priest, buried in 977 A.D. in Jalatunda (the Paraçara figure in the relief) had a son Dharmavamça by Mrgayavati (the Durgandini figure in the same relief). Mrgayavati, a genuine Satyavati, marries later the prince Cantanu-Makutavamça, grandson of Sindok and has by him the crown princess of Java-Mahendradatta, half-sister of Dharmavamça. She marries Udayana II, the son of Udayana I by a second wife. When it had to be decided who should mount the throne of Java, Dharmavamça claims it as eldest son of the queen. Udayana II goes with Mahendradatta to Bali, which was under the rule of Java. Their son, Erlanga, is by matrilineal descent, in the absence of nearer claimants the rightful heir. He can assume the title of his predecessors and through his mother that of the Içanavamça.³

Dharmavamça did not contribute to the dynasty of Sindok as Krom believed.⁴ This Dharma name was already borne by Balitung, Dharmodaya (907 A.D.), and by Sindok, Vikramadharma (929 A.D.). Dharma, Udaya and Vikrama are typical parts of

¹Krom p. 208.

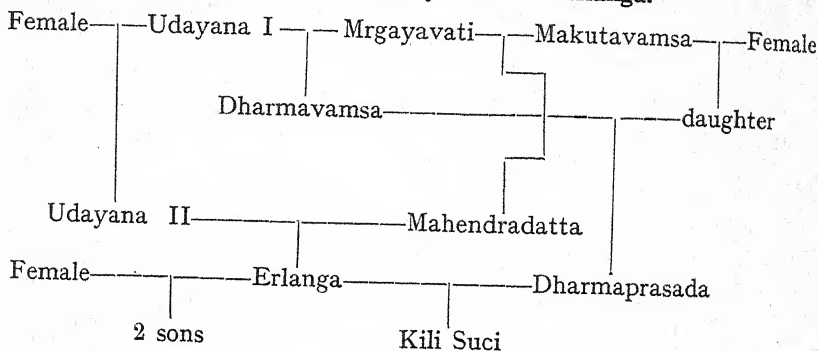
²Rouffaer believed in the identity of Wurawari with Johore and Stein Callenfels believes it to be Srivijaya (read San-fo-ts'-i); Krom believes that a Wurawari was supported by Srivijaya against Java.

³The second woman in the empire of Erlanga must have been the daughter of Dharmavamsa by a half-sister of Mahendradatta. For this Dharmaprasadottungadevi Erlanga erected the Srivijayacrama. By her he had a daughter who is mentioned in legend as Kili Suci for whom he built a splendid monastery at Pucangan; he ended his life as a monk in Gandhakuti under the legendary name of Resi Gentayu.

⁴Krom p. 225.

middle Malay names of kings; for instance, Rudravikrama (742 A.D.) and the last kings of Śrīvijaya and the many Udayas of Malay dynasties. The kings of middle and east Java were proud of their Dharma names because they claimed relationship with the south Indian Pallavas (Dharmarajas). This name occurs first in Java after the conquest of Śrīvijaya by San-fo-ts'i at the end of the 9th century. It is possible that the Indonesian relatives of the Pallavas were descended from the dynasty of Śrīvijaya, some members of which were exiled to east Java and Bali.

Below is the Family Tree of Erlanga.



The blood feud between San-fo-ts'i and Java, from which island the Sumatran Dharmavamça sprang up head again, is understandable. When San-fo-ts'i had its hands free after quite the Cola wars it remained content until its extinction in 1178 A.D. with the possession of Sunda, a state of affairs which Tchao Jou-koua reports in 1225 A.D. He further reports that Jong-yalou (Jangala) or Ta Cho-p'o (Great Java) borders on the west on Ta-pan (Tuban ?)¹ and this again on Su-ki-tan and it would seem that he uses Jangala for the coast of the great Javanese empire which is known by that name. This "Java Major" is the empire of the heirs of Erlanga. It is probably also the name for Java, of which Marco Polo heard and which he uses as counterpart to "Java Minor" which comprises Acheh, the Jawa of Arab geographers, and which Eredia calls by the same name.

¹H. R. p. 84.

III KATAHA.

(with maps No. I, II and III).

This empire, whose geographical position will be determined, was referred to in a Tamil inscription at Tanjore in 1030 A.D. as Kadara ; in the Sanskrit part of the well known " great charter of Leiden " of 1044-1046 A.D. as Kataha, and in the Tamil part thereof as Kidara. Coedès concluded, on account of the two similar sounding names of the two kings named in this inscription and on account of two rulers mentioned in the Sung annals (960-279 A.D.) as kings of San-fo-ts'i, that these two empires were identical: Kadara and San-fo-ts'i.¹ From the following chapter we will gather that this identity lasted only from the 9th to the 12th century. The names Kataha and Kidara do not denote the same native name philologically: so Ferrand opines, contrary to Coedès,² saying: " they are two different countries " ³; this seems rather exaggerated in view of the epigraphic evidence of the great charter of Leiden. In the Sanskrit part Maravijayotungavarman is king of Kataha (and Srivijaya), in the Tamil text of the same inscription he is king of Kidara (?), Ferrand's philological objections to the identity of Kataha and Kidara are disproved as follows. He believed, as did Coedès,⁴ that a systematic transfer of geographic names took place not only in India but also in the archipelago. He should have concluded from the phonetic dissimilarity of the name that a foreign name (Kataha) had been brought over to the new seat of government which already had a native name—the Tamil seafarers called it Kadara or Kidara. The following accounts facilitate the possibility of the transfer of the name Kataha to Kidara. The commentary upon the old Tamil poem Cilappadhikaram⁵ mentions " akil kidaravan ", the aromatic aloe wood of Kidara, specially famed among the four aromatic kinds of wood of the archipelago. The second instance is the comical story in the Kathasaritsagara of the rich merchant who sent his slow-witted son with a cargo of precious aloe wood to Kataha and learned afterward that his son had turned it into charcoal to make it saleable because the precious aromatic wood was unknown in Kataha ! At the time when this story was written Kataha, which did not know about this aromatic wood, could not be identical with Kidara which produced aloe wood. The acceptance of the transfer precludes the supposition that a different empire had borne the name Kataha

¹Coedès p. 7.

²Coedès mentions the similarity of the meaning of Kataha and Kidara ; " stove, copper kettle " (same p. 20).

³Ferrand J. As. 1919 p. 186.

⁴Coedès believed that a very well known name in India has been used (p. 20) " Kataha is known and used in India and therefore Kataha is not only a translation of Kidaram ".

⁵Aiyangar, Some contributions of south India to Indian culture, p. 345.

previously ; as Sailendras had ruled there as they did in the new Kataha, we may safely conclude that the new empire was in a sense a continuation of the old one in a new place. Where should we seek for these two empires ?

A century before the above-mentioned princes of the Sailendravamça of Kadara, one of this dynasty was known :— Balaputra (10th and 11th century), who according to the charter of Nalanda was king of Suvarnadvipa and descended from the Sailendra ruler of Yavabhumi.

One century earlier there was a ruler of that dynasty in Java according to inscriptions found in that land. As other Sailendra dynasties are not known there were four kingdoms where they ruled Kadara, Suvarnadvipa, Yavabhumi and Java. Kadara must be localized in Suvarnadvipa, so that there were only three Sailendra kingdoms. According to the first chapter, the grandfather of Balaputra was ruler of Java according to the Nalanda inscription. If in the end it appears that these last Sailendras took their name from the Javanese Sailendravamça, it is evident that the latter Sailendras of Kadara descended from or were relatives of those of Java ; and Java thus is the homeland of this Buddhistic ruling dynasty.¹ Here they built their Barabudur, the great Sailendra monument, their " dynastic " mountain, the " Sailendra ", where Vamçakara their mythical ancestor, the Buddha Sailendra was symbolically buried. The double meaning of Sailendra denoting " dominating mountain " and " lord of the mountain ", as " Meru " (or stupa) and therein magically present (buried) " Buddha ", will not be discussed here.

It is certain that the dynastic monument was the first of all the ritual buildings completed. The Barabudur must be older than the Tjandi Kalasan which was built on account of the Sailendras by Panankaran the successor of Sanjaya in 778 A.D. ; the great work of the stupa must have been completed long before the Sailendras left Java in the 9th century—one of the later Javanese Sailendras had the Barabudur rebuilt, as Bosch mentioned in a speech in Djocka—so that for technical reasons the building of the Barabudur took place long before 778 A.D.²

¹It is not contended that the newly formed dynasty was of Javanese origin. Stutterheim mentions in his *Javanese Period In Sumatran History* (1929) that Java was the leading empire in the archipelago on account of its numerous Buddhist monuments from the 8th and 9th centuries, and not Palembang. He contradicted thereby the hypothesis of Krom's speech in 1919. Coedès (Inscr. Mal. de Śrīvijaya p. 30) agrees with S. " the complete absence of archaeological remnants in Palembang is a mystery which demands solution ". On account of relationship of the rulers of Śrīvijaya and the Sailendras of Java Krom supports this theory (same p. 57). We shall see later that neither the Sailendras of Java ever ruled over Sumatra in the glorious time of Buddhism, nor Śrīvijaya ever ruled over the Sailendras of Java, but the rule of the Sailendras of Katāha was made possible over Śrīvijaya after they had left the distant provinces of Java and settled near the great sea trade routes.

²Krom p. 152 made the same suggestion.

To make it acceptable that the Java of the Barabudur was called Kataha and the transferred Kataha lay in Suvarnadvipa, this name transfer as well as the continuity of the Sailendra dynasty has been shown beyond much doubt. The Sailendras had erected their magic Olympus in Java at the foot of the Menoreh mountains, the southern gate to the bowl-shaped valley, surrounded by the mountains of Prahu and Ungaran to the north, to the west by the Sendara and Sumbing and on the east by the Telamaya, Merbabu and Merapi.¹ It should not surprise us if this bowl-shaped valley, (in size similar to the old province Kedu) bore the Sanskrit name of Kataha, meaning bowl-shaped valley; and the name Kataha was related to the native name Kedu in a phonetic and etymological sense.

And would it be so illogical if the rulers of this land surrounded by mountains, took the name Sailendra for their vamça after the "first of the mountains", their dynastic mountain? Majumdar arrives at the conclusion (*Sailendra Kings of Suvarnadvipa*) that Java must be regarded as the mountain of the Sailendras,² and his hypothesis that Java was our Java first and later Malaya, (of which the opposite is the truth) leads him accidentally to the right conclusion: "the seat of authority of the Sailendras was transferred toward the 9th and 10th century A.D. from Java to the Malay Peninsula". Finally he accepts the hypothesis: "the Malay Peninsula must have been the original country of the Sailendras and the seat of the vast empire over which they reigned".³

That Java should have borne the name of Kataha since older times may be deduced from the collection of stories Kathasaritsagara by Somadeva which Vogel has translated and which, according to him, date from the 11th century and older sources.⁴ Ferrand derives from these the name Kataha in his discussions of Coedès' *Srivijaya*.⁵

¹Enc. Ned. Ind. Kedoe.

²BEFEO XXXIII p. 139. He bases his hypothesis on erroneous reasons. In the first place Rakai Panankarana the successor of Sanjaya is no Sailendra. Neither is it sure that Samaragravira of the Nalanda document should be the same as Samarottunga of Kedu (874 A.D.) and even if this was so neither is the latter a Sailendra. Bosch proved clearly that both rulers had nothing in common with the noble Vamsa as Stutterheim believed. These were no Sailendras, and also not the rulers of Srivijaya, as proved by the writings of Majumdar and the inscriptions at Ligor. (p. 126-8).

³*ibid* p. 140. The proofs which Majumdar suggests are not convincing. Against the short Sailendra-inscription of Ligor (added to the document of Srivijaya sometime after 775 A.D., read: probably shortly after 873 A.D.) there are the older inscriptions of Kalasan and Klurak (778 and 782 A.D.) in Java. Against the argument of Wilkinson there stand the numerous Sailendra monuments of Java. Finally the Sailendras of Java had long been silent when the Sailendras of San-fo-ts'i play an important role in the history of the archipelago.

⁴Vogel, *Srivijaya* p. 632. Probably too the Brhatkatha which goes back to the time of the Guptas of the 5th century so that the story cycle could very well contain references to Java of the time of the Sailendras (700-850 A.D.).

⁵J. As. 1919 p. 182 and 185.

The Hinduized island Kātāha, "the home of felicities", has a king called Gunasagara, married to a sister of the ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa. His daughter married an Indian prince, called Vikramaditya, the legendary king of the seven kingdoms, the king of Ujjayini. This is not the founder of the Vikrama era which begins 58 B.C. He is also not the later classic Vikramaditya (Candragupta II 375-413 A.D.) who conquered in the 4th century Ujjain though he had "a better claim than every other sovereign to be regarded as the original of the mythical king of that name, who figures so largely in Indian legends".¹ The kingdom of Kātāha in the archipelago was many centuries younger. The bride-to-be had to pass Suvarṇadvīpa on her journey from Kātāha to India, thus travelling from east to west; it therefore follows that Kātāha lay to the east or southeast of Suvarṇadvīpa. That then the golden island represented Malaya is very probable.² The bride must have passed the dangerous Straits of Malacca; she suffered shipwreck, but was saved by the king of Suvarṇadvīpa who heard that the shipwrecked woman was his sister's daughter. In the following legend it is confirmed that Suvarṇadvīpa represents Malaya.

A Brahmin from India who travelled through the archipelago looking for his children passes the following countries: first he goes across the sea to the large and beautiful cocoanut island—Hiuan-tsang knows the same Narikeladvīpa in 645 A.D. from hearsay with the four mountains Mainaka, Vrsabha, Cakra and Balahaka. He then comes to the island Kātāha, then to the Camphor island and finally travels *via* the Golden Island (Suvarṇadvīpa) to Ceylon. Suvarṇadvīpa is identical with Malaya as the starting point for Ceylon; Sumatra appears under the name of Camphor island (since early centuries a famous product of Baros). In the following chapter it will be proved that Kalaṇḍapura (which according to legend was situated in Suvarṇadvīpa) is Patani and Suvarṇadvīpa must represent Malaya. Kātāha, which is to the east or southeast of Malaya, according to this report, can only be Java.³ Ferrand⁴ believed it to be either in Java, the Philippines or Celebes. He believed that Borneo was the Camphor Island (according to Tchao Jou-koua). This latter author mentions as camphor producing lands P'o-ni or F'o-ni (Brunei on W. Borneo), and Pin-su (Arab, Fancur, possibly Baros on Sumatra).⁵ "It is also found in San-fo-ts'i, but that is only because it is a port for foreign

¹Smith, Early Hist. of India 4th edition 1924 p. 306.

²And not Sumatra as Ferrand believed and that only on account of his wrong identification of Kātāha with Śrīvijaya or Palembang. Further proofs will follow.

³Compare the same sounding Chinese name P'o-li (Java) with Ho-ling in Malaya.

⁴J. As. 1919 p. 185.

⁵H. R. p. 193 and 194.

trade, where goods of all kinds are stored for shipment abroad", adds Tchao. It is natural that 5—6 centuries earlier (during the time of Kathasaritsagara) only Sumatra can be meant, because at that time only camphor from Baros was famous.

The Leang annals speak already of camphor from P'o-lu (Baros) 505-556 A.D.¹ The territory where camphor grows in Sumatra is according to Enderst as follows: "on the west coast Singkel up to Aerbangis, on the east coast south of the Rokan river to the north of Batanghari".² In past times this land must have been much more extensive. Marco Polo reports that camphor trees grew in Acheh (Lambri). The trees were cut down to obtain the camphor and this explains their scarcity later. Laufer mentions that Chinese sources report that camphor was obtained in south Sumatra at P'o-li³ and was called *ku-pu-p'o-lu* or *kapur-barus*. Ferrand concludes: "Kataha of the inscription of Cola and the Kathasaritsagara does not answer any given description.⁴ Karpuradvipa . . . does not appear in the story". As an example Ferrand takes the Karpuradvipa of the Thousand and One Nights. "The characteristics of this island of camphor are mixed impressions from all over the archipelago of India" and he adds "particularly Sumatra".⁵ He did not arrive at the evident conclusion that Sumatra was the camphor island in question.

The Cocoanut island is more difficult to define, because this nut grows all over the archipelago. We must try to find an island with four large mountains, which lies from India "across the seas", and whose name should since olden times be coupled with cocoanuts. Though it is not certain, west Java answers best to this description, as it was known to the first East Indian seafarers under the name of "Sunda Calappa", even before it was called Jacatra; further it is proved that despite "contrary currents, changing winds and calms" in those centuries the Straits of Sunda were navigable.

The existence of the kingdoms Taruma and Malay on both sides of the Straits during the 5th to 7th centuries is justified by the foregoing. The journey of the Brahmin must have been: "over the ocean" to west Java (Cocoanut island), from there to middle Java (Kataha), Sumatra (Camphor island), and Malaya (Golden island) and back to Ceylon. There is nothing improbable in the above, and its probability is evidenced in the following.

The story of the Kathasaritsagara with the name Gunasagara for a king of Kataha supplies further evidence for the identification of Java with Kataha. The Sui annals mention the

¹Pelliot p. 341.

²Heyne, *Nuttige Planten Van Nederl. Ind.* 2nd Vol. II p. 1100.

³Sino Iranica p. 478-9. He likens P'o-li to Bali.

⁴J. As. 1919 p. 185.

⁵*ibid* note 3.

name of the king of Java (P'o-li) as Hu-lan-na-po.¹ This name is the regular Chinese transcription of the Sanscrit name Gunarnava and is synonymous with Gunasagara of the legend cycles. There is, however, an anachronism present, inasmuch as Gunarnava being king of Java, it was still called after his capital Pati (P'o-li) whilst only a century later the Sailendras named it Kataha.

It is also possible that the Kathasaritsagara referred rightly to this later Kataha (700-850 A.D.), and the only anachronism consisted in mentioning Gunarnava as king of Kataha. We return to the question of the Indian king Vikramaditya, whom the king of Kataha had chosen as son-in-law. In southern India the Calukya dynasty flourished during the times of Po'-li and Kataha. This dynasty lived in feud with other rulers, like the king of Kalinga to whom the Gunarnava belonged.

The Calukya dynasty brought forth in the 7th and 8th century two Vikramadityas who each in turn conquered not Ujjain but Kanci the famous capital of the mighty Pallavas—in 674 A.D. Vikramaditya I, and in 740 A.D. Vikramaditya II. If the first ruler is meant in the Kathasaritasagra—he ruled from 655 A.D.—then the kings of the “Arnava” dynasty of P'o-li (possibly a second Gunarnava) were still ruling. If Vikramaditya II was meant, then the Sailendras ruled already in Kataha, and the Sailendra ruler mentioned, or better still his vassal Sanjaya,² could have been married to the sister of the contemporary king of Bruas and his daughter married to Vikramaditya II for reasons of politics and commerce. We shall never know the exact truth; there are reasons to believe that Java was called Kataha during the Sailendra times and that Kataha meaning San-fo-ts'i on Suvar-nadvipa, the new Sailendra empire in Malaya, derived its name from the Javanese.

Before we undertake a closer localization of this Kataha or San-fo-ts'i it may be useful to examine the relationship between the ruling dynasties of the archipelago and the Dekhan. For instance, royal names containing “Arnava” (Gunarvana, Dana, Rama, Kama, etc.) are typical names of the Ganga-Kalinga dynasty³ and the second is known about the same time in the Kalinga kingdom 600 A.D. as Gunarnava in Java, according to Chinese reports of 618 A.D.

¹Notes p. 205 and 207.

²The Sailendras tried to find support in the Buddhistic Bengal of the Pala rulers—as we know.

³The historical data in this essay concerning the Ganga-Kalinga dynasty is taken from Subha Rao, J. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc. Vol. V-VI; for the Calankayana we refer to the studies of Subha and Lakshmana Rao of the same periodical Vol. I p 92 and Vol. V p. 20 and Sircar in Ind. Hist. Quart. IX and X p. 208 and 780.

This Ganga-Kalinga dynasty could only spread its wings after the fall of the Guptas, towards the end of the 5th century. From their capital Simhapura near the present Chicacole south of Kalingapattam they had a bitter fight against south Kalinga. First they fought against the Calankayanas—by this dynasty known since Panini (4th century B.C.) are possibly meant the Naga rulers who according to Buddhist chronicles ruled over the Kalinga land in Açoka's times—and half a century later against the Visnukundin dynasty, who expelled the Nagas in south Kalinga and in Vengi, the bordering delta plain of the Krisna and Godavari rivers. The south Indian "two stream land", if I may use that expression, is important because of its overseas trade with the west coast of the Dekhan and the archipelago; it was always the bone of contention between the succeeding dynasties of the neighbouring kingdoms; although the Visnukundins maintained themselves, they were evidently forced to abandon their stronghold in south Kalinga for Denduluru in the heart of Vengi. Only when the eastern Calukyans in their turn drove them out in the 7th century did this new dynasty again build its capital in south Kalinga at Pistapura, close to the coast, directly to the north of the Godavari delta 80 miles N.E. of Vengi. This proved, however, not sufficiently safe for Calukya; at first they transferred their capital from Pistapura to Vengi, then they returned to south Kalinga and finally settled in Rajamahendri, also to the north of Godavari but farther upstream than Pistapura.

When the Ganga-Kalingas flourished in the 6th century Kalinganagara became their new capital, later (at the beginning of the 7th century) called Dantapura; under this name royal edicts were proclaimed from Kalinga till the middle of the 11th century.

The classical Dantapura, where Buddha's Tooth had been brought to, is the capital Simhapura according to the Jataka and the Ceylonese Buddhist chroniclers. Historically this does not seem correct because this Dantapura must have been in the land Kalinga (ruled by Nagas), or perhaps in Andhradeça (according to Siamese chronicles) where the same Nagas had ruled since the times of Açoka.

The pre-Christian Pistapura in southern Kalinga may have been the Dantapura of Buddhist tradition more likely than the 7th century Dantapura of the Ganga-Kalinga; the latter lay apparently on the Vamçadhara river not far from the capital Simhapura which city is as old as Pistapura. The latter circumstance contributed toward the confusion between the two capitals of Kalinga in Buddhist tradition.

In 609-10 A.D. the Calukya ruler Pulakecin II conquered Kalinga and attacked Kalinganagara; the country was in an uproar and this led Gunarnava, descendant of the Ganga-Kalinga, to migrate. Some years later in 618 A.D. he was mentioned as ruler of middle Java (P'o-li).

Let us trace the descendants of the Sanjaya family. The Java inscription of 732 A.D. mentions their country of origin as Kunjarakunjadeça. Before we locate this land let us eliminate the erroneous opinion that Sanjaya's Agastya cult was the same as that of the rulers of Dinaya of east Java. This theory of Bosch¹ is based only on the supposition of Kern that Kunjarakunjadeça was identical with Kunjara, where "A mountain was created by Çiva and a residence for the Prophet Agastya".² This mountain lay on the border of Travancore and Tinnevely in the old Pandya land. Nilakanta Sastri bases thereon his hypothesis that Sanjaya was a Pandya.³

This Sanjaya inscription does not mention Agastya worship, so that if the land Kunjarakunja lay elsewhere than Kern supposed, the position of Agastya on the Wukir is doubtful. The supposed hypothesis of a cult transfer to Dinaya (where an inscription was found from which Bosch derived an Agastya worship) is based on a misinterpretation of Chinese texts which mention the transfer of the capital of Cho-p'o to the east; they refer to a transfer from Kedah to Bruas and not from Mataram to Malang.

Kunjarakunjadeça (land of elephants) is a synonym for the original country of Sannaha and Sanjaya, both presumably *biruda* for confused royal names. The Sanskrit for ivory or tooth is *danta* and Dantapura is the name for the old capital of Kalinga where Buddha's relic was worshipped until it was transferred to Ceylon in 313 A.D. according to Siamese chronicles. No accurate details regarding the latter are available. According to the writer of the Dathavamça⁴ this took place in the 4th century during the rule of Kitti-siremegha, a Ceylon prince who sent an envoy to Samudragupta about 360 A.D.

When King Siri Meghavanna⁵ began his rule in 352 A.D. the Tooth was still on the continent. According to Ceylonese tradition the relic was brought from Dantapura to a *stupa* near Vajra—sandy land on the Andhra coast.⁶ By this temple (*stupa*) only the one discovered by Rea in Ghantacala dating from the 1st century and located in the east of Masulipattam on the Krisna delta⁷ could be meant.

Ghantacala is probably identical with the place mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century—Kantikossyla⁸ a port in a W.E. direction at the mouth of the river Maisolos (Krsna). Vogel believed this to be Kantakasela (2nd and 3rd century inscriptions

¹T. G. B. LXIV p. 227, 275, etc. Krom, Nilakanta Sastri and Chhabra endorse this suggestion.

²V. G. VII p. 122.

³T. B. G. 1935 p. 611.

⁴S. Lévi, J. A. S. 1925 p. 47.

⁵Smith, Early Hist. of India p. 303.

⁶*ibid* p. 396.

⁷S. Ind. Buddh. Ant. p. 32.

⁸Jouveau Dubreuil, Anc. Hist. of Deccan. p. 88.

of the Iksvaku dynasty, found near Nagarjunakonda).¹ A famous Buddhist, Bodhisiri, had erected a *mandapa* there for Ceylonese monks for whom also numerous pious shrines were erected near Nagarjunakonda. These facts point to a brisk trade in those times between Kantakasela and Ceylon and the growth of the hinayanist cult in the valley of the Krisna river.² In the 3rd century the Ćivaite Pallavas vanquished the Iksvaku dynasty³ and when the Buddhist Brhatpalayanas were conquered it became time to take the precious relic into safety in Ceylon.

According to Buddhist chronicles the original Dantapura lay near a large river to the north of the Tooth temple (*stupa*), the Ghantacala, within the Kalinga kingdom. Very likely we should locate it at the other side of the border river Godavari, and this could only be at Pistapura of Kalinga, near the Koringa hill and near the northernmost Godavari delta branch. This agrees with Pliny's statement that the hills of Calington (Koringa) and the city of Dandaguda or Dandagula (Dantapura) lay near the southern border of Kalinga at the same distance from the Ganges delta, on the Godavari.⁴

¹Ind. Ant. LXI p. 187.

²*ibid.* Along the upper reaches of the Krisna river near the Tungabhadra the largest part of the southern Indian edicts (known through Acoka) are found (p. 39-40); on the lower reaches Buddhism flourished uninterrupted until 500 A.D. under the Kandara dynasty which was superseded by Ćivaishish Visnukundins.

³It is generally supposed that the Iksvaku dynasty then vanished. It is possible that the Kadambas were descendants of the Iksvaku—the Cutus (ancestors of the Kadambas) as well as the Iksvakus descend from the Catavahanas. On the inscriptions of Mulavarman of Kutei names were used which point to relationship with the Iksvakus, based on an anonymous fugitive Aiksvaku Rajaguru. Would the ancestor Kundunga otherwise be compared with Bhagiratha, son of Sagara, the famous king of the mythical Aiksvaku clan? Vogel dated the inscriptions 400 A.D., but remarked that "on the basis of palaeographic evidence only an approximate date can be assigned to those documents". He reckons them half a century older than the inscription of Purnavarman of Taruma, which Kern believes "to have been written about the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century". Mulavarman's inscriptions would then date from 350 A.D. If we allow three generations for Mulavarman's predecessors—75 years, Sagara must have come over in 300 A.D., which year would coincide with a quarter of a century after the supposed fall of the Iksvaku dynasty (270 A.D.). With so many contradictions to be reckoned with, it is only possible to suppose that the Kutei dynasty followed the fall of the Indian Iksvaku. It is interesting to trace the genealogical structure of Indian Brahmin Malay dynasties. Kundunga is identified with Bhagiratha's son Amçumant. In this epical family Amçumant is married to his half-sister Yaçoda. It is possible that Mulavarman could be the son of Açvavarman by his half-sister perhaps from a mother of pure Kaling blood. Why would there otherwise have been a hint of "pure Hindoo blood"?

⁴Rajamahendri, third capital of eastern Calukya which Cunningham identifies with Dantapura (Anc. Geogr. I p. 515-6) is of a younger date. Huan Tsang visited Kalinga in 632 A.D. not mentioning its name which may have been also Pistapura which then was the capital of east Calukya. S. Lévi is of opinion that Paluru, the Paloura of Ptolemy (6 miles N.E. of Ganjam) is the old Dantapura, because the name Palur is the Telugu equivalent of Dantapura.

To know whether the kingdom of which Pistapura, alias Dantapura, was the capital is synonymous with Sanjaya's Kunjarakunjadēca we must investigate events in the two-stream land in the first half of the 7th century when the Sanjaya family was compelled to flee.

In the turmoil caused in the southern lands by the wars of Samudragupta in the middle of the 4th century, Mayuravarman, an illustrious Brahmin of Manavyagotra took the opportunity to conquer the forests of the Black Mountains (Nallamalais) in the Kurnool district south of the Krisna and founded his kingdom Āriparvata or Āriçaila. He was the first of the Kadamba dynasty which through marriage with neighbouring rulers played an important part in south Indian history.¹

The Kadambas always called themselves Haritiputra Manavyas, like the descendants of the Cutu dynasty on the west coast of the Dekhan, descendants of the Imperial Ātavahanas (Imperial Andhras).² The Kadambas were closely related to the Visnukundins, who in their turn were helped to the throne of south Kalinga and the Andhra lands by a ruler related to the Vakatakas, after his victory over the Calankayanas (middle 5th century). The Visnukundins had the same patron god as the Kadambas—Āiva, "the lord of Āri-Parvata"³ who is worshipped in many Kadamba temples in his linga form.⁴

Pulakecin II, the Calukya, whose dynasty settled only in 550 A.D. in Vatapi (the present Badami), fights the two allies and vanquishes them. He kills Bhogivarman, the last descendant of the first Kadamba dynasty and banishes the Visnukundins. He installed in 609-10 A.D. his younger brother Visnuvardhana I in Pistapura as Yuvaraja. He enlarged his territory to the south at the expense of the Visnukundins; he expelled them from Vengi in Andhradēca and their territory at the other side of Krisna, where they had settled in 500 A.D. after having expelled the Buddhist dynasty of Kandara.⁵ Later Visnuvardhana founded in 625 A.D. his own dynasty in east Calukya, with the consent of Pulakecin. His descendants chose in turn Pistapura, Vengi, and finally Rajamahendri as their capital.

It should occasion no surprise if members of the Kadamba dynasty, from whom the Sanjayas are descended and who were provincial governors of Pistapura under their Visnukundin sovereign who resided at Denduluru, left after all these events and crossed the Gulf of Bengal in the first half of the seventh century

¹See the complete history of this dynasty, Moraes, *The Kadamva-kula*.

²Jayaswal, p. 200.

³The famous Āiva temple on the Āriparvata is 50 miles S. W. of the Nagarjunakonda on the Krsna; it is a famous pilgrim place where until now festivities take place in summer.

⁴Moraes p. 315.

⁵J. Dubreuil, Amaravati. J. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc. V. p. 92.

in order to found a new dynasty in Cho-p'o (Kedah).¹ It becomes evident then that the T'ang annals gave Cho-p'o (627-649 A.D.), the new name of Ho-ling.² This name is the Chinese transcription of the Sanscrit Kalinga, the name which the Sanjaya family brought over from the country of their origin: south Kalinga. The inscription of 732 A.D. describes it as Kunjara—kunjadeca, "abounding in holy places":³ Dantapura, Ghantacala, etc. Yü-tsing mentions that in Ho-ling of the 7th century the hinayana flourished (in his account of the Chinese monk Hwui-ming who lived at that place in 645-8 A.D.)⁴—this was also the case in south Kalinga and Andhradeca after the Buddha's Tooth relic had been brought over from Ceylon. Already two centuries earlier Buddhism flourished in Cho-p'o,—witness the inscription of Buddhagupta and the report about the monk Gunavarman. The capital of the new Ho-ling was Cho-p'o, according to the new T'ang annals;⁵ this was Kedah, as we have seen.

This transferred Kalinga sent, according to annals in 640 and 648 A.D. envoys to China.⁶ Within a quarter of a century the Sanjayas had established themselves in the new country after their flight from south Kalinga, probably in conjunction with the dynasty of Fou-nan. In 674-5 A.D. we read of queen Sima of Cho-p'o; after that Sannaha "ruled very long in her own rights"; according to verse 8 of Sanjaya's inscription. Finally Sanjaya is followed by the son of Sannaha's sister⁷ who rules until the forces of Srivijaya evict him and he escapes to Java. Kern mentions that the letter type of the Sanjayas "was closely related to those used in the 5th to 10th centuries in Lakinga and Andhra (Wenggi)", or more generally in that part of the Dekhan "where at present the Kanarese-Telegu writing is used"⁸ and he specifies: "that the land between Godawari and Kistna is responsible for the present script".⁹ All this tends to prove the origin of the Sanjayas from Pistapura—Dantapura. It would not be strange that the same script should, through the influence of Fou-nan, be used in the inscriptions of Hanh Khie (Camboja),

¹This exodus followed shortly after that of Gunarnava from Kalinganagara. These two sought different countries of refuge (Malaya and Java) because the Visnukundins and Ganga-Kalingas were enemies. When Sanjaya finally reaches Java he finds that this is under the rule of the descendants of the Sailendras, enemies of Kadambas. Even after two centuries this feud is still alive when the Cailendras are forced to leave Java.

²Notes p. 139. During this period Ho-ling sent simultaneously with T'o-p'o-teng and Tu-ho-lo envoys to China.

³Compare the new interpretation of this passage of Chhabra, J. Gr. Ind. Soc. III p. 173.

⁴Krom. p. 107.

⁵Pelliot p. 225.

⁶*ibid* p. 236.

⁷Following the suggestion of Vogel: Chhabra, "Expansion of Indo Aryan Culture" p. 37.

⁸V. G. VII p. 117.

⁹*ibid* p. 125.

as Kern¹ maintains. The Souei annals mention that Java (P'o-li) had already the customs of Fou-nan in the 7th century; this would coincide with Bosch's statement that the writing of Java and Camboja had passed through a similar evolution by the 8th caka-century.

Sanjaya mentions in his inscription (verse 8) that Sinnaha was like a "Manu" and hints at family ties with the Manavya-gotra, like the Kadambas, so that like them he belonged to the Hartiputra-Manavyas. We may assume that the Tjandi Mendut 10 km. from Wukir (Sanjaya's mountain) is a building erected by Sanjaya, just as Tjandi Kalasan was built by Sanjaya's successor Panankaran. I mentioned previously in my article about Tjandi Mendut² that for iconographic reasons Hariti and her husband Pancika were portrayed above the main entrance. Sanjaya is Hartiputra; his mother, Sannaha's sister, poses as Hariti, and his unknown Malay father as the servant of Kuvera (a Sailendra ruler of Java?). This too over the main portal where in Buddhist temples usually are converted demons. The parents of Sanjaya however, are not known to have been converted;³ they may have died in Kedah. They were symbolical guardians of the mahayanist pantheon of the Sailendras and represented their Civaite son Sanjaya, the Haritiputra, whose duty it was as vassal of the Sailendras (as also of his successor Panankaran) to protect the Buddhist faith. In Kedah the hinayana was tolerated by the Sanjayas, and the Sanjayas in Java did not oppose the Mahayana either.⁴ All this proves that the Sailendras were established in Java before Sanjaya erected his linga in 732 A.D.

This is in opposition to the accepted opinion that they arrived during the latter half of the 8th century, after Sanjaya.⁵ This latter assumption is based upon the foundation record of Tjandi-Kalasan (778 A.D.), the first reference to Sailendra activities in Java.

Chinese of the 6th century referred to the land P'o-li as Ma-li, which I located in south Sumatra. Kaundinya was the Buddhist ruler of Ma-li in 517 A.D., which is mentioned in the report about his envoys to the Chinese court. The Leang annals state that his forefathers sprang from the land of the mother of Buddha,⁶

¹They emigrated at the time of Gunarnava or before on account of the turmoil in Fou-nan during the 6th century when the rulers of Fou-nan left for Ligor. Possibly Sanjaya followed the southward route to Java when leaving Cho-p'o.

²T. B. G. 1921.

³Dutch Ant. Report 1919.

⁴It is unnecessary to go so far as Stutterheim in his *Javanese Period* p. 7 that "the Buddhistic activity of central Java had to be attributed to one of those Mataram kings" (he meant Sanjayas) "and his followers however strange it may sound".

⁵Krom p. 130.

⁶Notes p. 204.

coming from the land of Koli in Nepal in northern India bordering on the land of the Cakyas. It is known that the Kaundinyas, an honoured Brahmin family, had in the time of the Imperial Andhra dynasty emigrated to south India, when the Catavahanas were compelled to leave Magadha during the 1st century under pressure of the Licchavis.¹ Nearly all south Indian ruling houses were related to these Kaundinyas because of the scarcity of pure Brahmins in those parts. They played an important part in the cultural development of the archipelago. I refer to the Civaite Kaundinyas of Champa and Camboja. The Buddhist Kaundinyas of Palembang were related to south Indian Kaundinyas, and probably the Kandara dynasty were of the Ananda-gotra, worshippers of Samyak-Sambuddha "the truly enlightened".²

Not much is known of this dynasty except that it ruled in the same territory as the Iksvakus of the 2nd and 3rd century. The latter had the capital on the Nagarjunakonda,³ the original Cri Parvata or Cricaila, on the southern banks of the Krisna, near the Holy Mountain of the Kadambas. On the Nagarjuna mountain were located the famous Buddhist monuments, discovered only a few years ago. Their architecture is related to the Amaravati—stupa, located farther downstream in the empire of the Iksvakus and Kandaras. There are indications that the Palembang Kaundinyas were related to these Kandaras.

The Visnukundins crossed the Krisna river in 500 A.D. and attacked successfully the Kandaras. After that the members of the Kandara family emigrated into the archipelago, with which they had maintained contact all the time, being a seafaring tribe. We hear of a Kaundinyas in Palembang in 517 A.D., and a statue of Buddha found there bears unmistakable resemblance to the Amaravati style. Does not all this prove that Buddhist Kaundinyas emigrated from the Continent from the empire of Cricaila? The new king of Palembang called himself a rsi of royal blood, and chose a "Cricaila" (Seguntang) for his residence, from which holy mountain he had descended to "rule in the plains".⁴

It is likely that this dynasty, which descended from the Buddhist mountain dynasty, was vanquished by Srivijaya in 683

¹Jayaswal p. 112 and 169.

²Hultsch, Ep. Ind. XVII p. 327-330.

³Jayaswal p. 171.

⁴The *Sajarah Malayu* connects this tradition with the far later Sang Sapurba (Trimurti Tribusana)—this reminds us of the 12th century Malayu ruler of Grahī,—son of Raja Suran (Cola ruler), who married a daughter of Demang Lebar Daun (Wilkinson Hist. of the Peninsular Malays, 3rd ed, 1923 p. 16). This indicates the existence of an older coinciding tradition, the discovery of the 6th century Buddha of Seguntang.

A. D. and emigrated to Kataha—middle Java.¹ This dynasty was reinforced by the mahayana through new "injections" from Gaudidvipa (Magadha) and flourished and founded a Meru, which surpassed the Cricaila in India and the Seguntang of Palembang—the "Sailendra Mountain" or the Barabudur stupa in the rich valley of Kedu. Possibly it derived its name from this mountain. This stage of the Sailendra emigration to the archipelago has been entirely obliterated in Malay tradition (Malay Annals, Hikayat Hang Tuah, etc.) The only tradition preserved is that they came from overseas, settled first in Palembang and later in southern Malaya. "Every Malay dynasty in southern Malaya claims descent from Sailendra kings who ruled in the Siguntang hill in Palembang...."²

From the foregoing we may conclude that the Sailendras arrived half a century before Sanjaya in Java and the construction of the Mendut by Sanjaya is very likely. It may have been built by Sanjaya in honour of his benefactors the descendants of the Sailendras, before he built his own Wukir temple, following his Sivaite belief.

Whereas the movements of the Sailendras are founded on historical information, nothing is known of Arnava dynasty, which they superseded at Pati. It seems that the Sailendras soon got the upper hand in middle Java, because they chose a favourable moment of attack.³ This success does not last long. Something happens to the Sailendra dynasty of Yavabhumī—Kataha, whereby they lose control over Java which falls to the descendants of Sanjaya. The Sailendras reappear at a new Kataha—San-fo-ts'i, which lay on the sea route from India to China. In 905 A.D. the Chinese report that San-fo-ts'i was well established (though no

¹To this day in middle Java (independent states) the rulers are surrounded by women carrying ampilans. This reminds us of the Kaundinyas of Palembang who "sat on a golden throne with a silver footstool, surrounded by female attendants, garbed with golden flowers and other precious decorations. Some wear white camaras and fans of peacock feathers". (Java. lar badak). So the Leang annals report (Notes p. 204) and Rademacher writes in 1824 (Sumatra) of the king of Palembang: "according to Eastern rites he is served and attended to by females". This Caka tradition existed also at the court of the Candragupta, if we may believe Megathenes, who writes of the court of Jogja: "Women are more trusted than men. They were the ruler's bodyguard. They surrounded him on hunting expeditions, some in carriages, some on horseback. . . . They served as soldiers, fully equipped with arms. . . ." They were called in Jogja Prajurit Langenkusuma.

²Wilkinson, J. Mal. Br. R. As. XIII p. 8. "We do not find this tale in north Malaya or in Pasai" (p. 9) and also Winstedt, Hist. of Malaya p. 25 (M.B.R.A.S. 1935).

³The Ganga-Kalingas and the Visnukundins had always fought for the possession of south Kalinga and the Kandaras were driven from their territory by the Visnukundins. So it is possible the history of their dynasties in (British) India had prepared a way for an understanding?

Sailendras are mentioned yet) and despatched envoys to China.¹ The inscription of Nalanda (860-890 A.D.)² mentions that the period after the Sailendras left Java was a dark page in their history.

Bosch doubts the information in the aforementioned regarding Balaputra the ruler of Suvarnadvipa. Such disguised eastern records should be read and understood in their allegorical meaning. Out of the veiled flowery language the romance of Balaputra is clearly evident when one understands the biruda (innuendo). Let us examine the inscription, especially the second part, which deals with the genealogy of Balaputra.³

Balavarman, lord of Vyaghratatimandala (Pundravarddhana), near the Karatoya river, by the western border of Assam, was the intermediary between the Maharaja Balaputradeva of Suvarnadvipa and Devalpaladeva, the mighty ruler of Bengal, where Balaputra had founded his Buddhist monastery, for the maintenance of which he needed the income from five of his villages. Balaputra was the grandson of the king of Yavabhumi, the only one referred to in the inscription as a Sailendra. Balaputra was possibly also a Sailendra; a direct descendant of this Javanese king. I have shown that Suvarnadvipa was probably identical with Malaya south of the Isthmus. In Kataha—San-fo-ts'i (Coedès proved the identity of these two countries) there is mention of Sailendra rulers one century after Balaputra. It is very likely that these Sailendra rulers of Kataha descended from Balaputra. Balaputra must then have been the ancestor of the Malay dynasty and himself a Sailendra. Though not definitely stated, this may be derived from the Nalanda inscriptions. This would further go to prove the continuity of the Sailendra dynasty after their emigration from Yavabhumi—Kataha to Suvarnadvipa—Kataha, that is from Java to southern Malaya. Let us read the Nalanda inscription in an "Eastern manner".

Balaputra's father was Samaragravira, son of the Sailendra king of Yavabhumi, but not necessarily a Sailendra himself. He was like the four sons of Kunti and like Paracara. Among these sons of the polyandrous Kunti even Karna was not forgotten, the officially recognized bastard born to Kunti before her marriage to Pandu. Also the other three sons Yudisthira, Bhima, and Arjuna were no sons of Pandu but from the "gods", the euphemistic equivalent of the "priests", who with or without the consent of the ruler were instrumental in the procreation of children with the head wives. Paracara was also a bastard because he was not a son of his father Saudasa, but of the priest Vacistha with Saudasa's wife, Madayanti. Samaragra was not the real son of the

¹Srivijaya p. 17.

²Bosch gives this date T. B. G. p. 512. Possibly 890 A.D. is more correct than 860 A.D.

³Monographs of the Varendra Res. Soc. No. 1 Majundar, Nalanda copper plate of Devapaladeva p. 29.

Sailendra ruler of Yavabhumi, but the son of another by the ruler's wife. Samaragra had no Sailendra blood in him. Balaputra was descended (he mentioned that his grandfather was an "ornament of the Sailendras") not from Samaragra but from a real Sailendra-son of the king. So his mother Tara, the wife of Samaragra, must have had two husbands.

The inscription also says that Samaragra was Tara's son, as Buddha was that of Maya (not the son of Cuddhohana but of Indra a synonym for a rsi or purohita). This not being enough, he is compared with Skandha, son of Uma, not by her husband Civa, but by Agni. He was the "spiritual" son of his father—we should say a stepson, recognized as son.

From the description of Balaputra's mother his parentage is evident. Not only was she called Tara, but she was also like Tara, it is written. This classical Tara was not the Tara of Chandi Kalasan, as Stutterheim thought¹ but the wife of the two brothers Bali and Sugriva from the same mother Viraja by two different husbands. Tara, the daughter of the ruler Varmasetu of the Soma dynasty, was the wife of Samaragra and of his half-brother, an unnamed Sailendra prince (the crown prince?); possibly of both sons of the Ratu of the Sailendra ruler of Yavabhumi. Tara must have been already pregnant with Balaputra when she espoused Samaragra, if Balaputra's descent from the Sailendras is not to be doubted. One feels the drama which took place at the Java court of the Sailendras, the strife for life and death between the crown prince and the ambitious Samaragra which ended with the elopement of Tara. It is interesting to note the saying about these polyandrous wives: "Tara Mandodari tatha"² in order to understand the special mention in the inscription that Balaputra's mother, apart from her name Tara "was a Tara", which does not require further explanation for Eastern ears.

In order to eliminate all doubt, the marriage of Tara to Samaragra is compared with the case of Paulomi and Indra (Paulomi who was previously seduced by Anudlada, son of Hiranyakacipu),³ with that of Priti and Kama,⁴ with that of Parvati and Civa, and with that of Laksmi and Visnu (previously Laksmi had been united with Kuvera)⁵.

¹Javanese Period p. 10. Also the numerous other complications which arose from this identification by S. do not require further examination. Bosch (T. B. G. LXIX p. 141) declined to enquire further into it on account of chronological difficulties.

²Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India* p. 149 note 1. Mandodari lived with both brothers Ravana and Vibhisana.

³Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* p. 52.

⁴*ibid* p. 227.

⁵*ibid* p. 143.

This Tara must have been a full sister of Balavarman of Pundravardhana, because on account of this the king of Suvarnavipa receives, according to the inscription, the biruda of "Balaputra", the matriarchal son of "Bala(varman)". Varmasetu, the ruler with the Varman name, was also his father and probably also lord of Pundravardhana.

The rest of the inscription is not so easy to interpret. When there is a reference to the "knitted brows" of the Sailendra king of Yavabhumi, we may only conclude that he bore a name whereof "Indra(varman)" was part.¹ When we read further that after Samaragravira's victory over (the successor of) his stepfather of Yavabhumi, the Daitya's, that is his opponents (the Javanese dynasty) were bereft of Kṛṣṇa, it is easy to conclude that Bala(varman)—Kṛṣṇa had deserted the Javanese ruling house. Samaragra, however, had made sure of the support of the opposite side through Balavarman's sister Tara. Possibly the moral support from Bengal was a very real necessity; the Sailendra inscriptions of Java point clearly to its great influence (e.g. the use of the nagari writing,² the mention of gurus from Gaudidvipa, etc.) This may also have been one of the main causes of the gradual downfall of the Sailendra dynasty in Java, and the land gradually came entirely under the influence of the Sanjayas; this lasted until 927-8 A.D. when the dynasty of San-fo-ts'i claimed again their country of origin, but had to content itself with the destruction of the capital Medang of the Javanese rulers.

Let us examine the inscriptions of Purnavarman (west Java). Of the three inscriptions which mention the name of Purnavarman, the oldest is that of Tugu (Bekasih), wherein there is mention of large irrigation works during the 22nd year of his rule; the others, that of Jambu and Chi Aruteun refer to his cremation, as Vogel mentioned in his important publication about these inscriptions³ and to his craddha.⁴ The last is the latest of all three. Vogel dates the inscriptions for palaeographic reasons as 450 A.D.—no exact year being available—"but this is unsafe" (Kern)⁵—Kern dates it in 400 A.D.⁶ There is no difficulty to place this year about 425 A.D. If Purnavarman ruled for 25 years, he must have ascended the throne in 400 A.D. His grandfather, the rajarsi, the rsi of royal blood, must have landed about 350 A.D. in Java and with his son, who bore

¹Note the comparison with the Nalanda inscription: "When that king bent his brow in anger, the Fortune goddess of his enemies also collapsed along with their heart" (transl. Majumdar). Compare the Chikulla inscription of Vikramendravarman II (Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. V p. 197), "the dear eldest son of the Maharadja Cri Indrabhattarakavarman....who by the act of contracting his eyebrows scattered all claimants...."

²Bosch, T. B. G. 1928 p. 16.

³Publ. Ant. Serv. I p. 25.

⁴Jayaswal p. 248.

⁵Publ. Ant. Serv. I p. 34.

⁶V. G. VII p. 131.

the title of Gupta kings, Rajadhiraja, the west Java dynasty began about 375 A.D. If my identification of his kingdom is correct with that of the Chinese To-lo-mo, this dynasty lasted until 669 A.D. (the date of the last envoys to China), possibly until 686 A.D. (the date of the punitive expedition from Srivijaya) and so for about three centuries.

We may well ask what event on the Indian mainland caused the rajarsi to seek safety elsewhere.

Kern located this event by tracing the country through the script in use; he looked for it in the frequently mentioned "two stream land", between Godawari and Kistna¹—Vengi. The Vengi alphabet was used on copper inscriptions of two Calankayana princes.² From the inscription of the Allahabad column it is known that Samudragupta vanquished Hastivarman of Calankayana in 345 A.D. when the latter was joined against him by the Pallava prince Visnugopa of Kanci.³ Was the rajarsi, grandfather of Purnavarman related to Hastivarman, and was the Taruma dynasty of Calankayana origin?

The Calankayanas were exclusively Surya worshippers and honoured the Candrahaga river where Camba, Krisna's son, erected the first Surya temple in India, according to the Bhavisya-purana. In the west Java inscription of Tugu it is stated that Rajadhiraja (the son of Krsna the rajarsi) made this river pass Taruma (the capital) and thence seaward. The name of the river is derived from the dynastic god Surya. The Chi Aruteun inscription mentions that the feet of Purna were like those of (Surya)—Visnu. Kern disagreed with Pleyte disputing the supposition that Purna was a Visnuite. Why should Rajadhiraja not regard himself in the Tugu inscription as Camba, the son of Krisna, the Rajarsi and guru of the same inscription, thus conveying that his dynasty had a previous kingdom? His city (Camba) must have lain on the classic river Saura. Possibly the canal built by him "arnava" is identical with a drinking water and sewerage canal for his capital, diverted from one of the rivers leading into the Java sea, possibly the Gomati river.

The royal camp of his grandfather lay on this Gomati river, (meaning rich in cows, according to Kern).⁴ I believe it to be a play on "gosahasra", the sacrifice of a thousand cows on completion of the works, a reference to the name of the rajarsi, where in no doubt one of the numerous titles of Krisna-Gopala has been incorporated. Purnavarman relaid this river for 10 km. because the course laid for it by his grandfather menaced his own

¹V. G. VII p. 8.

²Vogel Append. 74 p. 218-9.

³Jayaswal, p. 139.

⁴V. G. VII p. 132.

camp. This relaying of the river is mentioned and compared in the Tugu inscriptions with that of his father. The camp lay presumably near Tugu where the inscriptions were found. The location of the capital Taruma remains unknown.

The worship of feet was important if one accepts the supposed relationship with the Calankayanas. Vogel mentions it ¹ but as he did not identify the west Java dynasty with the lords of Vengi, the peculiar custom of the Calankayanas escaped his notice. These princes were ardent worshippers of the feet of their fathers "bappabhattacharaka padabhakta", as mentioned in the inscriptions. Even of their dynastic god they only worshipped the feet.

I enclose a reproduction of an early bronze statue of a royal rsi with naked upper body without the caste-cord, with a sort of sarong, wearing the earrings of Aditi, with the sun diadem (kirita) in the high hair dressing and the four-leafed Crivatsa Jewel of Visnu. ²

Of this hollow cast statue, found in the Batavia district (the exact place is unknown) made in the Gupta-Amaravati style, it is possible that it represents a member of the Purnavarman dynasty, who like the Palembang dynasty borrowed their style from Vengi.

If the above conjectures are correct with regard to relations of the oldest dynasties with the Ikshvakus, the Calankayanas, the Kandaras and the Kadambas, we may conclude that the two stream land lay on the east coast of Dekhan, the cradle of the earliest culture of the archipelago.

In the light of the above new viewpoints, we may regard as proved that the Sailendras brought over their seat of government in the second half of the 9th century from Java—Kataha to Malaya—Kataha. Into this frame fits the fact that "in their number and greatness the Sailendra monuments of middle Java were not those erected by a subjugated people".³ The conclusion also fits in that Balaputra did not have to rely upon the fame of his grandfather, who was king of a conquered country "but of his own kingdom, called Java" (p. 143), without it being necessary "following Vogel, to assume that two Sailendra rulers existed—one a Chief and the other as second ruler from another branch of the dynasty" (p. 144). The Malay house types on the Sailendra monuments find an explanation.

¹Publ. Oudh-Dienst I p. 16-21.

²The third eye of Civa is not very clearly visible in the photograph, but did not Krsna worship Civa when praying for a son (Camba)? When we remember that Agni was the fire priest "whose law is that of the priests", forming the link between Civa and Visnu with Surya, may we not suppose that this statue represents saurabhakta, the rajarsi and guru (the priest magician of the Surya religion) mentioned in the inscriptions—Purnavarman's grandfather?

³Krom p. 124.

I do not know whether Ferrand was correct when he rejected Coedès' identification of Kataha—Kedah for phonetic reasons. Both names represent geographically two different places, as I will prove.¹ In any case is not the assumption of Coedès apposite with regard to the name given to Kataha by the Colas: "People usually are tempted to name a country after its people, the province, the river, or mountain which they encounter when penetrating into the country." In this case the country was not unknown to the conquerors. Coedès compared the Charter of Leiden with the later Song annals (960-1279 A.D.), wherein the Chinese used the name San-fo-ts'i for the double kingdom Kataha—Śrīvijaya, with Kataha as a sovereign state.² The Tamil inscription mentions only Kidara, wherewith the identity of San-fo-ts'i—Kidara (Kadara) is established.

It is believed that this state is referred to by the Arabs by the name Zabag or Zabaj,³ which I regard as the regular transcription of the name Yava.⁴

The identification of San-fo-ts'i with Zabaj is only partly right. For the older accounts this is not correct; in them Zabaj is the Ho-ling or Cho-p'o of the Chinese. In later accounts Zabaj refers to San-fo-ts'i, but is confused with Kadaram. This country at the end of the 9th century had its rule over Cho-p'o, and was no longer called Yava but Kataha or Kadaram (San-fo-ts'i).

Ferrand supplies us with sources for the identification of Jaba, Jawaga, Zabag and Zabaj.⁵ We must consider the geographical situation, when the capital was transferred from Kedah to Bruas on the northern delta of the Perak river.

Let us read the most detailed report about Zabaj written by Abu Zayd (916 A.D.) and let us remember the following facts:—that Balaputra, king of Suvarnadvipa thought it necessary between 860 and 890 A.D. to found a monastery for the subjects of his Sailendra empire at Nalanda; that in 873 A.D. the last envoys are mentioned from Cho-p'o—Ho-ling (*i.e.* from the kingdom Yava, with its capital Baruas); that in 904 A.D. the new kingdom San-fo-ts'i sent its first envoys to China.

¹I shall refer later to Coedès' identification of Kedah with Ko-lo.

²Majumdar interprets as follows: "Both kings were considered as rulers of Kadara, which ruled over Śrīvijaya, but they were not kings of Śrīvijaya." Coedès mentions the conquests of Rajendracola I in Kadara: "it is probable that the numerous countries mentioned were vassal states of the king of Kadaram, or merely cities and provinces of his country."

³Chavannes p. 36 and Gerini p. 557 brought this point up. And Coedès believed it to be "very likely". (p. 128).

⁴Majumdar, Kingdom of Kira, Ind. Hist. Quart. IX p. 11 "Amba" (Jav. manga) transcribed in Arabic with "ambaj", "Kira" with "al-Kiraj".

⁵Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques 1913.

Abu Zayd had never himself been to China or India ; he got his news secondhand, and he mainly strove to complete the writings of Sulayman (851 A.D.) who had visited India and China personally.¹

We may conclude that Abu Zayd, who wrote in the first half of the 10th century, describes the conditions in the unvanquished Cho-p'o during the middle of the 9th century, *i.e.* he copied the reports of Sulayman, adding only very recent news like the growing power of San-fo-ts'i. Sulayman did not praise Sribuza much, but made rather much of Kra (Kalahbar), which was subject to the king of Jawaga.² He only mentions casually the capital of the future San-fo-ts'i, which was a fresh water station, where frequent calls were made. It was then not very important. That he was silent about Sribuza I can only explain by his having passed it by. Abu Zayd, however, mentions Sribuza and also mentions that it was the property of the king of Jawaga, like Kra, whose king bore the name of Maharaja.³ This title of the king of Jawaga is mentioned by Ibn Khordadzbeh (844-848 A.D.), who could only have meant by it the king of Baruas ; he was a Buddhist⁴ and his kingdom the island of Bratayil of the Antichrist⁵ as we read in the last chapter.⁶ Abu Zayd tells of one of the "ancient kings" of this country, who vanquished and decapitated the king of Khmer; this enterprising king must have been an ancestor of the kings of Kedah—Baruas, because the rising kingdom of San-fo-ts'i could not boast of an "ancient king".

The Maharaja (of Baruas) owns, according to the same author, near his palace the "pond with golden shores" (according to the T'ang annals it belonged to king P'o-lou-kia-sseu) ; this was fed by a channel from the sea "an estuary resembling the Tigris river which passes Bagdad and Basra, and brings in salt water during the high tide and sweet water during the low tide",⁷ which can only refer to the silted up delta of the Perak river. When Abu Zayd adds to the writings of Sulayman that the subjects of the Maharaja embraced also Sribuza⁸—this is the oldest mention of Srivijaya by the Arabs—it becomes probable that he had heard of the Maharaja of Kataha and Srivijaya (San-fo-ts'i), the new power in Malaya. It becomes certain when he describes the new capital geographically and writes "it lies opposite China and between it

¹*ibid* p. 35 and 82.

²*ibid* p. 39 "All Jawaga obeyed one king".

³Ferrand p. 83.

⁴*ibid* p. 28.

⁵*ibid* p. 29.

⁶Mas'udi (943 A.D., a quarter of a century after Abu Zayd) copied this story verbatim, in the same way that he copied the story of the golden pond (Ferrand p. 93) and mentions the legend about the island of the Antichrist (same p. 100).

⁷Ferrand p. 84.

⁸*ibid* p. 83.

and China lies a month's journey by sea and even less when the wind is favourable."¹ This could refer only to the east coast of Malaya, or its southernmost point, in no case to Baruas, which lay on the west coast.

The conquest of Srivijaya by San-fo-ts'i must have taken place between 851 and 916 A.D., during the time of the writings of Abu Zayd and Sulayman. The Song annals mention that San-fo-ts'i despatched envoys in 904 A.D., and we may conclude that its conquest of Srivijaya took place before that, and from the latest date of the Nalanda inscription even before 890 A.D. The Sumatran Srivijaya would have existed independently during two centuries, from the end of the 7th century until the end of the 9th century.

After the conquest of Cho-p'o—Baruas the new Malayan empire ruled Sribuza (south and middle Sumatra) after 875 A.D. and acquired the "islands of Jawaga" (Kra and Baruas) and so the whole peninsula; it conquered Rami (north Sumatra) and the islands east of Sumatra and Malaya, as Mas-udi (943 A.D.) writes: "the islands of the seas of Kundrang and Campa".² When we read in Arab writings about the mighty Zabaj (after the time of Mas-udi), we can be sure that the information with regard to San-fo-ts'i—Kadaram has been digested, though it is possible that the older chronicles confuse Cho-p'o with Java (Jawaga). For instance we read in Wasif-Sah's-Abrege des Merveilles (1000 A.D.) about the "island of Jaba", on the Straits of Malacca,³ about the kingdom of the Maharaja, where there was the island of "hellish noises",⁴ and about the isles of "Jawaga", whereto belonged Sribuza. In Biruni's India (1030 A.D.) the islands of Jawaga are called Suwarndib or "Gold islands"⁵ or "the Gold land, because much gold is found by washing the soil of the island". And by that he means, according to the last chapter, Zabaj and Sribuza, although he speaks only of Zabaj that it "contains gold", and says nothing about Sribuza. As if emphasizing that he did not mean northern Malaya or Sumatra, Biruni writes (also Haraki in 1132 A.D.) that Kalah exported tin and Sribuza produced camphor.⁶ Also Edrisi (1154 A.D.) considers Sribuza as belonging to the islands of Jawaga;⁷ the island of Kra is said to have belonged to "a king named Jaba (a Hindi) or Indian prince"⁸ *i. e.* the Kaling prince of Cho-p'o! Ibn Khordadzhbeh reported the same three centuries earlier;⁹ when

¹*Ibid* p. 82.

²Ferrand p. 99-100. We shall discuss the sea of Kundrang later. Ib'n Sa'id (13th century) mentions these islands as "the endless number of islands, forming part of Zabaj to the S.E. of which lay Sribuza". (Srivijaya p. 70).

³*Ibid* p. 152.

⁴*Ibid* p. 153.

⁵*Ibid* p. 167.

⁶Srivijaya p. 65.

⁷Ferrand p. 174.

⁸*Ibid* p. 184.

⁹Ferrand p. 27.

it was indeed up-to-date. We could not accept it as referring to a ruler of San-fo-ts'i, as Cho-p'o sent envoys to China until 873 A.D. and had done so uninterruptedly since 802 A.D. Before the middle of the 9th century it must have been Cho-p'o which became master of the isthmus. We may take it that the Sailendras ruled there after 873 A.D. and they then placed the inscription upon the Srivijaya stone. Ibn Sa'id (13th century) referred to Sribuza as belonging to Zabaj and called it, justly, one of its largest islands, recounting that the length is twice that of the island belonging to the Maharaja—old Ho-ling—and one and a half times the breadth; he mentions the legendary gold pond, and also that its capital lay on the west coast of the island of the Maharaja, near a wide river mouth (which river came from the north)—all of which agrees with the four to five centuries older Baruas on the Perak river. It is not very strange that Idrisi's account should be three centuries out of date. When the obsolete accounts of Ibn Sa'id were written, San-fo-ts'i had already lost its hegemony over the archipelago.

That by Zabaj was meant old Ho-ling geographically is apparent from the following, which leaves very little doubt.¹ Al-Fakih (902 A.D.) writes of the Maharaja that (on his way to China): "there is nobody behind him because he is on the last island";² in my opinion Malaya closes in W.E. direction the island chain. In the same way writes Dimaski (1325 A.D.); according to him one meets the following islands in a W.E. direction:—Serandib (Ceylon) and Sribuza, "and afterwards the island of Zabaj...."³ According to Sulayman the island Rami (north Sumatra) is washed by the seas of Herkend (Gulf of Bengal) and Salahat (Straits of Malacca),⁴ Yakut says definitely (1224 A.D.) about Zabaj: "this island lies on the borders (eastern) of the land of India, behind the sea of Harkand" (not on it, because between the Gulf and Zabaj there is Sumatra and the Straits), and on the borders (eastern) of China".⁵ Abu Zayd (916 A.D.) sums up: "the large number of islands which at the same time (*i.e.* above and beside Zabaj) are in the possession of the Maharaja; he mentions north Sumatra or Rami, middle and south Sumatra or Sribuza, and northern Malaya, or "the maritime lands of Kalah"⁶ (Kra the famous tin land), so that the only choice for his Zabaj remains southern Malaya. Mas-udi (943 A.D.) says "that India borders on (read:—reaches) the empire of Zabaj;

¹It is possible, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, that there have been preserved still older reports about a still older Yava than Ho-ling, possibly about Fou-nan (before the appearance of the Kalinga princes in Kedah) which ruled over the Indo-China peninsula, including the Malay Peninsula.

²Srivijaya p. 55.

³*ibid* p. 73.

⁴Reinaud, Geography p. CDXIV. Is Herkend or Harkand not the Arab spelling of Arakhan on the west coast of Burma?

⁵Srivijaya p. 66.

⁶*ibid* p. 56.

that country separates China from India¹ by which he intends to convey that this very large appendix to the continent (it measures to the south of Kra 600 miles in length) constitutes a "halfway land" on the way from China to India.

"The land Khmer lies opposite Zabaj, just as Madura lies opposite Ceylon :² this 'opposite' of Masudi's must not be interpreted as W.E. but N.S. as Abu Zayd reports, *i.e.* that the countries lay on the same longitude, each on one side of the Gulf of Siam". "The distance between the two countries is 10 to 20 days in the direction north to south, or *vice versa*, 10 days with a favourable wind and 20 days with a medium wind".³ "The south China Sea forms numerous inlets on the coast of Zabaj", etc.⁴ Biruni (1030 A.D.) locates the islands of Zabaj in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean near China; on the opposite shore (western) of this supposedly enclosed inland sea lie the islands Zenj (Madagascar) and between Zabaj and Zenj lie the islands Rami (Sumatra) and Dybadjat (Ceylon with the Laccadive and Maldivé islands).⁵ Zabaj lay, according to him, to the east of Sumatra and could only have been Malaya.

From the above Arab reports it is clear that Sribuza and Zabaj (Śrīvijaya and Sambhoja) are two different countries, the former ruling the latter; as it is stated by Tchao Joukoua (1225 A.D.) that San-fo-ts'i and Pa-lin-fong (Palembang) were not the same countries but the latter was a vassal state of the former.⁶ The popular identification of Zabaj—San-fo-ts'i—Śrīvijaya—Palembang had better be discarded. Frequently Zabaj is supposed to be Cho-p'o—Ho-ling, sometimes also San-fo-ts'i; Pa-lin-fong, which was conquered by Śrīvijaya, falls to the victorious San-fo-ts'i. This condition prevailed until 1178 A.D., the last year that the Song annals mention San-fo-ts'i, though the chronicles continue until a period of a century after this.⁷ That San-fo-ts'i was in that year on the turning point of its power is evident from Tcheou K'iu-fei's information of that year that Cho-p'o (Java) had superseded it in commerce,⁸ and that it became unnecessary for

¹*ibid* p. 62.

²*ibid* p. 62.

³*ibid* p. 59.

⁴*ibid* p. 62.

⁵*ibid* p. 64-65 and Renaud, *Géographie*, p. CDVIII.

⁶Ferrand, *J. As.* 1919 p. 167 tries to excuse this, though he accepts the mention of Pa-lin-fong as a vassal of San-fo-ts'i as "somewhat unexpected". "Tchao Jou-koua uses San-fo-ts'i in a wider sense.... but the identity of San-fo-ts'i—Palembang finally proved elsewhere...." Much later writings refer to the period when San-fo-ts'i had disintegrated into numerous small states—"has not been weakened by this passage...."

⁷From the exchange of envoys between Śrīvijaya, Cho-p'o (Ho-ling) and San-fo-ts'i to which Stutterheim drew attention in his *Javanese Period* (p.29), no conclusions can be arrived at; Java probably being Cho-p'o (Malaya) whilst San-fo-ts'i is no continuation of Śrīvijaya.

⁸H. R. p. 23.

Javanese merchant ships to call at San-fo-ts'i.¹ At the time of San-fo-ts'i's flourishing power they would not have dared this, and the previously mentioned report of Tchao-Jou-koua (1225 A.D.) could only have reference to San-fo-ts'i: "if a merchant ship passes by without entering (to pay toll) their boats go forth to make a combined attack and all are ready to die in the attempt. This is the reason why this country is a great shipping centre."² Tchao Jou-koua has taken his account of the Chinese and Arab trade from his experience in the Customs; but he also consulted writings of older authors (especially Tcheou K'iu-fei) and also the dynastic annals.³ It is, therefore, never certain to which period he refers. When he refers to San-fo-ts'i in 1225 A.D. it is certain that he obtained information about recent events and we know that they differ from those of Tcheou K'iu-fei radically with regard to the political situation. I refer here to the logical conclusions of Coedès in his article about the downfall of this country⁴ which he places between 1178 A.D. and 1183 A.D. and of which Malayu is, according to him, the heir. The vassal states of San-fo-ts'i—Kadaram are partly mentioned in the inscription of Tanjore of 1030 A.D.; therein we find mentioned next to Srivijaya also Malaiyur (Malayu-pura)⁵ as could be expected. When, however, the vassal states of San-fo-ts'i—Malayu are mentioned by Tchao Jou-koua, naturally the name of Malayu is not mentioned, which Coedès had noticed also. I would add to his statement the following.

Let us begin with the examination of the reports of Wang Tayuan (1349 A.D.)⁶ which located San-fo-ts'i five days distance from the "Straits of Long ya", which are the Straits of Singapore; this points indeed more towards Malayu or Jambi. In the 14th century evidently San-fo-ts'i had already disintegrated long since. In the Ming annals (1368-1643 A.D.) we read that in 1373 A.D. (not a quarter of a century after the above report) "during this period there were three kings in this county"⁷ one of whom bore the title of Maharaja of Pao-lin-pang (Palembang); the

¹*ibid* p. 24.

²*ibid* p. 62.

³*ibid* p. 36-37.

⁴Append T. L. V. He calls it like Krom, still Srivijaya because the splitting of San-fo-ts'i and Srivijaya had not yet eventuated. Instead of Srivijaya we should read in his writing San-fo-ts'i.

⁵Possibly this is the same as Malaiur of Marco Polo (1292 A.D.) and the Ma-li-yu-eul of the Yuan annals (1280-1367 A.D.); if one interprets Marco Polo's writings (who himself had not visited the city, having omitted the 60 miles which he had to traverse between the islands, while he mentions only one island—Bintang), "From Bintang to Java Minor" (Acheh, as it appears from the places Pasai, Perlak, etc., which he mentions as belonging to it), "the distance is 100 miles; from Bintang to Malayu 30 miles", then this indicates the correct distance from Bintang to Jambi in comparison to the 100 miles between Bintang and Acheh.

⁶Srivijaya p. 30.

⁷*ibid* p. 25.

second bore the (unidentified) name of Seng-k'ia-lie(t)-yu-lan, which is probably the Chinese rendering of the famous king Sang Aditya-varman of Menangkabau, who died five years later. His full title was Udayadityavarman Pratapaparakramarajendra Maulimalivarmadeva,¹ a name which not only Chinese chroniclers would be inclined to shorten !

The third name, Ta-ma-cha-na-a-tcho, is evidently a Chinese transcription of the name Haji (a-tcho) the ruler of the one century old country Dharmacra(ya), on the upper reaches on the Batang Hari river. We know this name from the inscription of 1286 A.D., at the foot of the statue, which Krtanagara of Singasari presented to his vassal prince Tribhuvarnaraja Maulivarmadeva of Dharmacraya.² The king of this state (not identified by Ferrand) Mana-tcho Wou-li, bears the typically Malay name Maharaja Mauli (varmadeva). The state called San-fo-ts'i since the time of Tchao Joukoua, must have ceased to exist towards 1373 A.D. and disintegrated into the states Palembang, Menangkabau and Dharmacraya. Before we examine further this San-fo-ts'i we may go into the reports of the Yuan annals (1280-1367 A.D.),³ where we read that the same Seng-kia-li-ye or Sang Aditya (Ferrand could not identify him) was sent twice as mantri by the king of Java (read Jayanagara or Bhre Kahuripan of Majapahit) as ambassador to China in 1325 and 1332 A.D. These roles will place him in a more definite light at the court of Majapahit. In 1375 A.D. he sends (as king of Menangkabau) envoys to China. It is possible that his name is a continuation of the name of the king of San-fo-ts'i—Kadaram, who according to the Sung annals in 960 A.D. sent envoys to China. Ferrand transcribed this name Si-li-hou-ta-hia-li-tan into Cri Kuda Haridhana(?),⁴ but I believe that the name Cri Udayaditya(varman) is more correct. Also the shortened name Che-li-wou-ye of the later mentioned king of 961-2 A.D. (the same ?) refers in my opinion to Cri U(da)ya(ditya). Relationship in name may have been thought to carry relationship in blood and lineage. There is the Malay tradition of claiming relationship with Alexander the Great. We note that Aditya-varman of Menangkabau composes his name from two sources : from the royal names of old Kadaram and old Malayu. When he returns from Java in 1347 A.D. to Malayu, he makes himself independent and founds his own kingdom in Menangkabau ; in my opinion it is this political situation in Sumatra which a quarter of a century later is mentioned in the Ming annals.

Before 1347 A.D. there were in existence only two independent kingdoms Dharmacraya of the Maulivarmans and Palembang.

¹Krom p. 394.

²*ibid* p. 336.

³Srivijaya p. 35 note 2.

⁴Srivijaya p. 17.

The Maulivarmans of 1376 A.D. attempted for the last time, according to the annals, to gain the famous title of "ruler of San-fo-ts'i" by appealing to the Emperor of China, who agreed to it. But the use of this title met with objection from Java.

Thus we find that still in the 14th century attempts were made for the restoration of the name San-fo-ts'i for the empire of the time of Tchao Jou-koua, before it split into Dharmacraya and Palembang (in my opinion during the 13th century when Palembang was dependent from Dharmacraya). That this undivided empire of Sumatra during that century went by the name of Malayu is borne out by the envoys to China in 1281 A.D.¹ When a century earlier a ruler with a Mauli name, Trailokyarajamaulibhusanavarmadeca, in 1183 A.D. erects a Buddha statue at Grahi on the isthmus, it is logical for Coedès to say that it was a ruler of Malayu who ordered it.² It is also natural that Coedès concludes that San-fo-ts'i under whose rule the isthmus remained until 1178 A.D., between this year and 1183 A.D. had lost much of its power. And when Tchao Jou-koua mentions Grahi as a vassal state of San-fo-ts'i, his list of 1225 A.D. must refer to San-fo-ts'i—Malayu and no more to San-fo-ts'i—Kadaram.³ There must have taken place a transfer of power from Kadaram to Malayu (Dharmacraya).⁴ This 12th century Malayu, which called itself San-fo-ts'i, served as an example to the Dharmacraya of two centuries later, which wanted to adopt the name of San-fo-ts'i for political and trade reasons. In connection with this it is noteworthy and evident that Crawford says in his History of the Indian Archipelago, that "San-fo-ts'i was the kingdom of the Menangkabau;"⁵ it is also typical of Malay persistence. In 1337 A.D. the Ming annals report that the king of San-fo-ts'i lived in the kingdom of Tchan-pei, which is Jambi and that the name of his capital was changed to Kieou-kiang (old harbour).⁶ When a century later San-fo-ts'i is called P'o-lin-pang, this means nothing else than that again instead of Jambi, Palembang was in the ascendance and not that San-fo-ts'i was always to be regarded as equal with Palembang.

Regarding the description of San-fo-ts'i by Tchao Jou-koua, I would like to point out the following. The geographical position

¹Pelliot p. 326 (also Ma Touan-lin (Ferrand) J. As. 1919) "We learn that the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i was also called the kingdom of Molieou" (Malayu).

²Despite the objections which Majumdar has against the conclusions of Coedès (Gr. Ind. Soc. 1935 p. 14-17).

³The same Chinese author mentions the border (south) of Chen-la (Cambodia), the same country Grahi (H. R. p. 52), which is qualified as a northern possession of San-fo-ts'i—Malayu.

⁴Not from Palembang to Malayu, as Coedès said; the transfer of power took place from east to west.

⁵H. R. p. 63 note 1.

⁶Pelliot p. 347.

of San-fo-ts'i which according to him lay "between Tchen-la and Cho-p'o", applies as much to Kadaram as for Malayu (the harbour of Dharmacraya). It lies south of Ts'iu-an-tcheou; also this statement may refer to two cities, inasmuch as we are informed that the capital lay on a large river (resp. the Johore river and the Batang Hari) and that the houses were built on rafts. The information given in the Sung annals (where as in Tchao Koukoua's the rule over 15 states is mentioned), that the king bore the inexplicable title of tchan-pei, points exclusively to Jambi Malayu. When Tcheou k'iu-fei in 1178 A.D. reports that San-fo-ts'i sent envoys to China originating from the kingdom which is called by the same name Tchan-pei,¹ then it becomes evident that the title of tchan-pei of the later ruler of San-fo-ts'i is nothing else but the name of a country, which had been given to the ruler. Ferrand quotes examples where the king of Kra was referred to as "Jaba" (the Indian), and where the ruler of Jaba was referred to by Arabs as "Jaba". I would point out to the existing custom in middle Java, where the native regents are addressed by the name of the locality they are in charge of.

In the same way the information of Tchao-Jou-koua that the ruler bore the title of long tsing (spirit, sperm of the dragon) can only be explained as referring to the rulers of Malayu.² These rulers were buried according to him like Buddhas. If we recall the Buddha of Grahi, whose statue was erected in 1183 A.D. (half a century before the writing of Tchao).³ it is easy to imagine that the Chinese (who placed their emperor on a dragon throne) called Buddha overshadowing classical Naga Mucilinda a "naga being".⁴ Is this Naga tradition not a renewal of that of Śrīvijaya—since 683 A.D. lord and master in Malayu—which had a king called Jayanaga⁵ and which left an inscription covered by this many-headed Naga?⁶ Did the Malayu of 1183 A.D. regard itself as a Śrīvijaya risen from the ashes, after having been during three centuries under the rule of San-fo-ts'i?⁷ If all this is so, one would be inclined to seek a connection between the old rulers of Śrīvijaya and the contemporary Naga rulers of Dekhan and to see in the

¹Śrīvijaya p. 16 note 3.

²*ibid* p. 11 note 1.

³Photo by Coedès p. III. Compare the bronze Buddha on the Naga, found by Stein Callenfels in kp. Ujung Sampung, prov. Karo-lands. This authority pointed out its similarity to the Buddha of Grahi (Oudh. Versl. 1920 p. 75 and pl. 10).

⁴Possibly the portraits of rulers of San-fo-ts'i Malayu, in the form of Buddhas who were called "mountains of gold and silver" and were cast in gold, represented golden Buddhas on silver Nagas.

⁵Krom p. 121 note 5.

⁶Jaarboek K. B. G. 1936 pl. 6.

⁷It was evidently not entirely dependent on San-fo-ts'i, because according to Tcheou K'iu-fei, Tchan-pei (Jambi) sent in 1079 and 1088 A.D. their own envoys to China (H. R. p. 66 note 18).

latter the early Pallavas, related to the Calankayanas, who by way of Kaundinya *via* the isthmus, Camboja—and perhaps *via* Ho-lo-tan, the oldest Srivijaya!—hinduized, where the Naga constitutes an inseparable part of Khmer architecture. Possibly the new Malayu extended over Java and on to the border of Jangala (east Java), as Tchao Jou-koua reports in 1225 A.D., or this may be an obsolete report, stating conditions that prevailed during the period when San-fo-ts'i was located in Kadaram. Or was this Malay predominance in west Java an uninterrupted continuation since the conquest of To-lo-mo (Sunda) by Srivijaya? Who knows!

Where shall we find now the capital of Kataha-Kadaram of the kingdom Zabaj—San-fo-ts'i? For the localization of this there are happily sufficient indications to be found in Chinese and Arab reports. We saw that Kadaram must be looked for on the east coast of Malaya, according to Abu Zayd, probably at the most southerly point, Ujung Tanah. Such a position would for trade and strategic considerations (with the equally favourably situated Srivijaya as vassal on the opposite shore it could together dominate the straits completely) have been very fortunate; it reminds us of the supreme position of Singapore today. Of the important centre, which was San-fo-ts'i, Tcheou K'iu-fei tells us in 1178 A.D. "San-fo-ts'i is an important thoroughfare on the sea routes of the foreigners on their way to and fro from China. Ships on leaving it on their way to China sail due north; . . . traders coming from the country of Ta-shi (Arabia) . . . proceeding east, they make San-fo-ts'i. After this they come to China by the same route as the San-fo-ts'i ships."¹ The above does not contradict the supposed situation of Kadaram on Malaya's southern point; that the direction of departure is "due north" is only acceptable if one considers that Malaya's length is more west to east than is really the case and thereby Malaya's southern point falls more to the east. This distorted map-picture coincides with the information of the same author, in the first instance that Java (Cho-p'o) was the south-eastern trade centre opposite the harbour of Ts'iuan-tcheou in Fou-kien, whilst it really lies towards S. S. W. of it; and secondly, that San-fo-ts'i was the emporium of "the barbarian kingdom due south"² (in reality S.W.) I have referred already to the confusing reports of Tchao Joukoua about San-fo-ts'i; one becomes reluctant to make geographical statements on his data. There are, however, reports of his which bear directly on the original San-fots'i. When he, for instance, tells of Arab traders: "the products of their country (Arabia) are for the most part brought to San-fo-ts'i where they are sold to merchants who forward them to China,"³ then this is sure to be an out-of-date account of San-fo-ts'i—Kadaram, because to regard Malayu as a place for transshipment to China would be totally unjustified. The culture level of Kadaram

¹H. R. p. 23-4.

²*ibid* p. 25.

³H. R. p. 114.

must have been much influenced at the time by the Arabs, so that Tchao's information may have been correct : " a large part of its population bears the name 'Abu' (father) " a title preceding numerous Arab names.¹ Also what a different Chinese source relates may be true,² that there were books written in Arab writing which the Chinese were unable to read and that there were good mathematicians and astrologers who could foretell sun and moon eclipses.

It is not surprising that the Arabs refer frequently to Kadaram though their writings have not yet been closely examined (see map No. II). When we inquire closer whether they knew the country by some other name equivalent, we find that this is the case. We find in the writings of Sulayman, Ya'kubi, Al Fakihi and Mas'udi in the period of prosperity (\pm 850-950 A.D.) of the empire of Kadaram, the name for the city as well as that for the sea which surrounded it is the Arab name K. d. r. ng, which may be read as Kadrang, Kundrang, Kendrenj, etc.

If one proceeds according to Arab writers from the Gulf of Bengal by sea (they call it " the sea of Harkand ") eastwards, one traverses the following seas on the way to China ; the sea of Kalah-bar, that of Salahat, that of Kadrang or Kadarang (of which Reinaud believed in 1845 that it borrowed its name from the large trading post of the same name which the Arabs touched at on their way to China)³ that of Sanf (Campa), etc. The sea of Kalah-bar is nothing else than the sea bordered in the west by the Nicobars (Langabalus) and the Andamans (Andaman), in the north by the Irawadi delta, to the east by the coast of Tenasserim and Kra as far as Ujung Salang, and to the south by the north coast of Sumatra ; in the centre lies the old city of Kra or Kalah⁴ 10° 30'N. lat. the classical starting point for the road over the land narrows, after which the sea was called. The ancient Kra, now Pakchan, has a protected port on the navigable fjord of Pakchan,⁵ which cuts into the land for 80 klm. and is 2 to 3 miles wide (there are dangerous shallows near Maliwan). We need not be surprised that Sulayman (851 A.D.) journeyed from Kulam (Quilon S.W. coast Dekhan) directly to Kalah in one journey, that Ibn Rosteh (903 A.D.) tells of the route passing from India to Jawaga *via* Kalah : " one only takes this way ", that Abu Zayd (916 A.D.) speaks of flourishing trade where all products of the archipelago

¹*ibid* p. 60 and 64 note 3. May we not conclude from Ferrand's Chinese reports (Śrīvijaya p. 18 note 5) that the ambassador of San-fo-ts'i in 988 A.D. P'ou Yi-t'o-li by name, which name may be transcribed as Pu Yidari or Yidali, bore the more conventional Malay name Abu Idris ?

²*ibid* p. 64 note 7.

³Reinaud, *Relations des Voyages*. Inl. p. XC.

⁴Compare with this also Ferrand J. As. 1919 p. 78.

⁵Warrington Smyth, *Geogr. J.* 1895 p. 535. The distance from Kra to Chumphon on the east coast of the isthmus is only 23 miles and the water obstacle which has to be overcome is only 500 ft. high. It is no wonder that because of Chumphon being an excellent anchorage place early trade passed here.

are obtainable and whereto journey ships of Siraf and Oman.¹ And finally Mas'udi in 947 A.D. reports that the whole trade communication was concentrated here where Arab and Chinese dealers met (Murujū'dh-Dhahab) and even Abdul Fida (end 13th century) reports that Kalah was a port between Oman and China and that tin came from there for which that place was famous.

That Kedah was not indicated by the name Kalah, as Coedès and Majumdar believed in opposition to Ferrand,² is plausible because Kedah belonged in a geographical sense (also the ancient Kedah which lay geographically similar to the present,) more to the countries near to the Straits of Malacca or the sea of Salahat, as the Arabs called it. For those who passed through the straits, Kedah must have been the most important port of call as the starting point for the journey to India (in the times of Yi-tsing); during the time of Arab chroniclers it was Baruas (the removed capital since 750 A.D.), more important than Kedah, and we may well wonder whether the Arabs meant Salahat to stand for Baruas, after the former of which the sea was named, and whereof it was the chief harbour. When Wasif Sah writes afterwards about 1000 A.D. of the "island of Jaba" he mentions as the only important place the city of Salahat.³

Kalah is likewise not to be confused with Ko-lo or Ko-lo-chafou-lo of the new T'ang annals, nor with the Ko-lo of Kia Tan,⁴ that is if the two former are to indicate the same city, as Pelliot thought, because that particular Ko-lo or Kalacapura (Patani) lies on Malaya's east coast and Kia Tan could not have referred to it in his description of his journey through the straits.⁵

The Ko-lo of Kia Tan surely represents a different port than the Ko-lo of the T'ang annals, and should be situated on the Straits on Malaya's west coast, or as Kia Tan mentions on the north coast of the Straits. As Pelliot likens Ko-lo to the Arab Kalah and this again to Kedah, he concludes that Ko-lo is Kedah. He is then lost as to how to interpret the remainder of Kia Tan's writings, that to the west of Ko-lo lay the kingdom of Ko-kou-lo, and refrains from further identifications. I will attempt the following solution. Kia

¹Ferrand p. 83.

²Majumdar agrees in this with Coedès and identifies besides that Kataha with Kedah (Srivijaya p. 21 and Befeo XXXIII p. 131) so that in their opinion three places are congested into one: Kra, Kedah and Kadaram which causes new complications which I am not prepared to discuss here.

³Ferrand p. 152. Is Harladj or Harlag (same p. 27, 29) not Perlak, situated on the opposite side of the Straits?

⁴Texts by Pelliot p. 349-54.

⁵The same place on the east coast is mentioned by Tchao Jou-koua (H. R. p. 76) when he mentions it to be 7 days journey from San-fu-ts'i on the way to Tonkin and Canton; he calls the port Kou-lo (Kalacapura). From Patani one usually crossed the Gulf of Siam; Ch'ai-li-t'ing, mentioned in the same text as being 7 days journey distance, which harbour one reached before arriving at Tonkin, we should seek on the S. E. coast of Cochinchina rather than on the Malay Peninsula. Over the similar sounding, but written with a different ideogram "lo" (Kou-lo) refer to the later text in this paragraph.

Tan (785-805 A.D.) comes from the direction of China and travels to Ceylon, passes the straits in S.E.-N.W direction, or according to Chinese orientation E-W. From Fo-che he arrives after 4 to 5 days in Ho-ling (according to my opinion Baruas), the capital of Ho-ling since its transfer in the 8th century. From there he leaves the Straits but presently reports on the north coast of the straits (I believe: west coast of Malaya) the port of Ko-lo, where he does not land; Pelliot reads this text as follows - "Kia Tan gives an indication of a country which one does not pass necessarily." This Ko-lo could very easily be the port of Kedah (following Baruas), which was no more called at, on account of its decreased importance since the downfall of the capital Ko-kou-lo, west of Kedah, means in Chinese interpretation a port to the north west and we may take it that Kia Tan meant the next port of call after Kedah.¹ He probably did not mean by it Takuapa, but the next port Kra, because in those times the Chinese called Takuapa Mo-it-po, as we have seen. An interesting item comes to us from the Sung annals,² wherein with Kou-lo (abbreviated for Ko-kou-lo) a port on Malaya's west coast is indicated. A journey is described from the Colaland *via* Ceylon and Pegu to Kou-lo and from Kou-lo *via* San-fo-ts'i to Canton. Not only is the proportion of distances along the west coast between the Irrawaddi delta to Kou-lo and from there to San-fo-ts'i on the south point of Malāya correctly given, if Kou-lo is identified with Kra (as I believe it should be) . . . but also the statement that "there is a mountain called Kou-lo, from which the country takes its name" can only point to Kra, because Kra means "mountain" in the language of that country.³ From this it may be concluded that Kou-lo is the correct transcription of the then native name Kra, and that the Kou-kou-lo of Kia Tan refers to an older name, which may have sounded similar to "Kakola". This name is found in Ptolemy's writings (2nd century) as Takola, and early Chinese writings bear out that this must have been the ancient name for Kra.⁴ In the 3rd century it is referred to as T'eou-kiu-li⁵ and in the T'ang annals as To-ho-lo.⁶ That these names could represent geographically Kra (name of the port and of the kingdom) follows from the following. Ptolemy mentions it as being, besides a large shipping and trading harbour, "a country rich in tin", and places the richest tin districts on the

¹The same Ko-kou-lo on Malaya's west coast was visited by the priest Fa-yu, when he travelled in the 10th century from San-fo-ts'i *via* Kokoulo to Ko-lan (Quilon on our maps) in southern India. (Coedès p. 23-24).

²H. R. p. 100 note 11.

³Geogr. J. 1898 p. 470. Smyth reports that there were tin mines in the hills (hill workings) "mueng kra". Pelliot points (p. 352 note 5) to a contemporary account by Tchao Jou-koua of Kou-lo and K'i-to, which latter name represents Kedah, so that Kou-lo could have hardly been identical with it too.

⁴This name is also much later still the official city name, as appears from the 11th century inscriptions of Rajendracola I, where the country was called Talaittakolam.

⁵Pelliot, BEFEO 1903, p. 271.

⁶T'oung Pao X, Geogr. notes X.

isthmus of Kra ; the same is reported by Arabs about Kalah-bar.¹ About Teou-kiu-li it is reported that an envoy from the king of Fou-nan (on his way to India), left this harbour (the isthmus belonged then to Fou-nan), in order to continue his journey westward over the sea (*via* the Gulf of Bengal). This envoy had certainly to pass *via* Chumpon and Kra, because this was the usual and shortest way over the peninsula and the journey always went from Kra westward by sea to India.

The geographical position of To-ho-lo has been defined as follows. It lay to the north of the well known P'an-p'an near the Bay of Bandon, which was situated to the north of Kalacapura ;² to the west it was bordered by the sea (the sea of Kalah-bar) and to the east it bordered on Tchenla (read: on the Gulf of Siam, opposite to which lay Camboja). Despite a little uncertainty To-ho-lo could in my opinion only represent Kra or Takola. It is very likely that Pelliot is correct when he identifies the Ko-lo of Kian Tan with Kedah ; it is, however, a different Ko-lo from that mentioned by the T'ang annals, which was also referred to as Ko-lo-cha-fou-lo (Kalacapura), and it is also not identical with the Arab Kalah, which stood for Kra, and was known to the Chinese by the name Kou-lo. Ko-kou-lo, To-ho-lo or T'eu-kiu-li.

In order to traverse the sea of Salahat (see map No II) in its entire length from Kra, 20 days are required according to Sulayman.³ The journey had to be made in two stages owing to the necessity of replenishing the fresh water supply ; first from Kalah-bar to the island of " B. t. m. " (interpreted by Reinaud as " Betoumah " ; Ferrand referred to it erroneously by the name Tiyuma).⁴ Pulo Tiyoman lies to the north of Malaya's south point, therefore outside the straits ; it could not have served as a halfway station in the straits, as may be concluded from the writings of Sulayman. The second stage lay past Betoumah to Kadarang. If we take the south point of Malaya as the end of the straits, which lies on $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. latitude, then we should locate the island in the middle between Kra and the south point, approximately on 6° N. latitude. The island of Butong of the Lankawi group lies on $6^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat. and is the island " B. t. m. " The Mohit of Sidi Ali calls it Butang or Butung ; the old Portuguese maps name it Butam or Botum. Herewith confirmation has been found for the assumption that the Arab Kadarang lay near the south point of Malaya. This name is a

¹Already Gerini and Schlegel identified, independently of each other, these places with Kra or a place on the tin island of Kra. If Gerini is right (p. 87) that Takola was the original name which the Siamese bastardized to Takua, the ancient name would give the idea of " tin ", and in that case the identification of a place on the tin island is indisputably correct.

²It is erroneously mentioned that To-ho-lo borders on it to the north (if Schlegel has translated correctly).

³Reinaud, *Relations des Voyages* I p. 18. Compare duration of Yit-sing's journey from Malayu to Kedah in 15 days.

⁴Ferrand, p. 40.

purely phonetic rendering of the Tamil Kadaram, the name for the kingdom called by the Arabs, Zabag. A similar description of a journey across the sea of Salahat is found in the writings of Al-Fakih (902 A.D.)¹ and Mas'udi (943 A.D.)². Read how Mas'udi describes the sea of Kadarang, *i.e.* the sea whereof Kadaram is the most important harbour: "There are numerous mountains and islands, whence come camphor and camphor water. It is not rich in sweet water, although it never ceases to rain."³ It is easy to see a reference in this to the sea bordered by Malaya, Sumatra and Borneo, with its numerous islands which until recently were famous for camphor.⁴ According to Mas'udi the kingdom of Zabag extended over Sribuza, Rami and the islands of Jawaga and even farther over the sea of Campa, which bordered to the south on the sea of Kadaram.⁵ "Here one finds the empire of Maharaja, king of the isles, who rules over an unlimited kingdom. . . . The fastest ship could not visit all islands within two years. . . . His islands in the China Sea—northeast of the Sea of Kadarang—border on a sea of which neither limit nor size are known." All this points to the eastern part of the Archipelago between Malaya and the Pacific Ocean. Mas'udi's report is a confirmation of Rouffaer's supposition that the name of Valai Panduru (who is mentioned in the list of vassal states conquered in 1030 A. D. by Rajendraçola I of Kadaram) represents Panduranga on the south-east coast of Campa.⁶ If Mevilimbangam is identical with Limbang(an) on Borneo's northwest coast (near Brunei), a further property of the Maharaja could be pointed out on the shores of the Sea of Campa. This may be "Sabah" which has survived in tradition to this day and may be a relic of the ancient name of Zabaj. Possibly Mas'udi believed the west coast of Borneo to have been on the "Sea of China"; according to him the Maharaja was "king of the islands of Zabaj and other islands in the Sea of China".⁷

The following report of Tchao Jou-Koua, that San-fo-ts'i is the land "lying in the ocean and controlling the straits, through which the foreigners' sea and land traffic in either direction (China-India) must pass", refers again to Kadaram, because of the tale directly following it; "in olden times (they) used an iron chain as a barrier to keep the pirates of other countries in check, etc."⁸ could not refer to the young San-fo-ts'i (Malayu) of 1225 A.D. A similar report is given by Wen-hien-t'ong-k'ao;⁹ it mentions that

¹*ibid* p. 58.

²*ibid* p. 98-99.

³*ibid* p. 99.

⁴Heyne, "Nuttige Planten Van Nederl. Ind." 2nd dr. II p. 1100.

⁵Ferrand p. 99-100.

⁶Suppl. 77 p. 78.

⁷Ferrand p. 109.

⁸H. R. p. 62.

⁹Ferrand, J. As. 1919 p. 165.

the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i was also called Sienlieou in 961 A.D., a name which according to Ferrand does not stand for anything known hitherto, and he prefers to see in it a reference to Mo-lieou or Malayu. In my opinion the above year coincides with boom years of San-fo-ts'i—Kadaram; on account of this alone Ferrand's interpretation should be rejected. More likely the name Sienlieou should be regarded as an abbreviation of the name Sien-lo-yue or Seluyut (the Lo-yue of Kia Tan) which also lay on the Johore river and is mentioned in 1001 A.D.¹ It is similar to the case of Ho-ling which was "also called Cho-p'o", again an example of Chinese obstinacy in adhering to old names of countries with disregard to political changes having taken place. Also the account of Tchao Jou-koua, wherefrom the geographical position of San-fo-ts'i has been finally ascertained, we may (in view of Arab geographers locating Kadarang) conclude does not refer to San-fo-ts'i—Malayu, but certainly refers to San-fo-ts'i—Kadaram.

"Journeying from Ts'iu-an-tcheou (in Fou-kien) one reaches the Straits of Ling-ya in a little over a month's time with the monsoon wind, where a third of the merchant passengers disembark before they arrive at San-fo-ts'i."² These Straits of Ling-ya are not (the unknown) Straits of Linga as Groeneveldt and Ferrand represented, but the Straits of Singapura,³ especially the eastern part thereof (see map No. IV). The circumnavigation of the south point of Malaya was split into three routes at the time of Tchao Jou-koua: (a) the eastern part, the Straits of Ling-ya or Long-ya between the S.E. point of Johore and the islands of Bintang and Batam; (b) the middle part or the Straits of Tan-ma-si (Tumasik) between Batam and Singapore; and (c) the western part or the Straits of Ki-li-wen (Karimun) between the southwest point of Malaya and Great Karimun.⁴ Based upon this data we are able to locate precisely Kadaram: we would locate its capital on the eastern shore of the straits, thus the southeast point of Malaya, which can only be on the Johore river.

If on these data we finally accept the position of Kadaram, the capital of San-fo-ts'i on the shores of the Johore river, or one of its tributaries, not far from the sea, (already Rouffaer suspected important historical connections with this river)⁵ we find on the map of Malaya, published by the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore 1911), near the mouth of the Johore river on its eastern shores near a broad tributary (the Sungai Lebam river), the district Kedaru; one of the

¹Pelliot p. 233.

²Pelliot, p. 60.

³Rockhill, T'oung Pao XVI, cited by Rouffaer. Compl. 77 p. 156.

⁴Pelliot p. 345 note 4.

⁵Append. 77 p. 417. "Because here (on the Johore river) proof should be found for one or more non-Mohammedan states, very likely Buddhist states, which existed in my opinion on its shores, all forerunners of the Moh. state of Johore."

tributaries of the Lebam river is called Sungai Kedaru (see map No. IV.) Should we seek the walled city of Kadaram, (which possessed in 1003 A.D. a Buddhist temple) near the meeting of these two rivers with the Johore river? And was the Katahad-vipe Valavatiparvat Lokanatha,¹ the Amoghapaca with his Tara, Bhṛkūti and Hayagrīva—by-form of the Malay Amoghapaca of 1286 A.D. with his four satellites—on the beautifully named Valavat = Meru isolated 200 m. high G. Belungkor or G. Pengeran, on the mouth of the Johore river, directly south of Kedaru? May further examinations and finds decide whether this situation is the right one.

CONCLUSION :

For geographical reasons I identified the kingdom Cha-houa-kong (mentioned by Tcheou K'iu-fei in 1178 A.D.) with the island kingdom of the Sulu and Celebes sea. The Chinese name is in my opinion clearly a transcription of the name Javaka (Arab: Zabag, Jawaga).

I ask myself whether this is not an indication that the population of the pirate kingdom, the "hardy, self-willed and terrific Sulus", wanted it to be known that they regarded themselves still as Javakas, even long after the wide famed Zabag (Cho-p'o) had been vanquished by San-fo-ts'i its successor after the end of the 9th century among the larger states in the archipelago. It may be questioned whether San-fo-ts'i, which Arab geographers still referred to as Zabag (with their traditional laziness and disregard for political changes of names), had very much to say in this distant eastern dependency of the kingdom, which had its own allies since times immemorial, and was very favourably situated on the Moluccas—China trade route. Tch'ang Tsiun mentioned the kingdom Tou-po (Mindanao) when in 607 A.D. he fulfilled his mission to Lo-tch'a (Moluccas), and later Chinese authors did not refer casually to the name Tou-po as being Cho-po (Yava), since by this they did not refer to Java, as Pelliot believed, but to the ancient Zabag.

But in that case the empire Cho-p'o—Zabag, as well as its successor San-fo-ts'i—Zabag, had a much larger territory under its rule to the east than has been generally supposed. Both empires (to speak with Mas'udi 943 A.D.) were bounded on the east by the Pacific Ocean, and their territory could not have been visited by the fastest ship in two years. The Cola conquests of 1030 A.D. in San-fo-ts'i (Kataha) could easily have been extended over the coasts of Campa (Panduranga) and Borneo (Limbangan) p. 468. If this were so, confusions in Chinese and Arab reports would not be based upon erroneous transcriptions of names! (p. 368).

¹Twice reproduced in the 11th century Nepalese handwriting (analyzed by Foucher) Nos. 26 and 28.

When Sulayman reports in 858 A.D. that the peak of Ternate lay near the eastern border of Zabag, then he refers to the empire of Cho-p'o—Zabag, which at that time still sent envoys to China (873 A.D.). The account of Al Fakih (902 A.D.) which dates from the period of change of power between San-fo-ts'i and Cho-p'o reports the anoa in Zabag (p. 368); this animal only exists in the countries of the Sulu and Celebes seas, so that his Zabag included beyond doubt the Cha-houa-kong (Javaka) of Tcheou K'iu-fei.

Also the ever hungry pythons and gigantic camphor trees of his Zabag exist in north Borneo (and in Mindanao), which is called to this day by the name "Sabah". The vast natural deposits of gold of Mindanao (p.369) is not less phenomenal than that of Malaya, so that the empire of Zabag could be justly proud of more than one Suwarndib, as Biruni and other geographers reported. Finally the pirate expeditions of the Javakas to the coasts of Campa (during the last century) remind us of the fierceness of the robber raids of the wild Sulus.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

<u>+115</u>	.. Lankasuka (Ligor) founded.
Before 132	.. Yavadvipa and Iabadiou used as names for Malaya Peninsula; chief cities: Argyre (Ligor) and Takola (Kra). Mention of Mount Cicira (Kinibalu) east of Yavadvipa (Malaya).
3rd century	.. Mention of Takola (Kra) as T'eu-kiu-li; mention of countries Kin-lin, or Kin. tcheou (northern part of Peninsula) and Touen-Siun (Isthmus) with the capital Lankasuka (Ligor).
270/5	.. The Pallavas evict the Iksevakus from Cricaila; emigration of an Aiksvaku-rajarsi to the Archipelago (Kutei).
<u>+300</u>	.. Beginning of Mularvarman dynasty at Kutei with Kundunga, son of the Aiksvaku-rajarsi.
3rd century	.. Mention of Tchou-po (Tubuk, capital of Mindanao).
<u>+345</u>	.. Hastivarman, ruler of Calankayanas, together with Visnugopa, prince of Pallava, vanquished by Samudragupta; emigration of a rajaguru of the Calankayanas to the Archipelago (Taruma).
4th century	.. Yavakoti (Ligor) known in Indian astronomy; in 7th century mentioned by Yi-tsing as "south point of Jambudvipa" (India and Indo-China), but rightly south point of Yava (Fou-nan) and in 8th century by Arabs as Jamkut (Yamakota).
<u>+350</u>	.. Inscriptions of Mulavarman, prince of Kutei, grandson of Kundunga. Establishment of Kadamba dynasty in the new Empire of Cricaila (Sripurvata) in south India.
<u>+375</u>	.. Beginning of Purnavarman dynasty in Taruma (Sunda) with Rajadhiraja, son of Calankayana—rajaguru.
<u>+400/25</u>	.. Purnavarman, son of Rajadhiraja, ruler in Taruma.
414	.. Fa-hien lands in Ye-p'o-t'i (Yavadvipa) and leaves <i>via</i> Ligor.

- 424 .. Gunavarman resident in Cho-p'o (Kedah).
- 430/452 .. Envoys from Ho-lo. tan (Kelantan) to China.
- +450 .. Calankayanas evicted by Vakatakas; Visnukundins succeed with help of Vakataka prince.
- 454-464 .. Envoys from Kan-t'o-li (Acheh).
- +500 .. Buddhistic Kandaras, successors of Ikshvaku of Cricaila evicted by Visnukundins; spreading of members of this dynasty to P'o-li (Palembang).
- 502 .. Envoys from Kan-t'o-li (Acheh).
- 515-531 .. Envoys from Lankasuka (Ligor).
- 518 .. Kaundinya Buddhist prince of Po'-li (Palembang).
- 523 .. Kalavinka, successor of Kaundinya in P'o-li (Palembang).
- 528 & 535 .. Envoys from To-lo-mo (Sunda).
- 539 .. Rudravarman, prince of Fou-nan rules in the capital T'o-mou (Dharmarajanagara).
- 6th century .. Mention of Tou-po (Tubuk) on Mindanao; mention of Ma-wou-tcheou (Moluccas), Touen-Siun (the isthmus) with the trade centre (Ligor), and P'i-k'ien (south Malaya).
- 563 .. Envoys from Kan-t'o-li (Acheh).
- 568 .. Last envoys from Lankasuka (Ligor).
- 607 .. Chinese missions to Tch'e-t'ou (Patalung), to north of Ho-lo-tan (Kelantan), and *via* Tou-po to Lo-tch'a (Moluccas).
- 609/10 .. Pulakecin II, Calukya prince, conquers Kalinga, where Ganga-Kalingas rule; escape of Hu-lan-na-po (Gunavarman) to P'o-li (Pati in middle Java).
- +616/7 .. Rudravarman, ruler of Fou-nan, evicted from his capital T'o-mou (Dharmarajanagara) by vassal ruler of Tchen-la (Camboja); flees to Ligor (Lankasuka) and renames this city Na-fou-na (Navadharmarajanagara).
- 616 .. Envoys of Gunarnava, Sivaite prince of P'o-li (Pati); city of the dead on the Dieng. Envoys from Ho-lo-tan (Kelantan).

- 618/664 .. Envoys of Navadharmarajanagara (Ligor) ; Hiuan-tsang reports name of this city as Yen-mo-na (Yamanagara).
- 625/30 .. Visnuvardhana I. founds eastern Calukya dynasty in Pistapura-Dantapura ; escape of ancestors of Sanjaya from south Kalinga (Kunjarakunjadeca) to Kedah (Cho-p'o).
- 627-649 .. Cho-p'o (Kedah) called for first time Ho-ling (Kalinga) and Touen-Siun (isthmus) also T'o-p'o-teng (Duawwatan).
- 630 .. Envoys from P'o-li (Pati).
- 640-666 .. Envoys from Ho-ling (Kedah) ; after 666 it sends no more envoys for a century.
- 644/5 .. Envoys from Mo-lo-yeou (Palembang).
- 7th century .. Ko-lo-cha-fou-lo or Kalacapura (Patani) mentioned on Suvarnadvipa (Malaya).
- 664/8 .. Hwui-ning at Ho-ling (Kedah).
- 670/1 .. Kelantan calls itself Che-li-fo-che (Srivijaya) ; name adopted shortly after 666, after victory over Ho-ling (Kedah). Union of predecessors of Sanjaya at Kedah with exiled Fou-nan dynasty at Ligor against Tchen-la (Camboja) and Srivijaya (Kelantan).
- 669 .. Last envoys from To-lo-mo (Sunda).
- 671/2 .. Yi-tsing in Che-li-fo-che (Kelantan), Mo-lo-yeou (Palembang) and Kie-tch'a (Kedah) ; name for Malaya : Kin-tcheou (Suvarnadvipa).
- 674/5 .. Sima, queen of Ho-ling (Kedah).
- 683 .. Srivijaya (Kelantan) vanquishes Malayu (Palembang) and establishes itself between 683 and 685 at Muara Takus (Kampar river) ; end of empire P'o-li (Palembang), also called Ma-li. Dynasty of Palembang escapes to Kataha (Kedu) and establishes there Sailendra dynasty.
- 684 .. Prince Jayanaga of Srivijaya (Muara Takus) founds in Palembang the Criksetra park.
- 685/92 .. Yi-tsing at Che-li-fo-che (Muara Takus) ; he calls Ligor. Lankasuka.

- 692 .. Yi-tsing reports the kingdom P'o-lou-che (Baros) being N.W. of Che-li-fo-che (Muara Takus).
- 686 .. Srivijaya (Muara Takus) vanquishes Sunda ; end of To-lo-mo kingdom (Taruma).
- end 7th century .. Yi-tsing reports Fou-che-pou-lo (Girivijaya) city in Kin-li-pi-che or Kin-li-fo-che (Girivijaya) on west coast of Borneo ; further kingdoms K'ouen-louen (Moluccas) and P'o-li (Pati).
- \pm 700 .. Foundation Chandi Barabudur in Sailendra empire Kataha (Kedu).
- 717 .. Vajrabodhi in Che-li-fo-che (Muara Takus).
- 724/8 .. Envoys of Crindravarman of Che-li-fo-che (Muara Takus).
Cho-p'o (Kedah) beaten by Srivijaya, Sanjaya banished, who flees to Java.
- Before 732 .. Foundation of Chandi Mendut by Sanjaya, the Haritiputra Manavya.
- 732 .. Foundation of Linga temple on Gunung Wukir by Sanjaya.
- 742 .. Lieou-t'eng-wei-kong (Rudravikrama), ruler of Che-li-fo-che (Muara Takus) ; his last envoys.
- \pm 750 .. Srivijaya (Muara Takus) beats second time Cho-po' (Kedah), conquers isthmus, erects at Ligor stupas. The capital of Cho-p'o was transferred to P'o-lou-kia-sseu (Bruas).
- 8th century .. Aceh called Fo-tai (Udyana) and Takuapa: Mo-ti-p'o (Martapura) ; journey described from Takuapa to To-jong-pou-lo (Kedah) and P'o-lou-kia-sseu (Bruas).
- 767/779 .. Renewal of envoys from Cho-p'o (Bruas).
- 775 .. Srivijaya still master of the isthmus ; builds more stupas at Ligor.
- 778 .. Foundation of Chandi Kalasan by Sailendra prince of Kataha (Kedu).
- 782 .. Foundation of Chandi Sewu by Sailendra prince of Kataha (Kedu).
- 785/805 .. Journey of Kia Tan *via* Panduranga, Lo-yue (Seluyut), Fo-che (Muara Takus) and Ho-ling (Bruas) to Ceylon. He mentions Ko-lo (Kedah) and Ko-kou-lo (Kra).

- 802 .. Freeing of Cambodia from Java rule (Bruas) by Jayavarman II.
- 802-873 .. Envoys from Cho-p'o (Bruas).
- 820 .. Last mention of Kan-t'o-li (Acheh).
- Before 844/8 .. Jaba (Bruas) conquers island of Kilah (Kra), *i.e.* the Isthmus, from Srivijaya (Muara Takus).
- 9th century .. Mention in Chinese reports of P'o-ni (Pontianak), Cho-p'o (Bruas) and K'ouen-louen (Moluccas); in Arab reports (850-950 A.D.), of Kadarang (Kedaru).
- 851 .. Kalah-bar (Kra) subject to Zabaj (Bruas).
- 853 & 871 .. Envoys of Tchan-pei (Jambi).
- 860 .. Envoy of Cho-p'o (Bruas).
- 871-890 .. Srivijaya (Muara Takus) conquered by Sailendras of Suvarnadvipa (Kataha-Kedaru); descendants Srivijaya dynasty exiled to Java, there join descendants of Sanjaya, forget old feud and unite against Kataha—Kedarn their common enemy.
- 873 .. Last envoy from Cho-p'o (Bruas).
- 873-890 .. Conquest of Isthmus at Bruas by Kataha (Kedaru); "postscript" on the Sailendra prince of Kataha on inscription of Srivijaya (Muara Takus) at Ligor. Bruas conquered by Kataha; end of empire Cho-p'o—Zabaj (Bruas).
Balaputra, Sailendra king of Suvarnadvipa (Kataha-Kedaru) founder of new empire Zabaj—San-fo-ts'i, builds a monastery at Nalanda.
- 898-910 .. Balitung, prince of Java, as heir of Sanjaya, first gives Java the name of his homeland, Yavadvipa. Thereafter the Chinese call it Chō-p'o = Java.
- 902 A Maharajah rules in Zabaj (Kataha—Kedaru).
- 904 .. Envoys of San-fo-ts'i (Kataha—Kedaru).
- 908 & 911 .. Mention of Yavadvipapura, capital of Java.
- ± 916 .. Sribuza (Muara Takus), Kalah (Kra), and Rami (Acheh) subject to Zabaj (Kataha Kedaru).

- 927 .. Destruction of Medang in empire of Mataram by Kataha (Kedaru) ; transfer of power from Middle to East Java.
- 929-947 .. Sindok, prince of East Java ; Erlanga calls him Yavapati.
- 943 .. Sribuza (Muara Takus), Kalah. bar (Kra), Jawaga (Bruas), Rami (Acheh), and islands in the seas of Kundrang and Campa (Riau and Lingga archipelago) subject to Zabaj (Kataha—Kedaru).
- 960/2 .. Si-li-hou-ta-hia-li-tan (Sri Udayaditya), king of San-fo-ts'i (Kataha—Kedaru) sends envoys to China.
- 971 .. Mention of merchant ships of Cho-p'o (Java) in Canton.
- 971-988 .. Envoys of San-fo-ts'i (Kataha—Kedaru).
- 977 .. Funeral of Udayana I at Jalatunda.
- 980 .. Mention of Warusaka (Baros), Yava (Java) and Bali in Manjucrimulakalpa.
- 983 .. Fa-yu in San-fo-ts'i (Kathaha—Kedaru) ; he meets the Indian monk Vimalacri ; receives letters of credential for the king of San-fo-ts'i and for Sseu-ma-ki Mang (under king) of Ko-kou-lo (Kra.)
- 989-1001 .. Erlanga's parents, Mahendradatta and Udayana II (Dharmodayanavarmadeva) rule in Bali, which is subject to Java.
- 991 .. Birth of Erlanga.
- 991-1007 .. Dharmavamca, king of Java ; Erlanga refers to him as Yavadvipa.
- 991/2 .. Cho-p'o (Java) invades San-fo-ts'i (Kataha—Kedaru).
- 992 .. Envoys from Cho-p'o (Java) sent by Maharaja Dharmavamca.
- 1003 .. Erection of Buddhist temple at San-fo-ts'i by the Sailendra king Culamanivar-madeva.
- 1004-1022 .. Envoys from San-fo-ts'i.
- 1005 .. Completion of the vihara at Nagapattam begun by Culamanivarman) by his son Maravijayottungavarman, Sailendra prince of Kataha (San-fo-ts'i).

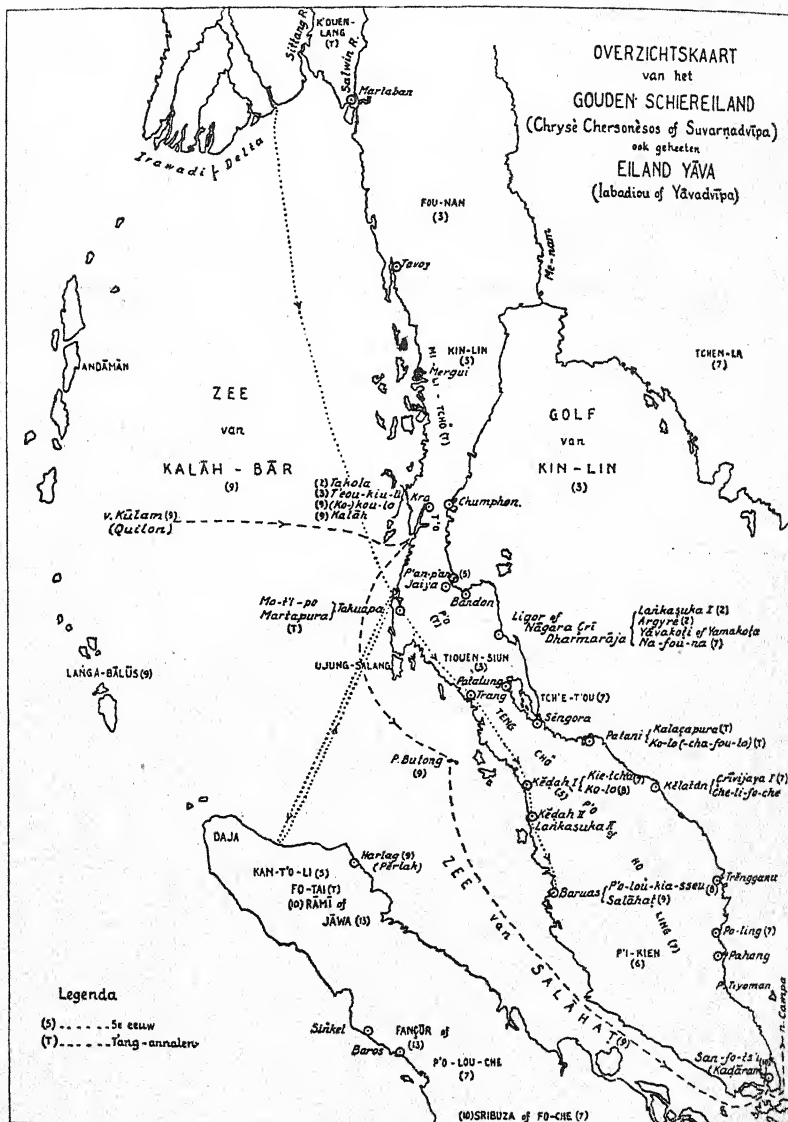
- 1006/7 .. Death of Dharmavamca of Java and destruction of his kraton by Wurawari (San-fo-ts'i).
- 1008 .. Envoys from Maravijayottungavarman of San-fo-ts'i.
- ± 1011-1023 .. Dipankara Crijnana studies 12 years in Suvarnadvipa (San-fo-ts'i) headquarter of Buddhism in the East, before taking up his task in Tibet.
- 1019 .. Coronation of Erlanga; calls himself Yavadviparaja.
- 1023/4 .. Colas attack Kataha (San-fo-ts'i).
- 1028 .. Envoy from San-fo-ts'i.
- 1030 .. Rajendracola I vanquishes Kadara (Kadaru) and other dependencies like Malayu. Biruni mentions Zabaj (Malaya) as gold island, Sribuza (Sumatra) as camphor island, and Kalah (Isthmus) as tin island.
- 1032 .. Erlanga has his revenge on Wurawari (San-fo-ts'i).
- 1035 .. Erlanga reconstructs unity of Javanese empire.
- 1067 .. Envoys from San-fo-ts'i, the first since 1028.
- 1068 .. Colas attack Kadara (Kedaru).
- 1078-1092 .. Envoys from San-fo-ts'i, the first since 1067.
- ± 1150 .. Acheh first called Java; Marco Polo (1292) calls it Java minor.
- 1156 .. Envoy from the Maharaja of San-fo-ts'i.
- 1169 .. Death of the Maharaja; succeeded by his son who sought investiture from the Emperor of China.
- 1178 .. Mention of Cha-houa-kong (the lands around Sulu and Celebes seas), Kin-fo (Girivijaya), Kingdom of Women (Celebes) and K'ouen-louen (Moluccas).
Last envoys from San-fo-ts'i; downfall of this kingdom. Rise of Malayu (Dharmacraya) and of Cho-p'o (Java). Malayu sends an envoy with title of Tchan-pei (Jambi). Java called Jong-ya-lou (Jangala) or Ta Cho-p'o (Java Major).

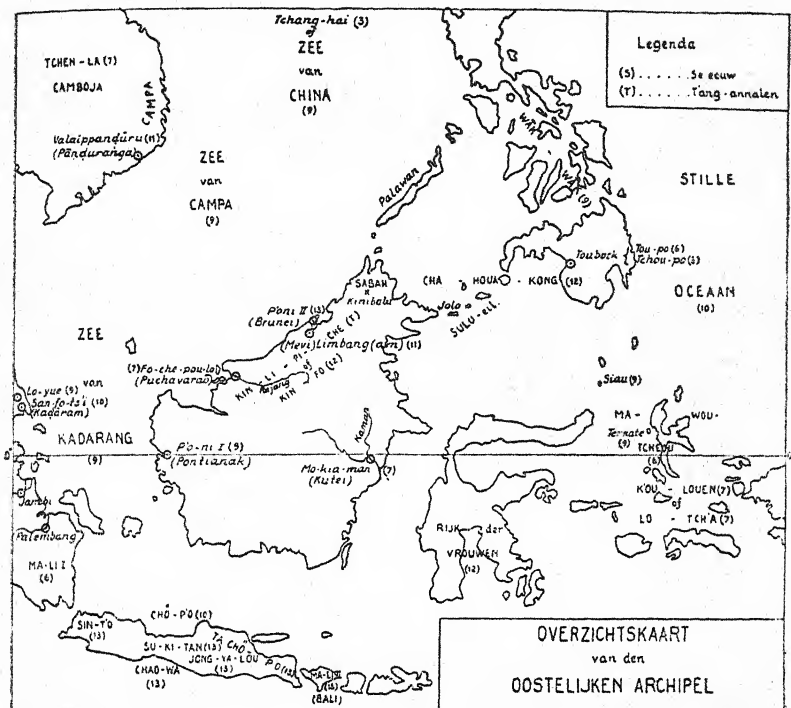
- Before 1183 .. Malayu, centre of power in the Western Archipelago; again named San-fo-ts'i. Probably rules over Sin-t'o (Sunda), just as previously did San-fo-ts'i (Kataha—Kedaru).
- 1183 .. Inscription of Maulibhusanavarmadeva of Dharmacraya at Grahi on the Isthmus.
- 1225 .. The rulers of San-fo-ts'i (Malayu) buried as Buddhas at the Naga Mucilinda called "Long-tsing" (Naga essence); compare statue of Grahi of 1183.
- 1275 .. Conquest of Malayu (Dharmacraya) by Krtanagara of Singhasari (East Java).
- 1281 .. Envoy from Mo-lo-yeou (Dharmacraya).
- 1286 .. Amoghapaca statue of Krtanagara, offered to Maulivarmadeva of Dharmacraya in Suvarnabhumi (Sumatra, the gold land).
- 1325 .. Adityavarman, envoy of Jayanagara of Majapahit to China.
- 1332 .. Adityavarman, envoy of Bhre Kahuripan of Majapahit to China.
- Before 1347 .. Two empires in Sumatra; Dharmacraya and Palembang.
- 1347 .. Return of Adityavarman from Java to Dharmacraya; founds his kingdom Menangkabau.
- 1373 .. Three empires in Sumatra; Dharmacraya, Palembang and Menangkabau.
- 1374 .. Envoy from the Maharaja of Palembang to China.
- 1375 .. Envoy from Adityavarman of Menangkabau to China.
- 1376 .. The Maharaja of Dharmacraya is succeeded by his son, also a Maulivarman. Dharmacraya subject to Tchao-wa (Java), which objects to ruler bearing title of king of San-fo-ts'i (Malayu) conferred by Emperor of China at end of 12th century.
- 1378 .. Adityavarman calls himself Kanakamedinindra (Lord of the Gold island).
- Until 1397 .. Repeated rebellion of San-fo-ts'i (Malayu) against rule of Tchao-wa (Java).

1397

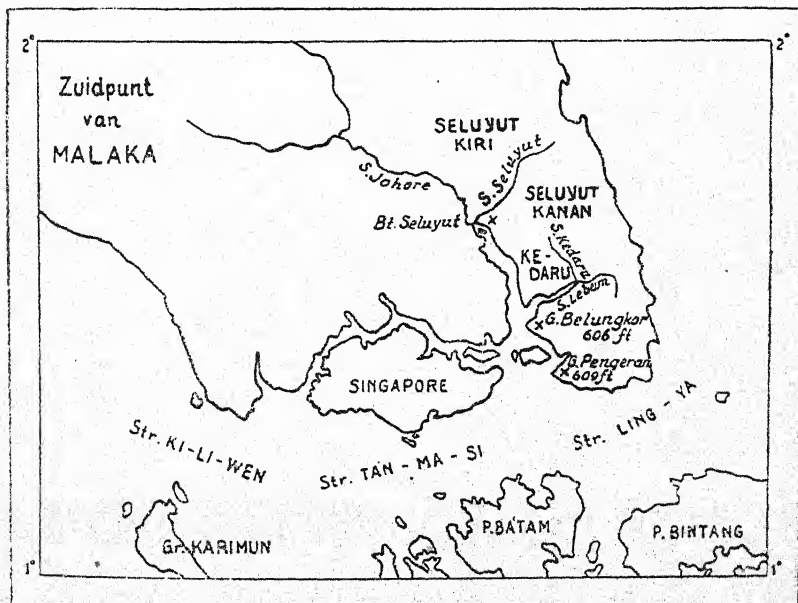
.. San-fo-ts'i (Malayu) conquers Java; the capital Jambi called Kieou-kiang (Old harbour). Chinese rebel in Jambi, leading to Chinese rule in that land. This lasts until end of 16th century¹. The native chiefs are called Tchan-pei (Jambi), even as previous rulers.

¹From this period dates a Malay kris, the property of the author, with the blade depicting a Chinese dragon instead of the usual naga.

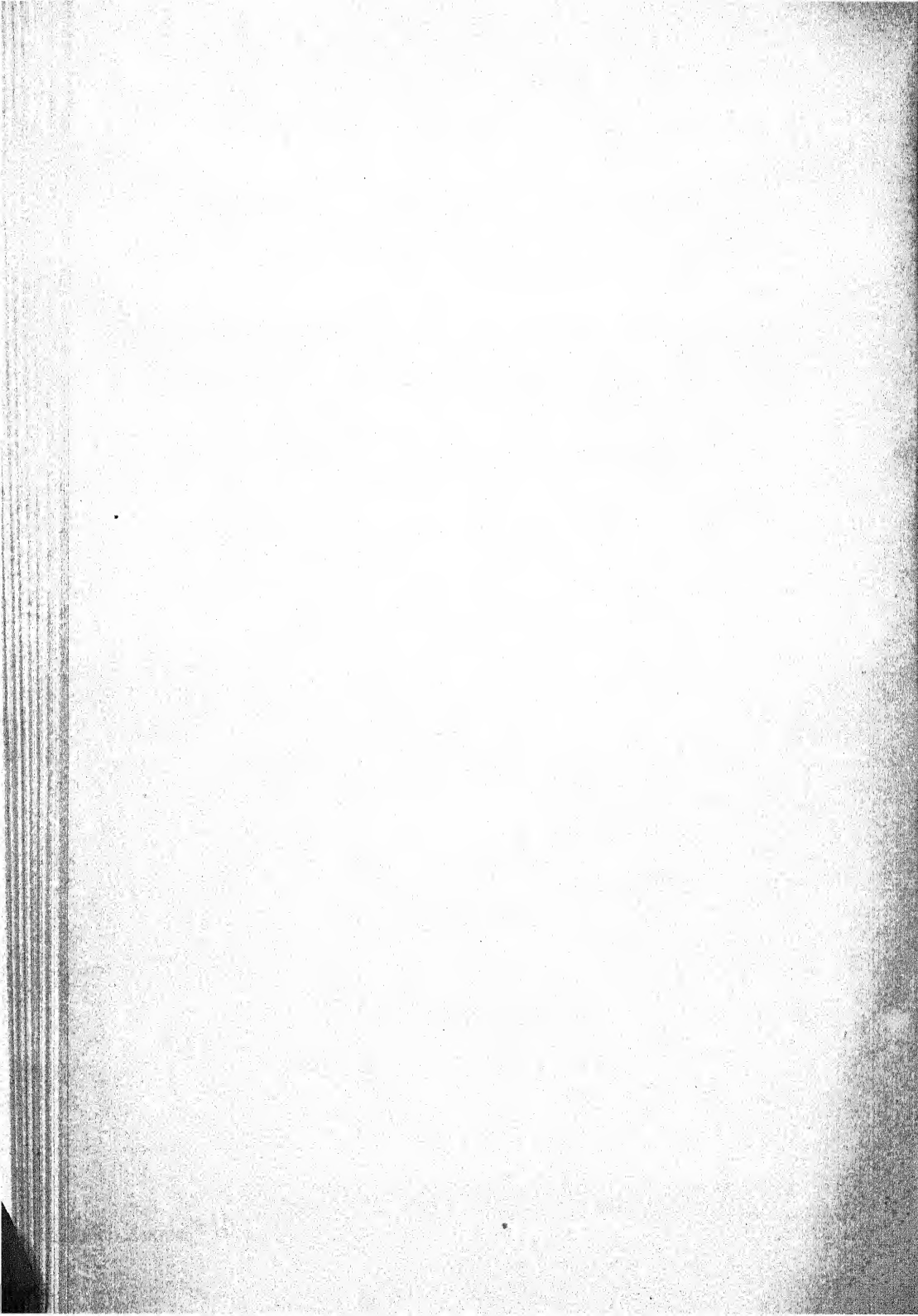




KAART N° III



KAART N° IV



A
HISTORY
OF
MALAY LITERATURE

BY

R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt. (Oxon)

Reader in Malay in the University of London.

WITH A CHAPTER

ON

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

BY

ZABA (ZAIN AL-'ABIDIN BIN AHMAD)



PREFACE.

Any one who surveys the field of Malay literature will be struck by the amazing abundance of its foreign flora and the rarity of indigenous growths. Malay folklore, even, is borrowed, most of it, from the vast store-house of Indian legend, an early crop garnered in the Hindu period, a later in the Islamic. When literature flowered on the written page, Malay became the cultural language of Indian traders and pundits at every port in the Malay Archipelago. The most prolific "Malay" authors were Indians or half-castes, like Shaikh Nuru'd-din a'r-Raniri and Munshi 'Abdu'llah, and even the author of that finest of all Malay works, the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, would on the internal evidence of his history appear to have been a half Indian, half Malay follower of the old Malacca court. Reciters and authors of this type translated the legend of Alexander the Great, the Persian romance of Amir Hamza, Bidpai's Fables, the mystical works of Ghazali and Ibn 'Arabi, and many other Oriental classics into Malay. In spite of unfamiliar names for people and places, this imported literature has affected the Malay mind at least as much as Malory's "Morte d'Arthur" or Pope's "Iliad" have affected the mind of the ordinary Englishman, though in the many obscure and unidiomatic translations of Arabian mystics and theologians the average Malay takes no more interest than the man in the Strand takes in Bohn's translation of Spinoza.

Muslim prejudice has caused most of the works of the finest period of Malay literature to be neglected, the *Hikayat Pandawa* and *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* because they are Hindu, the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* and *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*, because they are tinged with Persian heresy. Moreover the length of such manuscripts put them beyond the reach of all but the wealthy, who would generally refuse to let them be copied and circulated. But the more orthodoxy turned the Malay to later and Arabian models, the more debased became his literary style, losing the clear and succinct quality of its own idiom. Metaphysics and law are abstruse for the uncritical mind, even when presented in good translations; they are abracadabra in an imperfect paraphrase. To-day, when he has learnt English, the intelligent Malay can get called to the Bar, even though the course involves in addition to English some knowledge of Latin; but the authorities on *hukum shara'* are still Sayids from the Hadramaut or half-caste Arabs domiciled in Malaya, expert in the difficult Arabic and original sources.

For the modern Malay his old literature, to use a simile from the Panji tales, has become dead as the leather puppets of the shadow-play when the lights of the theatre have been extinguished. But the tales of battle and magic have had a permanent effect on his racial imagination, giving a martial bias to a pastoral people and deepening their superstition. Yet in spite of the drums and trumpets of this foreign romance (which sounded loudest in the half-caste courts of

the Sailendras and the Sultans of Malacca and their descendants), the heart of the average Malay has remained set on what interested his forebears in days before they had adopted skirts of Hindu pattern and coats and trousers of Indo-Persian origin. From songs of tribal origin he has evolved a number of chronicles, and he has lapped foreign suggestion to polish village quatrains that must have been popular from time immemorial. A hunt through half a million pages of Malay manuscripts will find all that is purely indigenous in an output of histories, the *pantun* and a few topical verses.

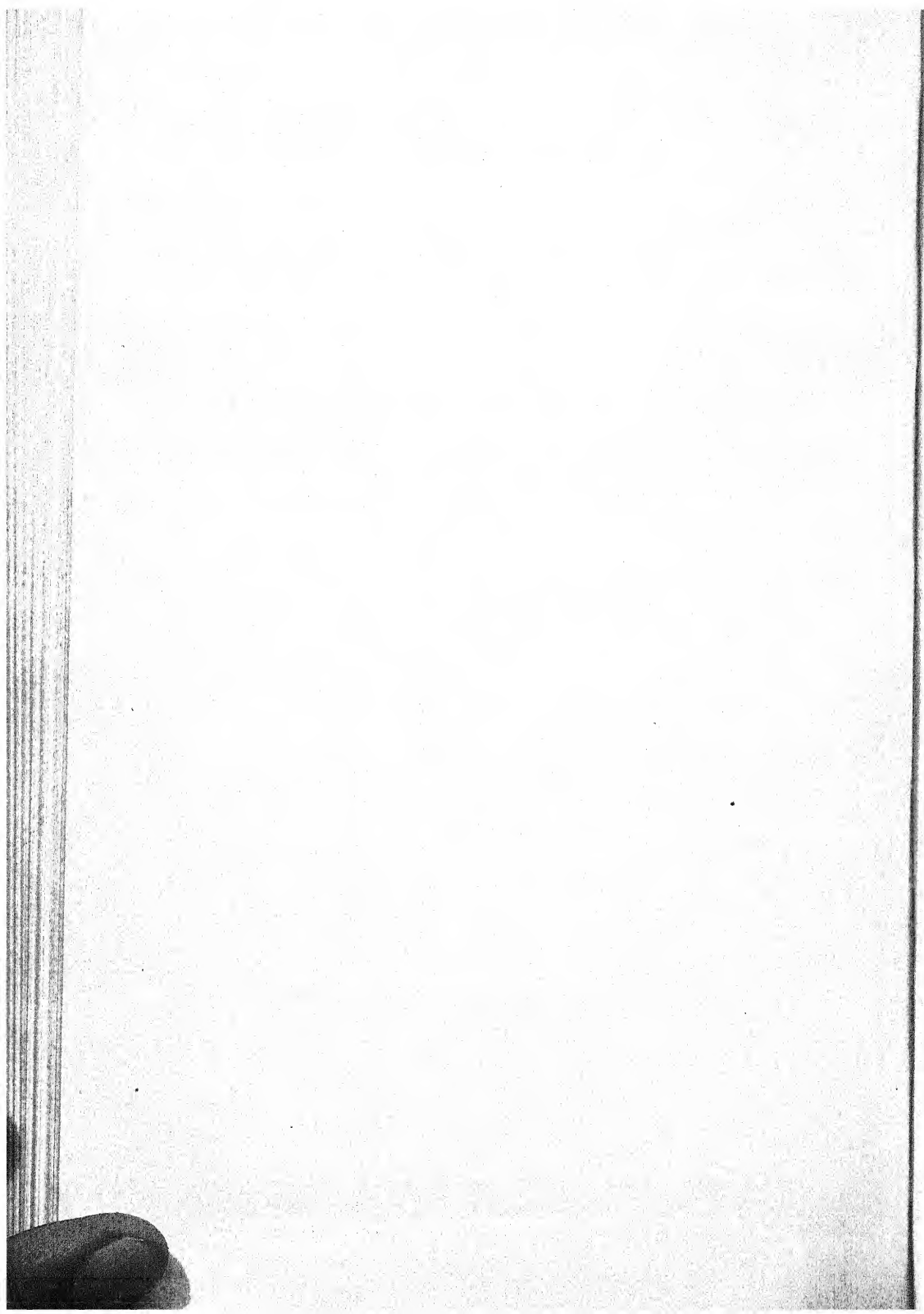
It is needless to say that a historian of literature must be indebted to many predecessors, who have culled the flowers he bunches together. I would mention particularly van der Tuuk for his researches on works of the Hindu period, Doctor W. H. Rassers for his analysis of the Javanese Panji tales, Doctor J. Brandes for his labour on the cycles of famous tales which the Malay derived from Muslim sources, and Doctor Ph. van Ronkel, Professor of Malay at Leiden, not only for his great catalogues of the Malay manuscripts at Batavia and Leiden but for his many critical studies of the Persian, Arabic and Tamil elements in Malay literature. Finally I am deeply indebted to Enche' Zain al-'abidin for his valuable chapter on "Modern Developments."

R. O. WINSTEDT.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL
AND AFRICAN STUDIES, LONDON.

CONTENTS.

	Page
I. The Malay Language and Literature	1
II. Folk Literature :—(a) Mythology, Riddles, Proverbs and Clock-Stories; (b) Beast Fables and the <i>Hikayat Pelandok Jênaka</i> ; (c) Farcical Tales and the <i>Hikayat Mahashodhak</i> ; (d) Folk Romances	3
III. The Hindu Period :—(a) The Indian epics; (b). Shadow-play plots founded on the Indian epics; (c) Romances of the Hindu period ..	25
IV. A Javanese element :—Tales from the Majapahit Shadow-plays, and the <i>Hikayat Hang Tuah</i> ..	38
V. From Hinduism to Islam :—Malay romances of the transition	49
VI. The Coming of Islam and Islamic literature ..	58
VII. Muslim legends :—(a) Pre-Islamic heroes, Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain, Amir Hamza, Raja Jumjumah, Saif Dhu'l-Yazan, Ibrahim ibn Adham; (b) Tales of the Prophet; (c) Adventures of People about the Prophet, Muhammad Hanafiah, Tamim ad-Dari, Sama'un, Abu-Samah; (d) the Malayo-Muslim story of Raja Handak	63
VIII. Cycles of tales from Muslim sources :— <i>Hikayat Bayan Budiman</i> , <i>Hikayat Kalila dan Damina</i> , The Bakhtiar cycle (<i>Hikayat Bakhtiar</i> and <i>Hikayat Golam</i>)	78
IX. Muslim Theology Jurisprudence and History ..	92
X. Malay Histories	105
XI. Codes of Law	113
XII. Munshi 'Abdu'llah	117
XIII. Poetry :—Rhythmical verse; the <i>Sha'ir</i> ; the <i>Pantun</i>	121
XIV. Modern Developments	142



I.

THE MALAY LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Literature strictly came into being with the art of writing, but long before letters were shaped, there existed the material of literature, words spoken in verse to wake emotion by beauty of sound and words spoken in prose to appeal to reason by beauty of sense. The Malay language of prehistoric times had a dozen words for *fall*, *hit*, *carry*, and so on, words of such precision that different terms were used, for example, to express carrying on the head, under the arm, in the fingers, in the outstretched hand, on the back, across one hip, on a yoke, in a bag; and this precision of speech was further helped by a flexible syntax enabling the emphatic word or phrase to be placed in its just position of prominence in the sentence. But until it had borrowed from Sanskrit words like *price*, *property*, *work*, *religion*, *fasting*, *time*, *glad*, *agony*, the language was destitute of terms to express feelings and ethical, religious and other abstract ideas. Sanskrit came to the Malays through Indians conversant with magic and the ritual of a new religion, newcomers so few in the land that they could not introduce Prakrit, the colloquial form of Sanskrit, into the speech of their converts but were content to use classical Sanskrit in their prayers, and ceremonies. The first Indians came about the beginning of the Christian era or some centuries earlier from the Coromandel coast, to be succeeded by a later wave from Bengal and Magadha. Finally Indian influence came once more from the south, introducing many Sanskrit words in Tamil form and, later, Persian and Arabic words which Islam had brought to the East. This in the main is Malay as we know it, though many religious terms were imported afterwards by missionaries from the Hadramaut and a sprinkling of culture words was borrowed from Portuguese and Dutch. Except for a few Sumatran inscriptions, dating from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries A.D., there is no Malay written in other than Perso-Arabic script and there are no records of the Malay language free from Arabic loan-words. Marco Polo found Islam already established in Perlak, on the north coast of Sumatra, in 1292, and when Ibn Batuta visited Pasai in 1345 it held the field. The oldest Jawi or Malay written in Perso-Arabic script may be read on a stone from Trengganu, bearing a date which is either 1326 or 1386 and set up by a Sri Paduka Tuan to record the Islamic penalties for sexual and other offences to be enforced by Muslim Raja Mandulikas. The inscription is in Malay but contains a large number of Sanskrit words and translates *Allah taala* by the Sanskrit words *Dewata Mulia Raya*, which we shall find done also in Archbishop Laud's Malay copy of the *Ramayana*: at the same time it contains such Arabic words as *Rasul Allah*, *Islam*, *salla'llahu 'alaihi wa sallama*, *jardlu*, *juma'at*, *la'anat*, while the spelling, omitting the vowel points used in Arabic, already with a few exceptions

inserts vowels on the principles found in all Malay manuscripts until the modern indiscriminate insertion of vowels became common.

With this instrument of a language so receptive of new words and new ideas, "the Malays have been progressing on much the same literary road as ourselves but have not got as far as we have." And, what is more significant, their tongue will be found to have been one of the cultural languages of the world.

II.

MALAY FOLK LITERATURE.

(a) *Mythology, Riddles, Proverbs and Clock-Stories.*

Mythology, though not literature, contains the stuff of literature in the imaginative qualities that go to its invention. The Malay sheeted-goblin, so tied up by funeral wrappings that it can make its way along the ground only by rolling over and over on its side; the Birth Spirit, "that horrible wraith of a woman who has died in child-birth and comes to torment little children in the guise of a fearful face and bust with many feet of trailing entrails in her wake," these are terribly earnest ghost stories and whoever

*Turned them to shapes and gave to airy nothings
A local habitation and a name.*

possessed, however ignorant of it, a literary sense. An animist, the primitive Malay story-teller, invented fables to account for the origin of beasts and plants and why the yam has narcotic properties, why the sedge grows in water, why maize and bean stand tall and straight while yam and liana creep along the ground. He depicts the crocodile as compounded, his stomach-skin of palm-spathe, his backbone of sugar-cane, his ribs of its peelings, his head of a stone, his eyes of saffron, his teeth of iron nails. He relates how the python lost his venom by spitting it out in disgust at having failed to poison a young prince who had robbed him of fish. Perhaps under the influence of the Buddhist belief in transmigration he sees in the tiger an avatar of a cruel boy whose back was scored by stripes from his master's cane. The most elementary forms of Malay literary effort are these tales of his civilisation's nursery, supplemented by riddles and proverbs, forms that call not only for imagination but for artistry in words.

What plant is it that has a leaf like a sword and fruit like a gong-beater? Answer: the pineapple. This plain straightforward riddle can hardly be called a literary type, but there is another kind of Malay riddle that depends for its solution on jingle and assonance, that is on literary style, as for example,

Gëndang-gëndut tali kěchapi

"The string of lute quivers plunk-a-lunk," which should evoke the answer

Kěnyang pěrut suka hati

"You sing of food the giver of spunk," or, again,

Sarang sěmut di-tanah gěláp

"In cavern dark ants nest and bore," which should prompt the reply

Orang sělimut lalu lělap

"In blanket stark you rest and snore."

While often, if his hearers were defeated, the propounder would jeer at them in a patter—

My child with a rinse becomes a prince;
 His bath on a log, your child's a frog.
 His bath in a dish, my child gets his wish;
 His bath on the stair, your child is a hare.
 His bath on the stove, my child's a big cove;
 His bath in a pot, your child's a poor lot.
 Bathing with speed, my child's born to lead;
 His bath in a bowl, your child is a ghoul.

As we shall see, this practice in assonance led to the most pleasing form in Malay poetry, the *pantun*.

Of proverbs the Malay has hundreds, applicable to every circumstance and to the most inconsistent conduct. Where we talk of ploughing the sand, he talks of throwing salt into the sea; where we speak of being in clover, he speaks of rats in the rice-bin; where we say, "Out of the frying-pan into the fire," he says "Out of the jaws of the crocodile into the jaws of the tiger;" when we count our chicken before they are hatched, he grinds pepper to curry a bird on the wing. So fond was the Malay of this inchoate form of literature, that he has borrowed proverbs from many sources, until among his everyday sayings one meets not only Indian proverbs such as "The fence devours the crop," a criticism on breach of trust by an employee, but also Arabic proverbs such as, "A dog's tail can never be straight," "A rose fell to the lot of a monkey," "Who can plaster over the rays of the sun."

Foreign, too, in origin appears to be the Malay 'clock' series of questions, the elaboration of the riddle into a story, for which parallels occur among the Chams of Indochina and the Mons of Burma, while Lal Behari Day tells us in his "Folk-tales of Bengal" that every orthodox Bengali story ends with very similar sets of lines as a formula. One example must suffice.

Egret, egret! Why are you thin?
 Of course I'm thin! The fish won't rise.
 Fish, fish! Why won't you rise?
 How can I rise with such long grass on the bank?
 Grass, grass! Why are you so long?
 I'm long because cow won't eat me.
 Cow, cow! Eat the grass.
 How can I eat, when my belly aches?
 Belly, belly! Why do you ache?
 Because the rice is not cooked.
 Rice, rice! Why aren't you cooked?
 Because the firewood is wet.

Fire-wood, fire-wood! Why are you wet?
 I'm wet from the rain.
 Rain, rain! Why do you wet fire-wood?
 Of course I wet it, when frog calls for me.
 Frog, frog! Why do you call for rain?
 Because snake wants to eat me.
 Snake, snake! Why would you eat poor frog?
 Because he is my proper food.

But the best clock story in the Malay language is the tale of Mousedeer and the Otters' Babies, so charmingly translated in Sir George Maxwell's delightful book *In Malay Forests*.

(b) *Beast Fables*.

"The savage, we must remember, believes that animals are endowed with feeling and intelligence like those of men. An unusually intelligent Bushman questioned by a missionary could not state any difference between a man and a brute—he did not know but a buffalo might shoot with bows and arrows as well as a man if it had them." Allowing for the imbecility which professional bias and the difficulty of native dialects lead missionary and anthropologist to ascribe to primitive man, that or something like it must have been the stage of society which invented the beast fable: it must have been the product of the man who lived with animals, domesticated them and painted the caves of Altamira and the rocks of Rhodesia. In most parts of the world that stage of society is prehistoric now and conjectural as also is the early diffusion of some beast fables. In one story, that is found also in Bengal, Mousedeer, the hero of nearly all Malay beast fables, is caught by Crocodile but escapes by saying it was not his leg but a withered branch that has been nipped. In an Amazon Indian version, a jaguar catches a tortoise by the hind-leg as he is disappearing into his hole, but the tortoise convinces him he is holding a root and so escapes.

The first historical signpost to Asia's Walt Disney land is a *stupa* at Bharhut in Allahabad, on which more than two centuries before Christ were carved in stone beast stories from the Buddhist *Jataka* tales, among them several so-called Aesop's fables which therefore antedate Aesop. And Malay beast tales, though written down only in recent centuries, occur, almost all of them, in such literary collections as these *Jataka Tales*, in the *Panchatantra* compiled by a Brahmin about 300 A.D. and in the twelfth century *Katha Sarit Sagara* or *Ocean of Story* compiled from an earlier work by Somadeva in Kashmir and containing, if *Kataha* be identical with Kedah, frequent references* to that Malay state. Malaya has been in contact with India for some 2000 years and the first Indian tales may have come even before Christ. Buddhism has left memorials of the fifth century A.D. in Kedah, and later we find Indian beast

*Taranga 13, verse 70 ff.; T.56 v.54 ff; T.61 v.3; T.123 v.150 ff.

stories illustrated in stone on the Buddhist temples of Java. Buddhism in fact carried Indian folk-tales as far as China, and Islam took them to Africa as well, while long before Alexander the Great there was a path from India through Persia to Europe. The Malay tale of Mousedeer's defeat in a race by King Snail, who ranging his subjects along the shore bade each in station pop up ahead of a runner who could not distinguish between the king and his subjects, is found in the *Panchatantra*, and is the counterpart of our story of the Hare and the Tortoise, of the West African fable of Chameleon and Elephant and of the American negro story of Brer Tarrypin outrunning Snail. If it is objected to the diffusion theory that stories so simple could be invented independently in different parts of the world, one need only turn to a more sophisticated and elaborate example, Uncle Remus' story of the Tar Baby, which it has been said "is perhaps the most remarkable example of the insidious spread of Buddhistic tales." In the Malay version, Mouse-deer is caught fast in a Tar-Baby, pretends to be dead, is thrown aside as a corpse and leaps away. The germ of this widely spread tale, which occurs in the *Hitopadesa* is a *Jataka* story of a young prince who hits an adhesive goblin and sticks to it. Again, although the simplest tales may have spread by word of mouth in prehistoric times, a source originally literary may perhaps be inferred for such an interwoven cycle of tales as that of "How Mouse-deer cheated Tiger," which is current in Malaya, among the Javanese and Sundanese, among the Dayaks of Borneo and among the Chams, Annamites and Cambodians. In the Malay story Mouse-deer cheats Tiger by pretending that a wasp's nest is Solomon's gong, whereupon Tiger hits it only to get stung; then by pretending that a split bamboo humming in the breeze is Solomon's musical instrument, whereupon Tiger puts his mouth to it and gets his tongue nipped off; then by pretending that a pat of dung is Solomon's saffron rice and finally by pretending that a coiled snake is Solomon's turban or belt, whereupon Tiger tries to put it on and is caught in the deadly coils. In the Cham version, there are the same incidents, though in different order, and it is significant of a foreign origin that Hare, who plays the part of Mouse-deer, gores Elephant with his horn. Solomon in the Malay story is obviously an interloper who has entered with Islam.

Not that every Malay beast fable need have come either so late or so early as Buddhist times or be derived directly from any one of the three famous old Indian collections. Of many tales there are variant versions showing different intermediate channels of diffusion. Patani has a story of Elephant and Tiger wagering to make Monkey fall from his tree, the loser of the wager to be eaten by the winner. Tiger won, but when he wanted to claim the penalty, Mouse-deer poured molasses down Elephant's back, instructed him to trumpet as with pain and standing on his back pretended to gnaw his flesh. This spectacle sent tiger fleeing in terror until Ape told him it was only Mouse-deer. Ape and Mouse-

deer returned but again Mouse-deer made Tiger flee by crying, "Why did you not bring two tigers for my meal, Ape, instead of one?" In a Perak version the two frightened animals have their tails tied together and one of the tails breaks as they start back in terror. This story occurs in the *Panchatantra*, in the Sanskrit *Sukasaptati* or "Tales of a Parrot," in the *Tota Kahani*, Haidari's nineteenth century Hindustani recension of the *Sukasaptati*, in Sinhalese, Kashmiri, Chinese and Tibetan folklore, among the Moïs and Chams of Indo-China and among the Hottentots, some containing others omitting the episode of the broken tail. It is depicted in bas-reliefs on the ninth century Chandi Mendut and the fourteenth century Chandi Panataran in Java. There are two Malay variants of another story, that goes back to the *Panchatantra* and is known to-day in the Deccan the Punjab and Tibet, among the Mons of Burma, by Hottentots and Soudanese. In one Malay version Buffalo releases Crocodile whose tail has been pinned by the fall of a tree. Crocodile repays this kindness by seizing one of Buffalo's hind-legs till Mouse-deer arriving pretends to disbelieve the story of the release, gets Crocodile to show his original position and shouts to Buffalo to drop the log on him again. A version from Kedah allots man the part of Buffalo, Tiger that of Crocodile and a trap that of the fallen tree, and this version accords with the story as given in the *Gul Bakuwali*, a Malay adaptation of Nihal Chand's Hindustani version (A.D. 1803) of the Persian "Romance of the Rose." In the Kedah, Mon and Punjabi tales man appeals to a road (or bridge) and to a tree on the subject of man's ingratitude; in the versions from Java and from Malacca to an old sleeping-mat and to a worn dish-cover:—

"Said Mouse-deer, 'Look at that old sleeping-mat afloat in mid-stream. I will ask it about man's ingratitude. Ho! there, old mat, what is the way of the world? What is its reward for those that do kind acts?'

"The mat replied, 'Look at me. Once I was bright and strong, beloved by men, and now what is my reward?'

"A moment later a dish-cover floated past and Mouse-deer put it the same question and got the same reply.

The source of some variant versions is easy to trace. The Malay, for example, has two versions of the *Panchatantra*, one translated before 1736 A.D. from an Indo-Persian original, the other translated in the nineteenth century by Munshi Abdullah from a Tamil recension.

Malay beast fables, though they admit the tiger and birds and fishes, centre, as we have seen, in a cycle of Mouse-deer tales, most of Malay's loan stories having to adopt this tiny chevrotain as their hero. "He is commonly called the mouse-deer; but, in spite of the name, belongs rather to the antelope tribe, the heel bone of the

hinder leg projecting in a fashion never seen in the true deer. The eye-teeth, too, are curiously long and projecting, and the hooves are cloven to an extent which in so small a creature is really remarkable. At the same time, he is a most beautiful little animal, with big dark pleading eyes and all the grace and elegance of a gazelle." His role in fable undergoes several stages of evolution. Firstly there is the simple guile story, of very wide geographical range and very primitive, though a later age has sometimes introduced anachronisms like the mention of the Prophet or of Solomon. In this stage Mouse-deer is a pagan knave, pitting wits against strength in the struggle for existence and sometimes worsted by those even weaker than himself like Snail or Sand-fly. Examples are numerous. To cross a river, Mouse-deer induces all the Crocodiles to rise and be counted: he then crosses on a bridge of their backs. Sambur-doe meeting Mouse-deer sees his mouth red with slaver, Mouse-deer declares it is from the juice of betel-nut which he got in a garden where all are welcome: Sambur-doe hurries there and is trapped by the gardener. A Sambur-fawn attacks Mouse-deer for killing her mother: Mouse-deer leaps into a deep pit to escape and later climbs out on the backs of beasts he has decoyed down by pointing at the drifting clouds and saying that the sky is falling. Many Mouse-deer stories of this type are derived ultimately from *Jataka* tales or from that wide Eastern ocean of story, of which the *Jataka* tales are a charted sea. There is a *Jataka* tale of dogs trying to drink a river dry: Mouse-deer challenged the beasts to perform this feat, and arranged for them to drink while the tide was rising and for himself to drink when it was ebbing. In another *Jataka* tale the jackal has a mock funeral in order to capture a goat: Mouse-deer arranges a mock funeral for Tiger to enable him to catch a sambur-deer whose flesh Mouse-deer covets.

In the next stage Mouse-deer has acquired an ideal of justice and exercises his wit for unselfish purposes, being described often as the servant of the Prophet Solomon, who according to Muslim belief is lord of the animal world. These tales are less numerous and many of them are not properly beast-fables, Mouse-deer having usurped the place of the Muslim *hakim*. One specimen tells how the suit of a rich man claiming payment from orphans for the privilege of smelling his cooking on which they had grown fat is brought before the stock oriental just potentate and settled by Mouse-deer, who gets the orphans to count over one hundred pieces behind a curtain and says the sound of the money is as valuable as the smell of the cooking. A *Jataka* tale and the "Ocean of Story" both give versions of this story, which is common in India and has travelled as far as Tibet, Siam and Japan, being in fact not a beast fable at all and having ordinarily a human arbiter.

It is convenient here to notice a collection of Mouse-deer tales, entitled the *Hikayat Pelandok Jinaka*, that was written down several centuries ago and with such artistry that the compilation belongs

really to literature and not to folk-lore. Evidently composed in the Malay Peninsula, there are two recensions of this excellent work on the once favourite Indian lines of an animal posing as the possessor of magic arts—van der Tuuk found the derivation of *jainaka* from the Sanskrit *jainaka* “a little or contemptible Jaina or Buddhist, used always of one who took advantage of the credulity of man and applied to mouse-deer as the hero of a romance which has a bias against Buddhism.” If this theory is correct, then the title may be translated, “The Tale of that wretch the Mouse-deer,” though in modern Malay it would be rendered “The Tale of the Wily Mouse-deer.” Moreover, if van der Tuuk is correct, then the work would have to go back to a time before Islam completely held the field or more probably it must have been drafted in a port like old Malacca, where there were non-Muslim quarters, or perhaps in Kedah whose ruler became a Muslim Sultan in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and whose state adjoined Buddhist Siam and must have had Buddhist subjects as it has to-day. An early date is suggested by the scholarly choice of the adjective *jainaka* and perhaps by the parody of Sanskrit titles, which shows a familiarity with that language which Islam later extinguished: it is also suggested by the phrase *pusu jantaka*, that is *pusu jataka*, of the 1893 edition. For the problem of date must be considered along with a study of the two different recensions, which appear to have been written down from some earlier recited version and to differ according to the memory and taste of the writers. The difference may be compared not with the two recensions of the *Sējarah Mēlayu*, where there has been deliberate alteration of the written word, but rather with the romance of Hang Tuah as recorded from verbal tradition first in the *Sējarah Mēlayu* and again in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, where discrepancies are due not to any conscious motive but to the vagaries of human memory.

In both versions the plot is identical, the triumph of Mouse-deer's cunning over the strength of larger beasts and of ogres. Both begin with his assumption of magic power, of which the outward sign is a hoary appearance, gained in the one version by rubbing the white latex of the wild fig on his head and in the other by rolling his whole body in grass pollen. Both versions have for their first tale how he makes peace between goats and tigers by showing the tigers the mouths of the goats red with slaver of wild berries. This tale is followed in both by the story of how Mouse-deer tells an ogre, who is molesting the beasts, that the sky is falling and having so beguiled him into a pit binds and delivers him to the beasts to defile and trample to death. All the beasts do obeisance to their little jungle-lord and in the longer version Bear brings him offerings. Then in both versions Monkey refuses to acknowledge Mouse-deer and seeks the help of Lion and Elephant, both of whom Mouse-deer defeats by his cunning, though in the longer version he defeats Lion first and in the shorter Elephant. Then in the longer

version the beasts, headed by Monkey, beg Mouse-deer to deliver them from the oppression of Crocodile, while in the shorter the Raja Monkey adds Crocodile to the number of his champions of revolt. In both versions Crocodile is worsted, in the longer by the pouring of the narcotic *tuba* root into the river, in the shorter by getting stuck on a plank smeared with adhesive rubber, when he is beaten to death by Elephant and Tiger.

Next in the longer version comes a sentence that appears to indicate a supplement taking the place of an original conclusion: *sa-běrmula ada pun yang di-chěritěrankan oleh yang ĕmpunya hikayat ini, bahawa sa-nya pělandok jinaka itu tiada-lah fakir chěritěrankan hikayat-nya itu.* This sentence is followed by three stories:—

- (1) A tale, paralleled in the *Kaka-Jutaka* and Indian folk-lore, relates how Mouse-deer challenges the beasts to drink a river dry: they drink while the tide is rising, he when it is ebbing.
- (2) A tale, paralleled in a Sinhalese folk-story, relates how an ogre, who eats up the fish the beasts catch in lake Tenom, is lured into letting himself be bound on the pretence that the bonds will cure aches and pains. This appears to be a sophisticated tale, as most folk-tales are too literal to make animals fishermen.
- (3) The last tale relates how the king of the ants challenges Elephant to battle for killing his subjects, gets him to trip in a hole and has him devoured by the ants. Mouse-deer approves of Elephant's defeat but has the holeful of ants burnt out in retaliation for their wanton torture of Elephant.

In the shorter version, after the killing of Crocodile, Mouse-deer orders the beasts to chase the monkeys, and the next day having blackened himself by rolling in a newly burnt rice-clearing and having tied a rope to one of his legs, he finds the king of the monkeys and walks under his tree, grumbling loudly at his task of guarding the box wherein Mouse-deer the Wily keeps his life. The monkeys beg to be led to it (by what they take to be a dirty fugitive mouse-deer slave), so that they may destroy the life of their enemy. Mouse-deer leads them to a wasp's nest, which the monkeys kick, whereupon the wasps sally forth and sting them. Mouse-deer runs off and having washed himself sits on his ant-hill throne and tells the beasts that his books of divination (*sastěrawan*) reveal that the monkey king and his subjects are swollen all over from his curse. It is clear that the unity of plot is preserved only in the shorter version, where the story culminates in the punishment of Monkey, the ringleader of opposition to Mouse-deer's pretensions. The shorter version may, therefore, be regarded as nearer to an original unknown to us.

The introduction of numerous verses and of a strange fauna, *sərigala* Jackal, *domba* Sheep and *kaldai* Donkey, point to Indo-Persian influence in the shorter version. For "ox" it uses the Javanese *sapi*, instead of *lěmbu*, and it contains one unusual Javanese loan-word *papak* "to welcome." It reads *měmunoh* for *měmbunoh* and *měminasakan* for *měmbinasaken* and it has several words and dialect forms which suggest a Kedah author or a Kedah copyist, for example *běntes* "wrestle" for the *běnteh* of the longer version, *wilahar* "lake" and the phrase *tuan-tuan apa sakalian*. One of the many quatrains, which appear to be an integral part of the narrative, has a line *Orang di-Kedah bėrkota di-bumi*. Another line in the same set of verses has the couplet: *Barang siapa mungkirkan janji Anak Islam masok Sėrani*, a reference to the Catholic Church which, if the quatrains formed part of the original narrative, would put the date of compilation after 1511 when the Portuguese took Malacca. At the same time the pantuns refer to Hang Tuah and *Sėri di-Bėntan Laksamana*. The shorter version mentions Indrakila, in Hindu mythology the mountain used by the gods for churning the ocean, and it mentions Mahabiru or Mahameru, the Hindu Olympus. It calls Bear Sri Indralogam "His black highness," Jackal Sri Indra-kilat "His highness lightning," Deer Paduka Indra Chawang, "His tynd highness," Bull Paduka Indra Sentosa "His placid highness," Hedgehog Megat Dunia, "Chief of the world with royal mother and commoner sire," Pig Sri Dewa Sungkor "The divine grouter." The titles in the longer version differ and some of them may be slang nicknames. Deer is called Maharaja Lawi Ranggi "His highness with the branching plumes," *lawi* being a Javanese word; Rhino is Maharaja Payok; Bear is Sang Guna; Jackal is Santika; Tiger Maharaja Shah Mardan king of warriors; Buffalo Maharaja Rama Pėsut (or? Kesut) an unintelligible title that raised a laugh. This assumption of new and high-sounding names is a feature borrowed from the Javanese Panji tales that were once so popular.

As a manuscript the longer version has some signs of being copied from an original of greater antiquity than that of the shorter version. In it Mouse-deer's throne is *فوس jėnaka*; *ف* in old MSS. may stand for *k* or *p* and hitherto students have looked to Sanskrit or Arabic for an explanation of the word; but comparison with the *pongsu jınaka* of the shorter version shows it is *pus*, the same archaic spelling for *pusu*, a dialect or archaic form of *pongsu* "ant-hill," that is found in Archbishop Laud's MS. of the *Hikayat Sėri Rama*. Another detail omitted from the shorter version but recurring in the longer is constant reference to 'Ali and Amir Hamza, those favourites of early Islam in Malacca and elsewhere before missionaries from the Hadramaut frowned on these Shiah heroes. Yet another is the close similarity between Lion's queries put to the monkey king asking if Mouse-deer is in the Bear company and then if he is in the Jackal Company and then if he is in the company

of Wild Oxen and a passage in the *Hikayat Indraputra*, well-known by 1634, where Talela Shah asks his son if each passer-by in the procession is not Indraputra.

The manuscript of the shorter version (printed by Klinkert in 1893) was copied in 1804 A.D. but neither the name of the copyist nor the place where it was copied are recorded. The manuscript of the longer version was copied at Kampong Galang, which presumably stands for Kampong Kalang, Singapore. A *Hikayat Pelandok Jinaka* was known to Werndly in 1736. Its compilation from a verbal source, its Sanskrit, its Javanese colouring, its references to 'Ali and Amir Hamza, its relic of archaic spelling and its reminiscence of the *Hikayat Indraputra* suggest that even the longer and less authentic version should be allocated to the sixteenth century.

(c) *Farcical Tales.*

Just as savage wit exaggerating with childish naivety the characteristics of the animal creation evolved the beast fable, so by exaggerating the characteristics of human nature it evolved the farcical tale. And just as there are cycles of beast-tales, revolving in different countries round the fox the jackal and the mouse-deer, so there are cycles of farcical tales revolving round the Irishman the Aberdonian and the London Alderman, round the German Eulenspiegel, the Arabo-Turkish Juha or Khojah Nasr ad-din, the Perso-Arabic Abu Nawas and the Malay Pa' Pea's-cod, Father Folly and Daddy Long Legs. For in Malay folklore there are three comic types, embodied in five characters. There is the simpleton, who appears to be indigenous in the Malayan region, Pa' Kadok "Pa' Pea's-cod" and his pious relative *Lēbai Malang* "The Luckless Parson." There is Pa' Pandir, "Father Folly," the Malay Handy Andy, akin, though not quite so akin as the Sundanese si-Kabayan, to Eulenspiegel and Khojah Nasr ad-din. And there is the cunning character, a foreigner long naturalised in the Malayan region under the names Pa' Bilalang "Daddy Long Legs" and *Si-Lunchai*. There are also comic characters, like Mashhudu'lhakk and Abu Nawas, recognised as foreigners and introduced by literary agency in modern times.

The tales of the Malay simpleton are few. Pa' Pea's-cod, after getting his wife to stitch him a fine paper suit, went to the royal cockpit with his best cock. The raja seeing the bird persuaded Pa' Pea's-cod to give it to him in exchange for another which on royal word was superior. Pa' Pea's-cod set the bird given him against his own cock and wagering his house and garden lost them by the victory of the cock he had given to the raja. He clapped his sides over the fight, burst his paper clothes and ran home naked. But another day he regained his lost fortune by catching a fish with its belly full of jewellery.

Lēbai Malang, the Luckless Parson, was less fortunate. One man called him to bury a corpse, another to a feast to celebrate a pupil's completion of his religious studies, a third to a chanting

of the Kuran. He accepted all three invitations but sat reflecting, "Go to the funeral and I'll get a present of cloth; go to the feast, I'll get meat and rice; go to the chanting and it will be cakes and sweets. However the Prophet says attendance at a funeral is a paramount duty." At last he paddled down-stream to find the funeral ended, the chanting done and only a scrap of meat left over from the feast. Returning to his garden he remembered he had not collected the juice from his sugar palms and to climb a palm set down the meat at its foot, when a dog stole it. The Lebai gave chase. When the dog bolted into a hole in a tree, he doffed his clothes to block the hole but the dog escaped by another aperture. Mistaking the naked Lebai for a tree-stump, two pigeons alighted on him. He caught one under each arm but let them go by trying to get the bird under his right arm into his right hand and the bird under his left into his left. Meanwhile thieves had stolen his clothes and his palm-juice. So he went home wretched and naked and was beaten by his wife.

Of the next series, the tales of *Pa' Pandir*, "Father Folly," there are Sundanese and Batak versions, but except for a few accretions in the Batak cycle the tales appear not to extend beyond Malaysia. Set to mind his baby, Pa' Pandir bathed it in scalding water with fatal effect. Carrying it in a fishing-net for burial he dropped it, buried only the net and seeing the corpse on his way home was comforted by the apparent commonness of infant mortality. Sent to buy a buffalo, described by his wife as a grass-eater, he bought a sickle and tied it to a tree because its horns cut him. Commissioned to call white-capped Hajis and bearded Lebais to a feast he brought back a white-capped sparrow and a goat. After buying husk for rice, he toppled into the river because being one he tried to follow ants in their hundreds across a rotten trunk. After buying salt he hid it in a bamboo in a stream. His death from colic after eating bananas without peeling them reminds one rather of a fool in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* who swallowed a handful of uncooked rice and had to be treated by a doctor.

In the Daddy Long Legs cycle there is nothing indigenous. Nearly every episode may be traced to the *Katha Sarit Sagara*. The first episode where Daddy Long Legs bids his son hide buffaloes and gets a reputation as a diviner by describing their whereabouts occurs not only in the folk-tales of the Achinese and Bataks of Sumatra, of the Sundanese and Javanese, of the Torajas in Celebes and of the Halmahera people but can be traced to all three of the great Indian collections. In the second episode his raja threatens Daddy Long Legs with death unless he can discover the men who have stolen seven chests from his palace. Daddy Long Legs tells his wife to fry buns and counts them "One, two, three, four" and so on, so that the seven thieves lurking beneath his house think he is counting them and confess to him where the chests are hidden. This second episode follows the first as in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*. In the Malay, Batak, Macassar and Rottinese versions as in some

Indian and Arabian versions there are several thieves: in the Javanese story of Pak Banjir, in an Annamite folktale and in many Indian versions there is only one thief; in Achinese and Sundanese versions the thief reveals himself solely from terror and not from any misconception. The third episode finds Daddy Long Legs solving a riddle as to the sex of goslings and a riddle as to the top and bottom of some logs. The latter riddle comes from the *Maha-Ummagga-Jataka*, while the former remotely recalls the Rabbinical story of how when the Queen of Sheba asked Solomon to discover the sex of boys and girls similarly dressed, Solomon ordered them to wash their hands and said that the girls were those who washed up to the elbows. The setting of the two riddles by a foreign sea-captain, whose ship Daddy Long Legs paddles beside to hear accidentally the solutions, appears to be an Indonesian variant. Versions of the riddle episode have been collected from the Bataks, the Sundanese, the Javanese, and from the Khmers of Indochina, in the Philippines and, in Ceylon. The next episode in the Peninsular cycle with its genies and its Prophet Khadir is obviously a Muslim interpolation. Then comes the very interesting story of the raja holding a grass-hopper in his hand and threatening Daddy Long Legs with death if he cannot divine what it is. Thinking of a son left fatherless, the diviner ejaculates, "Young Long Legs! Young Long Legs!" "A grass-hopper it is," says the raja. Just as it is startling to find some of Aesop's fables enshrined in the Jataka tales two hundred years before Aesop's fables were collected, so it is startling to find this detail of the grass-hopper (or cricket) identical in French, Sicilian, Arabian, Kamaonier and Malay versions of this old Jataka tale, while in the *Jataka* itself and in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* it is a frog the questioner holds in his hand. Apparently the tale spread not always from a literary source but also *per ora virum*. For the final episode where to be quit of conundrums Daddy Long Legs burns his house (and his books on divination!) there are parallels in the folklore of Ceylon as well as in Sumatra, Java, Celebes and the Philippines.

Si-Lunchai, of the same kidney as Daddy Long Legs, is a poor pot-bellied seller of firewood who after other exploits is put in a sack to be drowned for *lèse-majesté* but induces a Tamil merchant to take his place by declaring he is to be drowned for refusing to marry the king's daughter. For this tale there are counterparts not only in Indian, Sinhalese and Burmese folklore but in the *Arabian Nights*, in the Soudan and in Sierra Leone, the localities suggesting that it was Islam which carried it to Africa. There are Indian parallels, too, for the two next episodes. In the first Si-Lunchai pretends to have returned from heaven and tells the raja to build a platform, from which by means of a charm he will see his parents in their celestial abode—that is, if he is not a bastard: king and counsellors, anxious to vouch for their legitimacy, all see into heaven! In the second episode Si-Lunchai tells the king that the way to heaven is down a deep pit, where a dragon devours the raja, but Si-Lunchai jumping on to a ledge climbs back to earth

and persuades the nobles that their raja has sent him back to reign in his stead. In a Sundanese variant, *Bapa Puchong*, the hero persuades the nobles by pretending he is a spirit and speaking from a hollow tree, an episode found in the three great Indian collections, the *Jataka*, the *Panchatantra* and the *Katha Sarit Sagara*.

An isolated Malay story of *Mat Janin* tells how that worthy, climbing for coconuts, reckons how with his hire he can buy a hen, with her chicken buy goats, with the goat's kids buy buffaloes, with their calves buy an elephant, and so on till he can marry a princess who will hug him and make him wriggle, whereupon in the ecstasy of imagination he wriggles off the tree—and this mortal coil. It occurs in various shapes in the *Panchatantra*, the *Hitopadesa*, and *Arabian Nights* and had reached Europe at least as early as the XIVth century. The Malays have two versions, the one outlined above, the other in the Fifth Tale of Munshi Abdullah's *Hikayat Galilah dan Daminah*, where following the *Panchatantra* a beggar dreams of beating a wife he was to get eventually from the proceeds of a jar of flour; only he hit the jar in his dream and spilt the flour! But flour is not a Malay food and the Malay prefers the folktale version.

The most rollicking farce in the Malay language is entitled *Musang berjanggut*, "the Bearded Civet-cat," a tale turning not on a type of character but on plot and incident. A king and his court all fall in love with a beautiful young bride. The king sends her husband on the hopeless quest for a bearded civet-cat. On the bride's advice her husband only pretends to set out. All her admirers then seek assignations. She arranges for the Kathi to come at six o'clock, the Temenggong at seven, the Vizier at eight, the Prime Minister at nine, the Heir Apparent at ten, the King at eleven. She puts off each importunate suitor by saying she is cooking cakes for his repast. When the Temenggong arrives, she hides the Kathi in a chest; when the Vizier comes, she puts the Temenggong on a shelf; when the Prime Minister knocks, she secretes the Vizier on another shelf and when the Heir Apparent startles the Prime Minister, she makes the latter act the part of a scullion. Lastly when the King taps on the door, she makes the Heir Apparent pretend to be the pedestal of a lamp. Finding the King an ardent wooer, she stipulates he must first play hobby-horse and let her whip him up and down the room seven times. With bleeding knees the King crawls along the floor, till the Vizier being thirsty picks up a coconut and tries to crack it on the shaven head of the Heir Apparent, which he mistakes for marble. There is a yell and all flee except the Kathi who begs to be released. The husband now pretends to have returned and takes the Kathi in the chest to the palace, announcing that he has captured a bearded civet-cat. All the suitors have to look into the box and say if it contains the right species, and each hastily declares his ignorance of zoology as he recognizes the Kathi, who growls, "I know where you were last night." Finally the King, too, inspects

and gets the same greeting. Husband and wife take the box home and release a very penitent man. All the suitors give the young couple handsome presents.

The story of a wife's lovers collected to their confusion comes in the tale of Upakosa in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, in the *Hitopadesa* and in the *Sukasaptati*, but none of these versions mention the episode of the hobby-horse, which however occurs in the *Panchatantra* and the *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, nor do they mention the entrapping of a bearded man as a captive beast, an incident from a Perso-Arabic tale of Abu Nawas, the vizier of Harun a'r-Rashid. Naturally no old version mentions a pedestal lamp, though it may be connected with the tale of the cat and the candle in the Hindustani version of the Romance of the Rose. The plot of a lady and her suitors may be found in several Persian and Arabian works, including the *Arabian Nights*, but the version most nearly resembling the Malay is a Sinhalese tale, where even the hiding on a shelf and the breaking of a coconut on a bald pate are included. The story may have reached the Malay recently from a Muslim Indian source.

So, too, though hardly farcical, the romance of a clever youth, *Hikayat Mahashodhak* or *Mashhudu'lhakk*. Only two manuscripts of the work are known and they are modern. The Malay work must be from some South Indian Muslim original but the contents are ultimately derived from the popular *Maha-Ummaga-Jataka*, of which there are also Tibetan and Sinhalese versions.

Mahashodhak, the son of a merchant Buka Sakti, is so clever that, had not his four *guru* been jealous and obstructive, Raja Wadirah would have offered him a court post. As an infant he decides, by questioning them separately as to their relatives by marriage, which is the wife and which the abductor of a pretty wife. She and her old husband had come to a stream apparently deep. A Bedouin carried the wife across first and ran off with her. Angry, the old husband stepped into the stream, found it shallow and pursued them to Mahashodhak's village, where he and the Bedouin both claimed the lady as wife. Mahashodhak determines which is the mother of a child by ordering it to be cut asunder, whereat the real mother drops her claim. He decides whether a man or a genie, Farail, in the form of a man is the real owner of a carpet by interrogating both as to its length, breadth and make: Farail he saw to be a genie because he did not sweat. Raja Wadirah asks which is the top and which the bottom of a planed log and which the male and which the female of two skulls. The first riddle is answered by dropping it in water and seeing which end sinks: the answer to the second is that crooked woman has a crooked skull. Next the clever child picks out the male of two snakes, because it has a large head small scales and a thick tail. The bull with a finger-nail (*kuku*) on its head and horns on its feet is a cock. Ordered to transfer a water-pond from the garden into the palace, the child waits till night when he gets men to fill

in the one and excavate the other. Asked to twist a rope of sand, he says it cannot be done unless the raja give a pattern. Asked to thread an intricate ruby, he souses a thread in honey and fixes the gem in an ants' nest so that they thread it. Offered at the age of seven a court post, he took the seat placed for his father, because—and here the story makes a muddle of the *Jataka* version that a mule foal is more valuable than its donkey sire. Then comes a muddled version of the glitter in a lake being due to a jewel not in its depths but on a tree by its bank—there is no mention of a *Jataka* bucket test, where the appearance of the glitter in lake and bucket show the jewel's rays come from above and not from the depths of the lake. When Raja Wadirah shows him two sticks one laid on the ground and one erect and asks which is the longer, the infant prodigy replies that they are of equal length, though things erect always look longer. Once a teacher had five pupils, one so poor he could not pay and so stupid that he could not learn but so devoted that pitying his cursed luck the teacher gave him his daughter's hand. But his luck pursued him so that he loathed her and when she climbed a tree for figs, he piled thorns against it to imprison her while he fled. A raja found and married her. In a royal procession she smiles when the pages hit her first husband over the head for not clearing grass in the road. When the king in anger demands the reason, she tells of her high parentage and her first marriage. The king sends presents to her father who in turn sends a ring that will turn on the finger if it is near poison. Mahashodhak gets credit because he alone had advised the king to marry the girl in the tree, on the ground that royal luck never encountered bad luck, as the event proved. Next he solves the riddle why a dog and a goat are friends. The dog a meat-eater could not enter a kitchen without being beaten; the herbivorous goat was beaten if it entered the elephants' stalls. So each stole food for the other; the goat unsuspected from the kitchen, the dog unsuspected from the stalls. The raja asks whether brains or riches are the greater blessing. "Riches" say his four teachers, "because the clever serve the rich." "Brains," says the child, "because they save one from danger." So the king shut the four teachers in a room full of gold along with a hammer and chisel and he shut Mahashodhak in a room empty except for those tools: both rooms adjacent to a food store. The four teachers mistaking their walls for stone nearly starved, till Mahashodhak having tried and discovered the walls to be wooden bored holes into the other two rooms and got all the gold from the four teachers in return for food. The spirit of the state put four intelligence tests to the raja, threatening death unless he could solve them. (1) There were two people, not enemies, but one hit the other and the other loved him more. (2) One person was angry with another, so that he went away, whereat the angry person was sad. (3) There were two fast friends but constantly they quarrelled. (4) There was a pond with lilies. If birds perched one on each lily, one bird had no lily but if a pair perched on each lily, there was a lily with no bird. How

many were the birds? Recalled from exile by royal pages (*biduanda*), Mahashodhak gives the four answers: (1) Two infants in their mother's arms; (2) Father and child; (3) Man and wife; (4) Four birds and three lilies. Disguised as a tailor, with a bag of cloth, needles and thread, he goes in search of a bride and meeting a pretty girl, Chitata, in a rice-field asks for her hand. He gives her mother imitation rice of ivory to cook but Chitata detects it. She is a good cook but pretending disgust he pours rice and broth over her head to test her temper. Together they set out for his country. "Is this stream deep?" he asks her. "Ask what is in front of you," she says, meaning his stick. When they reached Wakat, he left her outside the town on pretence of fetching his relatives. He sends a servant richly dressed to tell her the tailor is a slave-dealer and to tempt her with a proposal of marriage. She refuses. Next morning he sends ten women to bring her before him, but she does not recognize him in his court apparel. They charge her with being a runaway or an evil doer. She is locked up and in the night she is told the judge wants to wed her. Again she refuses. Mahashodhak appears in his tailor's garb, takes her to his house and marries her in the presence of the king.

There is an Achinese version, entitled *Meudeuha'*, which Achinese chiefs "regard as an epitome of statemanship" and which is "a fairly faithful rendering of the Malay story." For *Wadīrah* it reads *Wadihirah* which is nearer the *Jataka's Vedeha*: for the Pali *Pancala* it uses a Tamil form *Panjalarah*. *Mashhudulhakk* is obviously an Arabic corruption of the Pali *Mahosadha Pandit*.

Lastly there are the farcical tales centring round Abu Nawas and these appear to belong to two different recensions, one Perso-Arabic with parallels in the Nasr ad-din cycle, the other from a Muslim Indian source. In the Perso-Arabic cycle Abu Nawas is the son of a headman; in the Indian, the son of a Kathi. The Perso-Arabic recension may be read in the *Tjerita Aboe Nawas*, in poor Batavian Malay; the Indian recension has appeared in the *Hikayat Abu Nawas* litho-graphed in Singapore (A.H. 1336). Of both, outlines have been printed in English by myself, in Dutch by Doctor Coster-Wijsman in her work on *Uilespiegel-Verhalen in Indonesië*. There are only two tales in Malay, in a large unpublished manuscript of the *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, that exhibit Abu Nawas as what he was at the court of Harun ar-Rashid, a great poet. Jokes are ascribed to him in the *Arabian Nights*, while in Madagascar and Malaysia, among the Mehri of South Arabia and among the Swahili he has become the hero of cycles of farcical tales, some at least of them of local origin. The Malay recensions lack the local colour which is the literary feature of older folktales.

(d) Folk-Romances.

The folk romance has gone through the same phases as the literary romance but has not advanced so far along the Muslim lines that foreigners laid down for the latter. Two of these folk-

romances based on the Malay version of the *Ramayana* illustrate the principal phases. The first from Patani belongs to the repertoire of the oldest shadow-play, performed in Java before the time of Majapahit and carried thence to the Malay peninsula, Siam and Cambodia: except for folk elements, it would belong to the tales founded on Indian epics, of which a few have survived with Kawi word-forms and Kawi names. As in the Kelantan shadow-play to-day, Siva is called Gaffer Mahasiku. Having reached the age of 128 years, to atone for his sins he becomes a hermit till a sparrow nesting in his beard advises him to get a child to bear a portion of them. From sandalwood he creates a bride, who bears him a daughter and then is unfaithful, getting three sons by the sun-god, the moon-god and the monkey-king. Siva turns her back into sandalwood. Her sons he turns into monkees but later restores to manhood. In the sequel there are all the main names and motifs of the Malay *Ramayana*: an unsavoury begetting by Vishnu (that anticipates Huxley's "Brave New World"), a princess Mandudaki, a bamboo-princess, the offer of a bride to a successful archer, Ravana's change into a golden hind and a mendicant to ravish Sita, Jatayu trying to save her, the fire that protects her from Ravana, the failure of Sri Rama and his consort to recognize their monkey son, the burning of Langkapuri, the building of the causeway. Finally Hanoman fetches the stalk of Ravana's life from the Maharaja of ghosts and he is slain and Sita recovered. Bibisenam succeeds Ravana.

Except for one mention of Allah the Patani folk-tale is devoid of Islamic colouring, unlike another *Ramayana* tale collected in Perak, which exhibits strong Minangkabau influence in style and is full of Muslim allusions. Childless, Rama consults his brother Laksamana, who going into a shaman's trance learns that a picnic will give Rama a son. Rama and his consort, Single-Flower-on-Stalk, bathe in a forbidden lake and turn into monkees. Laksamana restores their shapes but their son is a monkey and is banished. He visits Hanoman who finds him a glutton. He even tries to eat the sun and falls senseless in the garden of princess Dainty-as-Carraway, but Hanoman giving the sun a Muslim greeting persuades that orb to pluck him from her lap to become a monkey king. Meanwhile in the shape of a golden goat Ravana decoys Rama and gets his consort to elope! His monkey-son swelling to a giant helps Rama, meets his mother (whom the discovery of a prohibited degree has kept unmolested by her captor), destroys Ravana's favourite palm and mango-tree and faces him in the shape of a buffalo. Weapons cannot kill nor fire burn him. But Kachapuri (*sic*) is burnt. After defeat Ravana is allowed to go home. In the presence of Muslim dignitaries the monkey-prince marries Dainty-as-Carraway, daughter of Shah Kobad! When at night he doffs his monkey garb, a duenna filches and burns it—as in the Malay *Hikayat Indra Bangsawan* and in many Indian tales.

Eleven folk-romances from the Malay peninsula have been printed, (generally with outlines of their contents in English) and

most of their plots are those of the ordinary Indian romances that have been introduced in such numbers into Malay literature. *Raja Budiman* has a theme differing only in detail from such literary works as the *Hikayat Jaya Lengkar* and the *Hikayat Parang Puting*. There is a hero traduced by wicked astrologers, a quest for an object to cure sickness, the help of a dragon (here the hero's brother) who grows too big for his river. In another story, of which there is also an Achinese version, the hero Malim Deman, like so many princes in Bengali, Tamil and Sinhalese folk-tales, falls in love with a heroine after finding a tress of her hair in a golden bowl afloat on a stream. When she and her six sisters fly down to earth to bathe, he steals her flying raiment and so wins her for his bride: when neglect drives her to return to fairyland, he retrieves her by ascending on a Borak, the beast that took the Prophet up to heaven! The Malay version of our Jack and the Beanstalk, the *Hikayat Raja Muda*, not only employs the well-known Indian episode of an elephant choosing a ruler but also makes use of this flying *motif*, which occurs also in the *Hikayat Indëraputëra* and found classical setting in the tale of Hasan of Bassorah in the *Arabian Nights*. Nymphs, apsaras, or fairies bathing and one of them having her clothes stolen by a lover are found in several Javanese poems, some of them belonging to the Panji cycle: it is a common Indian version of the swan-maiden myth and as old as the *Katha Sarit Sagara*; clothes were probably not worn on Polynesian beaches and the *motif* would therefore appear to be of Indian origin.

Whenever the heroes of any of these folk-romances that have a Sumatran origin, are born, Malim Deman or Raja Donan or Awang Sulong—

*Seven lengths of floor are riven;
Seven roof-trees split and shivered;
Sun shines and rain-storm patters,
Forks of lightning flash and flicker;
Thunder shoots its leven bolts;
'Gin to blare the royal trumpets,
'Gin to thud the royal drums.*

When Raja Muda is born, there come simultaneously into the world himself, a buffalo and a leviathan incarnate from three pieces of magic coconut, that his father won from a serpent to appease his mother's longings; and his strange brothers (like the dragon in *Raja Budiman*) stand by him in every crisis. Similar miracles attend the birth of Raja Donan. The mothers and often the fathers of these heroes die after the birth of their supernatural offspring. When the heroes sing

*The flowing water stops to listen,
The flying bird turns back to hear,
The sound of the voice of the sweet singer
Like the sound of the voice of the Prophet David.*

One is reminded of the birth of the Buddha:—

"The future Buddha became a superb white elephant. Three times he walked round his mother's couch and striking her on her right side, he seemed to enter her womb. Thus the conception took place. . . . All the ten thousand worlds shook and quivered. . . . All musical instruments gave forth their notes without being played upon; rain fell out of season; the birds ceased flying; the rivers checked their flow. . . . Whereas a womb that has been occupied by a future Buddha is like the shrine of a temple and can never be used again, therefore it was that the mother of the future Buddha died when he was seven days old. . . . At the very time of his birth, there also came into existence the mother of Rahula, Channa the courtier, Kaludayi the courtier, Kanthaka the king of horses, the Great Bo-Tree and the four urns full of treasure." Or again:

"The Buddha seized hold of his top-knot and diadem and threw them into the air, saying, 'If I am to become a Buddha, let them stay in the sky'."

So, too, Raja Ambong burnt incense, and taking a metal tray, made at the time of a dead princess' birth, passed it through the smoke, placed on it a letter and his own turban and directed it to fly through the air.

Tamil influence and a guild of Tamil traders in Sumatra may account for what must be a plagiarism from the Tamil. In the Tamil Buddhist story of Manimekalai, we read

*The blind, the deaf, the halt, the lame,
Those who were helpless, the dumb, the sick,
Those wasted with disease,
Those suffering from famine,
Those afflicted with poverty,
Hundreds of thousands of people were gathered there.*

The Malay parallel can hardly be a coincidence:—

*The lame, they came on crutches,
The blind ones came a-groping,
The deaf were putting questions,
Mothers brought their babes in arms,
Children hurried pushing, shoving,
The short folk craned a-tiptoe,
And the sick tailed off to leeward.*

Not only Indian but Javanese influence can be detected in some of these tales. It is strong in the Kedah romance of Trong Pipit, where the hero is given the title of Pekulun and his senior wife that of Paduka Liku and where Sang Senohun is invoked. The

Minangkabaus were conservative highlanders who even by 1511 had not become Muslims, but it is rather startling to find in the *Hikayat Raja Muda* a nymph Segerba, her name a variant of Sukarba which in the Kawi of the old Panji tales stands for the apsara whom the *Malay Annals* term Sapurba. As in the Javanese Panji tales, which were published throughout the Malay archipelago by the shadow-play, so in these folk-romances there is always comic relief in the shape of a discomfited braggart or an elderly buffoon. In *Awang Sulong* there is the episode of the helmsman who stabs a fowl and shows his blood-stained creese as evidence that his prowess has saved the galleon. In *Raja Donan* there is the old astrologer. "At every three paces he halted to straighten his back and draw seven long breaths. He entered the palace in a rage:—

'Old enough for a grave and yet summoned! Accursed king, the devil take him!' The maids of honour heard him grumbling and pretended they would tell the king, but the old fellow clutched their skirts and cried, 'Don't, or I'll be killed and my old wife left alone. When she's dead, I'll marry you, if you won't tell the king what I said' "

Islamic elements are common and appear in strange company. In *Trong Pipit*, for instance, a heroine sends a bird created from a quid of betel to summon her grandfather from Eve's tomb at Jeddah, whereupon the old giant arrives, like Anti-Christ in the *Book of the Thousand Questions* with the deepest sea reaching only to his waist, and is netted by Trong Pipit in an iron fishing-net got from Siva.

Infidel villains, called variously a Prince of Portugal, the White Viceroy (*Bedurai*), Commander Tehling and so forth, come on the stage to be ingloriously vanquished and caricatured. The White Viceroy is a Dutchman who will not wake up: pummel him, wrestle with him, cut off his head even, he takes it sleeping:—

*Seven cubits broad his chest;
Seven spans around his arm;
Molars four from out one root,
Pounds of meat at once he'd raven,
Half would cling about his grinders.*

In conversation the Dutch commanders use innuendo and the common tactics of Malay diplomacy.

For these romances are the product of home-keeping wits, a hotchpotch of remembered tales and contemporary invention. A voyage nearly always plays a part in the plot, and the ports visited are the ports of Malayan commerce, Malacca, Muar, Bengkalis, Tanjong Pura, Semarang. In Kelantan rollers are still dyed red for the launching of ships, and in these folk-tales the hero's craft is commonly launched over the bodies of young girls

gravid with their first child. The *motif* of a voyage may be Malayo-Polynesian but the *motif* in several tales of a heroine taking command of a ship may be borrowed from the popular classical *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda*. All the romances abound in the rhodomontade dear to sailors, tales of magic weapons forged by Adam from filings of the lock of the Ka'abah, tales of thin muslins and rich brocades:—

*Shot silk belt of lotus pattern,
Gilt by Coromandel craftsmen,
Woven part in looms of China,
Part by weavers gilled like fishes;
Stretched, as wide as earth and heaven;
Folded small as nail on finger.*

These folk-romances are the cream of Malay fiction, because in them local colour takes the place of the tedious conventional descriptions in the many slavish copies from Indian models. Awang Sulong's mother dies after the rice-harvest. A prince suffers transformation into a scrofulous aborigine of the Malayan forest. A hero lies disguised inside a mat covered with husks and chaff and fetched from a shed where the rice-mortar is kept. The complaisant talking bird in *Raja Donan* is a kite and is bribed by its mistress' leave to devour one of the hens feeding in her father's court-yard.

Some of the finest touches of realism adorn the metrical passages, inset in these romances by their Sumatran reciters. In *Awang Sulong* there are the graphic sketches of a house, of upland jungle, of a prince's costume. In *Malim Deman* there is the picture of a palace with pigeons and decoy-birds and meadows full of cattle. Most famous of all is the description of dawn in *Sri Rama*. Here I will translate verses that portray a nervous unaccustomed girl firing a gun:—

*Soon as loaded, took her musket,
Stepped as when begins a fencer
Paying devoir to beholders.
Then she changed to steps of challenge;
High as hawk apoise in heaven,
Low anon as cowering pheasant
Or as gull that dippeth cliffward;
Quick as monkey in the branches;
Whirling next as whirls a fencer
Come from Siam, or as kitten
Frisking amid fallen foliage.
She dropped the barrel, pulled the trigger,
Pressed the musket to her sleeve.*

There we have the originality and sensitive fancy of genuine literature. If only the Malay of to-day would write of the speed of railway and motor as these rhapsodists song of the wind-swift barks of romance; if he would give us the same vivid pictures of priest and policeman, European official and native celebrity as these folk-tales give of Dutchman and aborigine and the saint from Mecca in white turban with Chinese spectacles on his nose; if he could use, as the clown in the Malay opera uses, the teeming varied life around him instead of copying Arabic and European literary models, then at last he might produce a literature commensurate with his five hundred years of effort. For the Malay has humour, taste, and, as his *pantun* bear witness, a fund of genuine passion and emotion. But for him as for the Englishman suppression is good form, and moreover one foreign influence after another has borne down on him so rapidly that he cannot see the wood for the trees.

III.

THE HINDU PERIOD.

(a) *The Indian Epics.*

Already in a survey of the Malay language and of Malay folk-tales we have found an inextricable thread of Indian influence. And when we come to literature proper, we are confronted at the outset with relics of the end of the Hindu period of Malay culture, a period that lasted more than a thousand years.

Chinese voyagers may even be right in talking of Indian trade with the Far East centuries before Christ. As early as the fourth century A.D. the Pallavas of the Coromandel coast left Brahminical altars in Borneo, Saiva inscriptions in Indo-china and Buddhist inscriptions in Kedah; their Buddhism Hinayana and unaffected by Hindu accretions, so that its images, which in Malaya have been found in Perak, portray Buddha as a monk and not as a many-armed Hindu divinity. The language of these followers of Brahma, Siva and Buddha was Sanskrit, but though under their influence were founded dynasties in Sumatra, in Java and in the Malay Peninsula, these traders and immigrants were so few that they could only introduce the Sanskrit of court and temple, using for ordinary life the languages of the Malayan region instead of introducing Prakrit, the colloquial form of Sanskrit. And in the 8th century A.D. there had been evolved from the Pallava alphabet the Kawi script, medium of an old form of Javanese that before it expired about 1400 A.D. saw by 1000 A.D. a prose summary of that huge old Indian epic, the *Mahabharata*, and in 1157 a poetical version of one section of it, the *Bharatayuddha*.

In the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. came another wave of Indian influence, proceeding from Bengal under the Pala dynasty and bringing another script the Nagari along with a revival of Sanskrit and in place of Hinayana Buddhism the Mahayana form whose many-armed images of Buddha as Avalokitesvara have been discovered in Java, Sumatra, Cambodia and Perak. In the Malay peninsula, too, in Trang, Jaiya and Kedah have been unearthed Buddhist tablets in the Sanskrit language and the Nagari script, perhaps the work of local Mahayana monks.

Early in the eleventh century the Chola kings of the Coromandel coast first raided the Indian colonies in Malaya, these raids due evidently to that Tamil commerce which has coloured Sanskrit loan-words in Malay, which has never been absent from Malaya in historical times, which transferred to Singapore the name of the capital of the old Tamil kingdom of Kalinga and which lasted into the Muslim period, when Tamils and Gujeratis conducted the foreign trade of Malacca.

While the Malay versions of the *Bharatayuddha*, namely the *Hikayat Përang Pandawa Jaya*, and the Malay version of the story

of Bhauma, son of Bhumi the Earth, namely the *Hikayat Sang Boma* (or *Sang Samba*) can both be traced back to Kawi originals, the latter to the old Javanese *Bhaumakavya*, the presence of every Indian influence that has ever reached the Malay archipelago and peninsula is to be found in the Malay version of the *Ramayana*, namely the *Hikayat Sēri Rama*, which critical scholarship has proved to contain elements from the south, the north and the east of India. In Java the first traces of the legend of Rama, of the rape of his wife Sita by Ceylon's demon king Ravana and of her rescue by Rama with the help of Hanuman and his monkeys, are to be seen in beautiful reliefs sculptured early in the tenth century on Chandi Lara Jonggrang, one of the Prambanan group of temples. A little later about 925 A.D. a poet who called himself Yogiswara did a Kawi rendering of the Indian saga that inspired the fourteenth century native shadow-play reliefs on Chandi Panataran. Centuries later when Kawi was no longer understood, there were written in new Javanese other recensions known as the *Serat Kanda* and the *Rama Kling*. Allied to these latest recensions and the popular dramatic versions of Jokya, the Malay classical redaction is known from two texts, one printed in 1843 by Roorda van Eysinga and the other by Doctor Shellabear from a manuscript once in the possession of Archbishop Laud and since 1633 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. There are elaborate versions so far unstudied in manuscripts at the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society and India Office, London. There are the two rhapsodist versions handled in the last chapter, and there is at Berlin a *Hikayat Maharaja Ravana* (with Malay *pantun*, Minangkabau spellings and Javanese words of which Overbeck has made a summary in English).

It was the Prambanan sculptures that set Dutch savants wondering whether the artists had had before them not Valmiki's classical version of the *Ramayana* but some other, whether perhaps they had followed oral tradition only and whether the discrepancies between their version of the story and Valmiki's had come from popular versions to be found in British India or had arisen in the Malay archipelago. Scholars therefore compared not only the two classical printed Malay versions and the Perak rhapsodist version with one another, but also with Valmiki, and they compared them with the still older story of Rama in the *Mahabharata*, with the story in the *Bhagavatapurana* and with modern versions in Bengali and Punjabi. Even in the older Sanskrit texts they found considerable divergencies. To take one or two examples. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* do not agree over Rama's mother; and while in the former Ravana is shot in the heart and there is lamentation over his corpse, in the latter Rama's arrow consumes him and his chariot. In the *Bhagavata-purana* it is Rama who slays the monstrous Surpanakha, in the *Ramayana* it is Rama's half-brother Laksamana. It is not necessary therefore to turn to Javanese and Malay folklore for details in the Malay story of Rama that differ from the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. Furthermore

comparison with modern Indian redactions has discovered points of resemblance between the Malay and the Bengali recensions, and so explodes the old theory that the Tamilized forms of many Sanskrit names implied a purely Tamil source for the Malay texts. The conclusion from all this research is that both the Malay classical texts are derived by oral tradition from the same source, that that source was itself an oral version and that into it had flowed flotsam and jetsam from the East, the West and the South-West of British India, which in the Malay archipelago were gathered into one to produce the prototype of the two Malay texts. Details such as the relation of Rama to Vishnu, the emphasis on the ascetic practices of Laksamana and the incident of Sita being found with a picture of Ravana on her fan, all point to the arrival of Indian elements after the twelfth century, when these details first occur in Indian redactions. Non-Indian elements are few and have not obliterated the sequence of the Indian story.

It was van der Tuuk who showed that the Malay version of the *Bharatayuddha*, like that of the tale of Bhauma, was derived not from middle or modern Javanese but from the ancient Kawi, as he proved by collating the texts and enumerating many words and names Kawi in form. This conclusion obviously tallies with the historical facts; it being quite unlikely that such works would find Malays willing or able to translate them long after the close of the Hindu period, when Islam had had time to discredit them. In a well-known Malay religious work compiled in 1634 and called the *Sirat al-Mustakim*, its author Shaikh Nuru'd-din (who also wrote the *Bustan as-Salatin*) said that the Malay version of the *Ramayana* could be used for sanitary purposes, provided the name of Allah did not occur in it. It is therefore not to the later Muslim period that we must look for these Malay translations of the old Indian sagas, though Raffles' copy of the *Hikayat Pěrang Pandawa Jaya* was done by a copyist who added a set of verses in which he uses Batavian words and talks of Dutch paper. The Malay classical versions of the *Bharatayuddha* and the *Ramayana* are in the Malay found in works of the fifteenth century A.D. like the *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain*, the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*. According to the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* when the people of Pahang excused themselves for being half-castes and not true Malays, Hang Tuah replied "Malacca Malays are half-castes too, mixed with Malays from Majapahit." And fifteenth century Malacca with its large population of foreign and locally born Javanese seems the most likely place for the translation into classical Malay of works written in the Kawi of the previous century. The work whose date can be fixed with the greatest certainty is the *Hikayat Sěri Rama*. An analysis of the two printed classical Malay texts of this recension of the *Ramayana* fixes the date of the completion of their archetype as after the twelfth century, while one of them reaching the Bodleian library from the collection of Archbishop Laud in 1633 must have existed for some time before that.

None of the Malay versions of these Indian epics were written in their present form, until Islam had influenced the Malay language. The introduction of the MS. that contains the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* is full of Arabic words but at the same time uses a Hindu expression like *maharisi* for "sage," which no modern Malay would understand and it takes if for granted that readers will be acquainted with divination on Hindu lines:

Al-kesah. Maka ini-lah suatu chëritëra yang amat masshur përkataan-nya di-atas angin dan di-bawah angin yang tëläh tër-sëbut di-dalam shatar dan nujum sakalian maharisi dan Bërah-mana; përi mêngatakan Pandawa Pancha këlîma. Maka ini-lah chëritëra yang di-bawah sa-kali, maka di-namai oleh sëgala yang 'arif dan yang bijaksana Pandawa Jaya nama-nya. Ada pun yang di-atas itu bëbërapa chëritëra yang amat indah-indah mëmberi (? omit maka) bërahi-lah akan sëgala yang mëmbacha dia atau yang mëndëngarkan dia daripada chëritëra Lëlakon yang 'ajaib dan yang gharib-gharib dalam-nya.

"This is a tale famous from east to west, that occurs in the tables and horoscopes of all the great sages and Brahmans, the story relating to the Pancha or Five Pandavas. This is the final tale, called by the learned Pandava Jaya or the Victorious Pandavas. Before it come a number of wonderful tales that will captivate every reader or listener, taken from the marvellous and strange tales of the native drama."

The one printed classical Malay text of the *Hikayat Sëri Rama*, on which Islam has left any mark outside preface and vocabulary is the Bodleian text, where the Prophet Adam visits Ravana at the time of his ascetic practices and gets Allah to give him sovereignty on earth and in heaven, in the sea and under the ground, and again where in the tale of the buffalo that fights the brother of the monkey-god Sugriva there is dragged in a Maharaja *maghrib* 'Abd al-Malik, who cites the buffalo to his children as an example of greed. What is the oldest text of all these translations of Indian epics seems therefore to contain the youngest recension of all. In all the Malay versions of these Indian epics, the Hindu gods are described as *dewata mulia raya*. On the Trengganu stone the phrase is employed as a translation of the then novel *Allah taala*. In the Bodleian *Hikayat Sëri Rama*, unlike the writer of the other text published by van Eysinga, the author used originally the phrase *Allah taala* to harmonize with his attempt to give the tale a Muslim colouring (and so save it from the lavatory!), but some precisian has altered it to *dewata mulia raya* to harmonize with the Indian story. It would appear as if the Bodleian text was written down for a Muslim court, like that of Malacca, which still recognized the *kshatria* caste of princes and warriors and was still conservative enough to like the old tales of the Hindu period, provided they were presented in a form which Muslim pundits could condone. The preface states it is a story famous among all *kshatria*, a term that in Malaya fell into disuse with the fall of Malacca.

A mixture of Malay, Sanskrit and Arabic occurs in a *sha'ir* or verse inscribed in an Indo-Malayan alphabet on a Pasai tomb of 1380 A.D., already a hundred years after Marco Polo had found the townsmen there Muslims. And there is the earliest known inscription in Malayo-Arabic characters on a fourteenth century Trengganu stone, where the standard system of the Arabic spelling of Malay is already employed, an indication that the missionaries of Islam had not only altered the vocabulary of the Malay language even then but had written a good deal as well. And though the Trengganu inscription is full of Sanskrit words, Sanskrit then must have occupied the place Arabic was to usurp on lapidary memorials, and its abundant use on a stele is no evidence of its excessive use in contemporary Malay literature. Still, the known Malay translations of the Hindu epics can hardly have been written down before the middle of the fifteenth century, because the writers must have needed the models provided by foreign missionaries before they ventured on their task in a novel script and vocabulary, which the conservative admirer of Hindu tales would be the last to learn, and because, if Malacca was the place of authorship, the latter half of the fifteenth century saw Islam firmly established at that port and a Javanese colony resident there long enough to have learnt Malay. The *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* tells us that in the middle of that century the story of Rama was so popular in Malacca that as a boy at play Hang Tuah talked of the hero's half-brother, Laksamana, and so got a nickname which the Sultan turned into a title.

Religious prejudice has led to the neglect by Malays of these survivals of the Hindu period of their culture. And the study of these Malay second-hand versions will interest European students less than the study of the Kawi originals, where those originals exist. But to students of Malay literature they are important both for their influence on that large Malayo-Javanese branch of literature contained in the Panji tales and for their traces in Malay works of a later date. Moreover, arid though they may be compared with the original Indian epics, the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* especially contains a sensuous perfume that was soon quenched in the desert of Muslim puritanism.

As an example of the influence of India's epics on Malay literature, one may take a passage from the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* that occurs with minor differences in the *Mahabharata*, in the *Buddhacaritam* of Asvaghosa, the *Kadambari* of Banabhatta and other works of ancient India, in the Kawi version of the *Bharatayuddha* done by Mepu Sedah in 1157 A.D., in the Malay *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and many Malay folk-tales and romances. Krishna is approaching the Kauravas' capital, Hastina-pura, the City of Elephants:—

"The women hurried to see him; some with hair dishevelled and untired, others with disordered dress, others with face half powdered, some with quids of tobacco (*bĕrsisek*) half prepared, some with only one eye painted. All the shopkeepers left their

wares and salesmen stopped in the midst of selling, exclaiming, 'We don't care if our goods are stolen, provided we see Krishna.' Some had oil on only one side of their heads and powder on only one side of their bodies. Wives left husbands and children, while some held up their breasts and cried, 'We present these (*susu-ku ini akan haluan aku*) to Batara Krishna.' All the women of Hastina-pura hurried as if they were being chased by an enemy and some brought ivory dolls (*anak-anakan*), saying, 'There is your father Batara Krishna.' They rushed to climb platforms and the platforms collapsed, and they fell sprawling, some with broken limbs, others with limbs sprained or bruised."

For sensuous beauty there is in the same work the description of Krishna's first glimpse of the City of Elephants:—

"He saw Hastina-pura, dim as a woman covered with rice-powder and peering from behind a door. The jewelled roof of the palace glittered like the rays of the sun. Trees swayed in the wind like people waving to him. Beasts gave cries of welcome. Bulbuls murmured as if they asked after Arjuna. All the fish in the ponds swam to the surface to escort him, darting and dancing under the water-lilies or sheltering under the lotus-blooms as under coloured umbrellas."

Here for a moment, the Malay enjoyed that fleeting loveliness which Java caught from Hindu India and crystallised for ever in the sculpture of Boro-budur and Prambanan.

Or take yet another scene, breathing the romance of a Rajput painting, the scene where after the arrival of Krishna with the Pandavas' demands the beautiful wife of Duryodana, leader of the Kauravas, seeks comfort in her garden that "astonished the moon by its beauty":—

"Her maids crooned and recited tales and played their music (*mënggërang dan bërchëlempong*), danced and whispererd of love, vowing that their hearts were broken like glass upon a stone because Arjuna had not come. Banuwati played (*mënyëlukit*) and danced softly, the strains of her music sweet and plaintive as the voice of a girl ravished by some youthful lover. Seeing her mood, the maids sported, more beautiful than pictures, attractive and sweet as mangosteens mixed with honey, intoxicating all beholders. About midnight was seen a portent of the city's imminent doom. It was utterly still, without a sound, and the moon was hidden behind a cloud like a lovely woman peeping from behind a door. Gentle rain fell and a light breeze stirred in the distance. There were banks of clouds of all shapes and the birds were restless, flying here and there like a man with two wives. The sound of the night-jar was like the chink of a maiden's bangles, when she weeps and laments at the approach of a man. From the recesses of their hives bees murmured like a man caressing his wife behind curtains. At cock crow there came the sound of the Brahmans' bells in honour of their idols before which they were burning incense and strewing flowers."

Such a spirit of delight came from Hindu India and with sculpture and art was doomed to fall before Islam as Hastina-pura fell before the Pandavas. But before we leave this enchanted garden, I must translate two more passages from the Malay tale of the Pandavas, the description of the beauty of Dewi Satiyawati, wife of Maharaja Salya, and of her husband parting from her forever:—

“She was as beautiful as the full moon on a clear and cloudless night. The rain forgot to fall when it saw her tresses unbound. The deer forgot to run into the forest when they saw her side-long glances. The shoots of the *angsoka* drooped at the sight of her hips when her skirt slipped down, and flowers dropped at the sight of her calves when she raised it.”

Then the parting:—

“When it was day, Salya awoke, gently drawing his arm from under the head of his sleeping wife and putting a pillow in its place. She happened to be lying upon his clothes, so afraid to pull them away for fear of waking her he drew his dagger and slit the cloth she lay on. Then he went out never to return. But first he embraced and kissed his wife and chewing a quid of betel put it in her box. He took her ivory doll and wrote verses, sweet messages and set them beside his wife, saying to the doll, ‘If mother asks you, say father has gone to the wars.’”

There appear to be no passages of this quality in the *Hikayat Sēri Rama*. And the explanation of their rarity may be that before these epics were written down even in Kawi, they must have been well known to the Javanese from the oldest repertoire of the oldest Javanese drama. For the most primitive drama of the Malayan region, which Balinese, Malays, Siamese and perhaps even China copied, is a shadow-play that owes its very name, *wayang parwa*, to the *Mahabharata*, whose heroes and heroines along with those of the *Ramayana* provided most of its leather puppet characters. Mentioned in the Kawi versions of the *Arjunawiwaha* and the *Bharatayuddha*, it existed already in the eleventh century A.D. and then was old, so that even to-day its orchestra bears the name of the Sailendra kings. Like the Greek drama it appears to have evolved out of religious ceremonies in honour of gods or deified ancestors, and is generally performed on the great occasions of life, at harvest, marriage, circumcision and to avert disease or calamity. The shadow-play may have existed before in the fourth century A.D. the Malayan world first heard of Brahma and Buddha, seeing that like the shaman the manipulator of the puppets and reciter of their sagas sometimes pretends to be inspired by visitors from the spirit-world, that beside the Sanskrit epics his repertoire includes ancient Malayo-Polynesian tales and that the deified Javanese ancestors of the pre-Hindu period survive in it as the clowns Smar, Petrok and Bagong, companions for the Hindu sage Narada, whom the Javanese have also reduced to a buffoon.

The trail of the shadow-play is over the Malay redactions of the great Hindu epics, leaving the gods and demigods, who are the characters in these works hardly more than puppets, moving robot shapes instead of the people of flesh and blood, who fought and loved beside the Ganges: one cannot infuse emotion into dolls thrown upon a screen. Yet the shadow-play alone has kept alive the memory of the Pandavas, Rama and Sita, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon. So popular has it been, that the frowns of pious Muslims could not stay its performance, and it is only now that it is dying a lingering death, Smar vanquished by Harold Lloyd and Sita by Greta Garbo. In Kelantan the story of Sri Rama is still thrown upon the screen in a form so old that the puppets do not wear the creese of the later shadow-play from Majapahit. In opening a performance the Kelantan reciter or *dalang* (as the reciter of both the written Malay epics is termed) invokes as well as the Prophet Muhammad, Siva, Ganesha, and Arjuna, Ravana, Rama, Bibisenam and Indrajit, all the gods and demigods of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, and he closes the show by another ceremony of religious origin, crying that the dust mounting into the air under the trampling of his audience is a sign that by virtue of his devotions the gods are mounting to Suralaya, their Hindu Olympus, while at his prayer the gates open for Siva to descend and drive away all powers of evil. A survival like this brings home to us better than mere perusal of the written page how in Arabic characters Krishna and Arjuna, Ravana and Sita and Hanuman are strangers in a world they never made, giving the Malay a lingering salute from the days of his Hindu worship.

For scholars I may add a few words on the texts of the *Hikayat Séri Rama*. The analysis of their contents and the conclusion that van Eysinga's edition is older than Archbishop Laud's manuscript cannot determine the relative age of the two texts. Laud's text has not been touched since 1633; that of Roorda van Eysinga must have been copied and altered several times in two hundred years. Take one specimen passage. Laud's manuscript (fols. 74-76) reads:

Baharu ěnam kali juga bĕrkĕliling, maka geretan (spelt g-rin and g-rĭ-n in the text) itu pun patah, maka bĕbĕrapa budi bichara orang mĕngampa dia, tiada juga bĕtul geretan itu.

Eysinga's text (p. 4) glosses over archaic difficulties, changing even the rather rare *mĕngampa* "emptied," in one place substituting a common word for *geretan** (which occurs also in one of the early Cambridge manuscripts) and in another omitting it altogether so that the syntax is broken.

Baharu ěnam kali bĕrkĕliling, maka pĕrarakan itu pun patahlah, maka bĕbĕrapa daya upaya sĕgala raja-raja dan mantĕri hulubalang hĕndak mĕngangkat mĕmbĕtulkan pĕrarakan itu, tiada juga...itu bĕtul.

*cf. Sundanese *kerekan* Bij. T.Len Vk. Bat. Gen, 1866, p. 359.

Or again take Laud's folio 125:

Maka kërbaui itu bërjalan datang ka-pada suatu pusu. Maka pusu itu di-bongkarkan-nya, maka barang ada anai-anai dalam pusu itu sëmua-nya bërhamboran.

and compare van Eysinga's page 105

Maka bértëmu dëngan suatu piusu bësar, maka lalu di-bongkarkan-nya oleh kërbaui ahmak itu tëmpat-nya dëngan tandok-nya. Sa-tëlah habis tërbonkar itu, maka këbanyakan piusu itu pun habis-lah bërhamboran

where unfamiliarity with the archaic spelling *pus* for an archaic form of *pongsu* has led the copyist into writing nonsense. There is no doubt which are the older readings. And just as in one of the Malay manuscripts of Erpinus (died 1624) at Cambridge, van Ronkel discovered factative verbs formed as in Javanese—*mohon*, *nyëmbah*, *ngukor*—so Laud's manuscript exhibits such archaisms as *ngapa*, *mohon*, *hating-ku*, *pulang* (for *pula*), *mamang-ku* (for *mamak-ku*)—*pulang* is common in the poems of Hamzah of Barus.

(b) *Shadow-play plots founded on the Indian Epics.*

Beside the Malay versions of the great Indian epics, there have been preserved a few of the many Malay shadow-play tales dating from the Hindu period and founded on the adventures of the heroes and heroines of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. van der Tuuk deduced their age from the survival in the Batavian Society's Codex 15, a so-called *Hikayat Pandawa*, of Kawi word-forms and names; and he found evidence of the popularity of such dramatic tales in allusions to them in quite different works like the *Panji Sëmiring*. van der Tuuk has given an outline in Dutch of the nineteen tales that form the contents of the Batavian manuscript as well as an outline of the two long dramatic tales, between which the Malay version of the *Bharatayuddha* is sandwiched in Raffles manuscript 2 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. As the Batavian manuscript is in Java, I will here paraphrase van der Tuuk's summary of two of its nineteen tales.

Bismaka, ruler of Mandirapura, had three daughters, Amba, Ambawati, Ambalika. Whoever could kill two giants, sprung from the pubes (*ari-ari*) of one of the girls, in a combat (*sayëmbari* = *swayambari* Skt. = *silambari* Malay) for their hands should marry them. Dewi Sayojana Sugandi, widow of a ruler of Astina, had three sons, Dewabrata, Chitrangada, and Chitrasena. The eldest, a pupil of Bagawan Rama Parasu at Jajar Angsoka, was alone old enough to fight the giants—who could be killed only by bamboo splinters. There are 39 other suitors, including Sang Garuwangga, Sang Saruwanti, Sang Manggadachandra, Sang Manggadapati, Sang Ratna Kakawi and Sang Saruwangapati. All of them fail. Nor can Dewabrata kill the giants till he makes a spear of bamboo. Sitting in hall with his ministers Uryatasena Darsalah and Nalasetah,

the king offers him his choice but he sets off for Astinapura with all three of the princesses. Waylaid by the discomfitted suitors he kills their soldiers with his arrow Kala Banjar and fights the princes with his arrow Arya Sangkala, that has a head like a serpent and a chain-like shaft. He and his brothers marry the three sisters but being under a vow of chastity (*tapā tapal bēma?* = *takla brahma*) Dewabrata remains celibate and departs for Jajar Angsoka. Amba follows and from vexation he shoots an arrow at her and unluckily kills her. He vows to be slain by a woman, whereat the soul (*atma*) of his dead wife is pleased. He burns her body and is advised by his teacher to perform the penance 'Angarpati.' As an ascetic he takes the name of Bagawan Bisma.

Two gods from Indra's heaven attack Bisma's two brothers for having the same names as themselves. Their arrows are called *parudanda*, that produces a sea of water, *tomaragni* that produces mountains of flame, *nayabēma* that causes heavy rain, *bayu gēmpita* that causes storm and darkness; while other arrows change into *sēmpani* serpents, Naga Gangga, Garuda and Wilmana. Yet others are named *kalawira* and *purwasangkala*. The fight is undecided, till Batara Guru sends Narada with Pasupati to compass the death of princes cursed from the impiety of having divine names. Half Astina is burnt and his mother begs Dewabrata to raise seed by his dead brothers' two childless wives. He refuses but tells her to invoke Bagawan Biyasa who comes with his quiver (*tarkas*) from Mt. Mayapertapa. Ambawati covered her eyes at his coming, Ambalika covered her body with a white cloth, and a third concubine drew up her legs. Destarata, the son of the first, was born blind; Pandu Dewanata, the son of the second, was white, while the concubine's son, Widura Sukma, was a cripple. When Pandu grew up, his father taught him all the arts of war.

Again, another tale:

The forest Indraguna was unapproachable on account of a lion called Sang Ragapati and Durgapati, (words derived from *mṛga-pati* = lord of animals). Ugrasena fought him and was killed. His widow Chiptawati and his daughter Ugrawati put themselves under the protection of Bagawan Kapi Jembawa. The widow promises him her kingdom and her daughter, although he is an ape. But Jembawa kills the lion and revives Ugrasena by means of a plant, which formerly was fetched from Imagiri by Hanoman to revive Rama's soldiery: its roots would revive gods, its bark men and its leaves animals. Ugrawati bears him a daughter Jambuwati. Finally Jembawa becomes a hermit.

Besides the two manuscripts of which van der Tuuk has given outlines in Dutch, there is a third, Raffles manuscript No. 21 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. It contains a version of the first of the two tales just paraphrased and is a collection of narratives with no plot to link them. van der Tuuk found it "very interesting as it introduces nearly all the persons acting

in the *Hikayat Pěrang Pandawa Jaya* and the *Hikayat Maharaja Boma*." A short outline of the work may be read in van der Tuuk's catalogue of the Malay manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, of which there is an English translation. There is also at Leiden (codex 3377) a Malay recension of the Javanese *Kidung Bhimasvarga*, a combination of episodes from the old-Javanese *Mahabharata*.

(c) *Romances of the Hindu Period.*

Among the many romances that now bear the Arabic title of *hikayat* are a few, whose contents appear to mark them as products of the Hindu period, hardly touched except in vocabulary by the advent of Islam.

One of these is the *Hikayat Maharaja Puspa Wiraja*, sometimes corrupted into *Bispu Raja*, which is a finer version of the fourth tale of the later Muslim Malay work known as the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, (p. 86 *infra*) and contains also the three stories inset in that tale. Unfortunately there is extant only one manuscript and that transcribed at Krokot (Batavia) in 1821 A.D. van der Tuuk detected signs of a Javanese copyist in such forms as *měrentahkan* for *měměrentahkan* and *masang* for *měmasang* but the work appears to be old and Professor van Ronkel discovered similar forms in a XVIIth century manuscript of a commentary on the Kuran at Cambridge. The work also contains such archaic forms as *pěrsěmbak* and *pěrsalin* and no Portuguese words at all. From its excellent style it was clearly written by a Malay scholar and it is hard to think of any centre other than the old Malay port of Malacca where one would find an author competent to write such good Malay, acquainted with a few Javanese words and forms and eschewing all Muslim colouring. The author has made the hero and heroine serve not Allah but *dewata mulia raya*, a term for god current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially in Malayo-Javanese literature. And the sea-captain, who abducted the heroine, comes from Vijaya Nagaram, which was destroyed before 1565. van der Tuuk detected in the work links with the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya*, the Malay version of the *Mahabharata*, namely in the hero's capital Hastina Pura Nagara "City of Elephants," and in the choice of the Javanese *chochor* for a "swallow" and of *rajasa* for a plant. The author gives Taksila, which may be the Buddhist university Taxila, as the Siamese equivalent of Elephant City and claims to have translated from the Siamese; but though the idea of disaster following the molestation of fledglings may well be Buddhist and have come from a Pali source, there is not a Siamese word or title in the text. That in spite of the presence of many Arabic words the source was Hindu and not Muslim may be inferred from the Sanskrit names of people and places, from the use of the term *dewata mulia raya* and from the fact that it is not a cat which is killed on suspicion of slaying an infant, as in the Persian *Sindibad-Nameh* but a mongoose as in the *Panchatantra*.

Puspa Wiraja and his consort Kamalaksana with their sons Jaya Indra and Jaya Chendra are driven from Elephant City by the plotting of Antaraja, the king's brother. His queen accompanies him because, as she remarks in a simile found also in the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (p. 31) "I am as it were a shoe: if the shoe is left behind, the foot is hurt." Reluctantly the king lifts down two young parroquets for his children to play with but though he puts them back the mother-bird pecks her young for smelling of man. Lost while he is taking his consort across a river, his two sons are adopted by two fishermen. While he hunts for them, a sea-captain abducts his consort. An elephant chooses him as king of Samanta Pura Nagara or Frontier City, where his two sons become court heralds. The sea-captain arrives from Bijaya Nagaram, capital of a Deccan kingdom, and the two boys are told to guard his ship while he is feasting at the palace. Waking from a dream that a young man has given her two lilies, their mother comes out of a cabin and kisses them. The king sentences them to death but the watchmen of the four gates refuse egress to the execution-ground, telling (1) the tale of the astrologer wrongly executed because at the stroke of a magic gong a palace did not turn golden, only a banana-planter having timed the stroke rightly; (2) the tale of a parroquet that brought his master mango-fruit warranted to turn the body golden, but was killed unjustly because the first fruit from its seedling had fallen into a cobra's hole and poisoned the old fellow who ate it; (3) the tale of a mongoose killed unjustly on suspicion of slaying an infant; and (4) the tale of the dog killed unjustly after slaying the lover of his master's wife. Next day the king learns the truth about his wife and sons.

Another romance devoid of Muslim colouring is the *Hikayat Parang Puting*, of which there are three manuscripts in England and one in Singapore. In it there are no references to Allah or to Islam. Batara Brahma is the Supreme God and the world is governed by *dewata mulia raya*. There is also mention of that favourite motif of Sanskrit epics, a *silambari*, where a princess chooses a husband from a crowd of rivals. And there occurs a word found too in the fifteenth century *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* and in that old romance the *Hikayat Indraputera*, namely *tambang* "to offer to the gods" here a bezoar, so that a magic pleasance may be created. When the fairy lover "burning as if he would set fairyland on fire" is rejected by his beloved, then like a hero out of the Malayo-Javanese version of the *Mahabharata* he is sleepless till the dawn when "the cocks crowed, the birds of paradise sang in the sky, parrots talked in the *angsoka* trees, parroquets on the boughs of the *nagasari*, mynahs on the *chempaka* trees and a drizzle of rain made all the flowers bloom."

Another romance that, in spite of some copyist's Batavian anachronisms like *kébagusan*, must be assigned to this period is the *Hikayat Langlang Buana*, with its Hindu and old Javanese colouring and its absence except in one *pantun*, that must have been

interpolated, of all reference to Islam. The only place names mentioned in the *pantun* are Malacca and Grisek, the great mart of east Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In spirit, too, if not in fact, the *Hikayat Marakarma* or *Si-Miskin*, belongs to the Hindu period, in spite of references in its *pantun* to Nasranis and Dutch, and the Muslim preamble of the printed editions. Raffles' manuscript, omitting Muslim introduction, begins:—

*Al-kesah, maka tērsēbut-lah pērkataan hikayat chēritēra
orang yang dahulu kala. Sa-kali pērsētua ada sa-orang dewa
dalam kēyangan bērna Angkasa Dewa sēntiasa mēngadap
Batara Guru.*

"These are the words of an ancient story. Once upon a time there was a fairy demigod who was always in the presence of Siva."

In the three last tales and in many later romances there is a word Kirani or Khairan, which (even if it is derived from *hiranin* 'ornamented with gold') looks like an attempt by some native etymologist to give a Muslim shape to Kirana, which had become so popular in the name Chandra Kirana, Princess Moonbeam, the heroine of the Panji cycle.

IV.

A JAVANESE ELEMENT.

Tales from the Majapahit Shadow-Plays.

Old perhaps as the shadow-play is another type of Javanese drama, where masked men took the part of leather puppets, and, accompanied still by the ancient orchestra of the Sailendras, played the characters in the famous cycle of Panji tales and in the story of Damar Bulan, ex-stable-boy of a Majapahit ruler, whose career suggested to the author of the *Malay Annals* the tale of the palm-tapper's adopted son who became ruler of Majapahit and begat Chandra Kirana to become the bride of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca!

But for the performance of the stories of Sri Panji alias Radin Inu of Kuripan, stories once so popular alike in Javanese and in Malay redactions, the more usual medium was a later development of the shadow-play dating from the Majapahit epoch that began in 1294 and lasted for more than two hundred years. It has even been suggested that its wide diffusion was due to Imperial propaganda by the Majapahit court. Termed the *wayang gēdok*, it differed from the ancient shadow-play by having discarded the *gamēlan* of the Sailendras, while in line with the renaissance of Javanese nationalism, visible at this period in the sculpture of east Java, its repertoire was confined to the cycle of national tales that bear the name of Sri Panji and are concerned with the adventures of him and of his sister and spouse, Chandra Kirana. The catalogues of manuscripts at Leiden, London and Batavia describe many Malay versions of these tales. A number of them were known to Werndly in 1736: *Hikayat Raja Kuripan*, *Hikayat Mesa Taman Panji Wila Kēsoma*, *Mesa Kumitar*, *Hikayat Charang Kolina*, *Hikayat Raja Tambak Baya*, *Hikayat Rangka Rari* (?=Aria). And the earliest Malay redactions must have been known in fifteenth century Malacca or they could not have coloured the *Malay Annals* with its tales of Chandra Kirana and Sultan Mansur, of the demands of the fairy princess of Gunong Ledang and of the adventures of Hang Tuah at Majapahit. What centre, indeed, more likely for their translation from the Javanese than that cosmopolitan port with Sultan Mansur married to a Javanese woman, and Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din the son of a Javanese mother? A port with a colony of bilingual locally born Javanese in touch not only with their country of origin but with the new Islamic learning? One of the Batavian manuscripts of that famous Panji tale, *Chekel Waneng Pati*, names a Surengrana as its reciter (*dalang*) and another names Sumirada a reciter "very famous in Java and in Malay land" (*amat masshur kapada tanah Jawa dan tanah Melayu*). Neither of these reciters has a Muslim name, and verbal forms in the oldest manuscripts of their tale corroborate the age of the Malay version. That great scholar, van der Tuuk, pointed out how the Batavian

manuscripts of certain Malay *wayang* tales, based on some Kawi version of the *Mahabharata*, contained Malay forms nearer to the ancient Kawi (that died about 1400 A.D.) than to later Javanese. Among other words, he cited *mërum-rum* (or more seldom *mëngrumrum*) 'to cozen a woman with sweet words,' which in Javanese is *ngrungrum* but in Kawi *angrunrum* or *mangrunrum*; and he cited *wadwa kala* 'votaries of Durga' and *Sukarba* a Kawi form for the name of the heavenly nymph whom later the Javanese termed *Suprabha* and the Malays *Sapurba*. Doctor Rassers has noted how in an old Leiden manuscript (Codex 1709) of the story of Chekel Waneng Pati, the forms *mërum-rum* and *Sukarba* occur, while in Raffles manuscript No. 23 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society I have found *Sakurba*, and *mëngrum-rum*: Ninek Muni says to Aria Wangsa *Upah-lah aku dëngan pëmbujuk dan pëngrum-rum* and he replies *Takut tulah papah manusia mëngrum-rum Kang Sënuhun*. This Raffles' manuscript not only has these Kawi forms but it omits the attack upon Java by a prince from Kalinga, that occurs as an appendix in some recensions; moreover it is marked by that mixture of Sanskrit and Arabic loan-words that is the note of early Malay literature while Hinduism was dying, and it is couched in finely balanced clauses such as are found in the *Malay Annals*. It starts as follows with a preface very like that in one of the Batavian manuscripts but less corrupt and from the phrase *bujangga yang paramakawi* and the absence of any reference to Allah certainly older:

Bahawa ini chëritëra orang dahulu kala daripada bahasa Mëlayu dan Jawa, di-chëritëra oleh dalang dan bujangga yang paramakawi di-tanah Jawa, di-pindahkan dëngan bahasa Mëlayu, maka akan jadi pëngibor rasa yang dëndam di-lëlakunkan. Dalam itu pun mashghul di-mana 'kan hilang? Dendam pun tiada bërbilang! Akan përi-nya juga pëndalang katakan akan pëmadam hati yang bërahi; maka dalang panjangkan lëlakun ini supaya mënjadi lanjut tëmbang dan kidong dan kékawin sëgala yang 'arij bijaksana daripada mënayakan 'ashikin dalam kalbu: hëndak pun di-këluarkan-nya yang ada dalam hati-nya itu, tiada 'kan datang kébajikan pada-nya; oleh karna itu-lah maka di-karang hikayat ini bërnama Chekel Waneng Pati itu-lah yang amat masskur gagah bërani-nya dan sakti-nya lagi di-kasehi sëgala dewa-dewa dëngan 'arif bijaksana-nya dan pandai-nya mëndam kulah dan amat elok rupa-nya, tiada tërbanding dalam jagat buana tanah Jawa; ia-lah yang di-bërahikan oleh sëgala përëmpuan, mënjadi tëmbang kékawi dan rawitan oleh sëgala përëmpuan-nya dan ia-lah yang mënd'alokkan sëgala raja-raja di-tanah Jawa, sakalian-nya di-bawah përentah-nya.

Of this story, called *Chekel Waneng Pati* after one of Panji's many aliases, van der Tuuk wrote: "it is one of the most interesting Malay compositions and has influenced almost every literary production in Malay." Leaving poetry aside, the buffoon and

cowardly braggart of Malay folk romances, the ennobling of animals with high-sounding Sanskrit titles in the *Hikayat Pelandok Jénaka*, the preposterous demands of the fairy princess of Gunong Ledang in the *Malay Annals*, the Tamil appendix following the Javanese nucleus of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, all these find models in the pages of this Panji tale. A brief outline of it will give a general idea of this Javanese type of literature.

Batara Naya Kusuma, an inhabitant of Indra's heaven, begat by Nila Uttama, daughter of Krishna, a son Kamajaya, "Victor in Love," and a daughter Nila Kenchana, or "Sapphire Gold." Falling in love, they were turned into lotuses and reborn as Radin Inu Kartapati alias Undakan Rawisrangga or "Sun Light" of Kuripan and as Radin Galuh Chandra Kirana or "Moonbeam" of Daha. They are betrothed, when Batara Kala arranges for Ratu Socha Windu to kidnap the hero and for a Raksasa to carry off the heroine. Radin Inu escapes, kills the Raksasa and rescues the princess, but she does not recognize her rescuer whose name and appearance are both changed. The ruler of Manggada demands Chandra Kirana in marriage as Radin Inu has vanished and under his new name of Chekel Waneng Pati is not recognized. The ruler of Daha had promised his daughter to her rescuer but breaks his word, whereat Batara Kala is angry and throws his ring down to earth where it becomes a hind with golden antlers. Chandra Kirana longs for it and her father promises her hand to its captor. As Chekel Waneng Pati, Radin Inu captures it but again is robbed of his reward. Then a Klana Brahmana comes to Daha, propounds two riddles, wagers all he possesses against their solution, with the condition that if the king of Daha fails to solve them he shall surrender his daughter Chandra Kirana. Only Radin Inu can solve them but again he is cheated of his reward. Daha is now attacked by the brother of Radin Inu, namely Charang Tinangluh alias Prabu Jaya who has wasted many kingdoms in search of Radin Inu. Radin Inu, now called Adipati Tambak Jaya, fells his brother, recognises him and faints. Before they recover, Batara Kala spirits Chandra Kirana into the forest, where she takes the name of Ken Sela Brangti and is adopted by the ruler of Lasem. This ruler wants to marry her to her brother Parbata Sari alias Mesa Ulun Sira Panji Pandai Rupa, who is seeking her, but they discover their relationship. Radin Inu, under another name, is still searching for Chandra Kirana, his sister and his betrothed. Distracted he goes to a graveyard and calls on Siva, who sends a fairy grandmother to cause Chandra Kirana an illness that only Radin Inu can cure. He cures her and makes her his. He defeats a black-bearded Klana Guling Patirat who comes from Palembang to attack Gage-lang and marries the ruler's daughter, who traduces Chandra Kirana so that she is banished to a graveyard where she bears a son Mesa Tandraman. Radin Inu falls sick and can be cured, according to Siva, only by a flower that grows in heaven. His son Mesa Tandraman goes in search of it and is told by Siva that the flower is blood from the bosom of the nymph Sukarba. The young prince

becomes Sukarba's lover after she has promised him the blood. He gets it but is stabbed and robbed of the flower by his half-brother, the son of the princess of Gagelang. But the blood is in a casket which none but Radin Inu can open. His father seeks Radin Inu and the casket is opened. Radin Inu and Chandra Kirana meet and are reconciled. The prince of Sucha Windu attacks Daha to abduct Chandra Kirana but is defeated, tied to a stake and stoned to death. Hero and heroine and their relatives go down to the sea for a picnic. There are music and dancing and a mock combat, and Sukarba descends with Banjaran Sari, the garden of the heavenly nymphs. Next a Kling prince, Anyakra Buanawati, a descendant of Pandu, is invoked by Sukarba to punish Mesa Tandraman for neglecting her. A Kling fleet sets out to attack Java under Jayalangkara, prince of Manchapadanam, reducing the princes of Sumatra to submission on the way. The rulers of Golconda, Nagapadanam, Tanjaur, Gujerat and Bengal all come flying through the air. The flying palace of the Kling prince becomes a town Martapura. There is war with Klings flying in the form of griffins, with magic arrows and darkness. Batara Kala sends down Sukarba's son, Mesa Indra Dewa Kusuma, to help his father Mesa Tandraman. The Tamil prince invokes the aid of his *guru* Dewa Sukmanasa, who comes with a host of gods. Siva descends and settles the strife by intermarriages. All live happily ever after.

Such in barest outline without any of the comic interludes by the servants is this interminable romance. All the characters, even the servants, have their names changed very many times, till the reader becomes dizzy trying to recall their identity. For the spectator of the shadow-play there was no such problem, because the same puppet represented the same character under his or her many aliases from the prelude to the end. What is the explanation of these chameleon changes of name? Was it economy in puppets? It is hardly probable, seeing the artistic versatility of the Javanese at that time. Was it due to the joining of diverse tales in one romance? That seems possible when in some manuscripts one finds Tamil romance superadded to Javanese. Was it due to the doctrine of reincarnation or to the old superstition that change of name brings change of luck? Even to-day, many Malays have four different names, the name given in infancy, a name given to mislead the spirits of disease, a name given on marriage, a name given after the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Parallel stories from Celebes suggest, as Doctor Rassers has claimed, that perhaps the original kernel of the many Panji tales was a moon myth with a sun myth imposed upon it. Hero and heroine are born when the moon is at the full; they radiate light; at the full moon they are sleepless; frequently they choose the seventh day of the month for their adventures and their honeymoons are seven or fourteen days. When Panji's clothes slip off in battle, a blaze of light is visible; when the hair of Gunong Sari, his brother,

is being cut, a blinding light issues from his head. Panji's bride is golden, having names like Nila Kenchana or "Sapphire Gold," Kenchana Ratna or "Golden Jewel" and Chandra Kirana or "Moonbeam," while sometimes her brother and spouse is called "Sun Light." But whether the primitive kernel is a sun and moon myth is nearly as immaterial to the student of pure literature as speculation whether the four kingdoms of these tales, Kuripan, Daha, Singasari and Gagelang, are reminiscent of four early exogamic tribes.

Nor again need the student of literature be greatly concerned over historical allusions. Panji's aunt, the unwedded hermit of Mt. Puchangan, called variously Ni Rara Suchi or "Virgin Queen" and Nyahi Gede Puchangan or "Great Lady of the Betel Forest," was she really a daughter of Erlangga, the famous Javanese ruler of the eleventh century A.D.? Do the many synonyms for Panji, Kamajaya, Asmarajaya, Kamarati, prove that he is to be identified with one of the two Kamesjivaras who ruled Daha in the eleventh and twelfth centuries? Or is he perhaps to be identified with that son of a Hindu god, Ken Arok, who founded the house of Tumapel and died in 1149? Several of the tales refer to a naval expedition from Tuban against Tanjong Pura, Bangka, Melayu: is this an allusion to Kertanagara's expedition of 1197? And do the foreign princes of Jipang and Chemara represent Japanese and Chinese from the land of Queues, who took part in Kublai Khan's expedition to Java in 1214? Is the always vanquished prince of Wirabumi of so many Panji tales Bhre Wirabhumi, son of Hayam Wuruk, who was passed over for the throne of Majapahit and killed trying to win it in 1322? Have we here genuinely historical data or have Javanese historians, like the authors of the *Malay Annals* and *Kedah Annals*, embroidered their chronicles with stuff from ancient popular tales? History and geography in a Panji story are as wild and mixed as in a Malay folktale but there are enough native elements to show that, though the Panji cycle has travelled as far as Siam and Cambodia, it is a genuine product of Java and not imported. In the fifteenth century when they first came to him, the historical basis of these foreign tales can hardly have interested the Malay more than the historical basis of the stories of Robin Hood, Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Troilus and other "ribald" tales interested William Tyndale. "I am descended from Alexander the Great. I suppose he lived more than one hundred years ago," an old Malay raja once said to me. The characters of his tales were all real to the unsophisticated Malay and their story tickled his ear, as their representation on the stage fascinated his eye.

Although these Javanese cycles are indigenous, the tales include indiscriminate borrowings from the Sanskrit epics of the *wayang purwa* and from that later treasure-house, the folklore of the Deccan that was soon to flood the Malay region with romances made up of Hindu and Muslim ingredients.

In the *Chekel Waneng Pati* tale, there are several traces of the *Mahabharata*. The Tamil prince who attacks Java is called a descendant of Pandu, probably an allusion to the Pandavas. The dicing at which Panji loses all his belongings and even his two servants to his nephew Parbati Sari seems to be based on the fatal game between Yudhishtira and his nephew Duryodhana. In the *Hikayat Panji Susupan Mesa Kalana* the abductor of Kama Rati is sent down to earth as prince of Astina Jajar; in the *Hikayat Naya Kasuma* Inu is called Pamade, a name for one of the Pandavas, Arjuna, in the *Bratayuddha*, while in one manuscript of *Chekel Waneng Pati* the princes and princesses of Kuripan and Daha are called incarnations of Arjuna and Januwati, Samba and Subadra. In one manuscript of the *Hikayat Jayalengkara* even Semar becomes Pamade, that is Arjuna.

Then take the influence of the *Ramayana*. As Rama is an incarnation of Vishnu, so is Panji. As in the Malay redaction Sita marries her foster-brother Rama, so Chandra Kirana marries her brother Panji. As Ravana employs a Raksasa, Marisa, to take the form of a golden deer to distract Rama while he abducts Sita, so in the *Chekel Waneng Pati* Batara Kala throws a ring down to earth where it becomes a golden deer that Chandra Kirana wants and only Panji can capture. In the same tale Panji's brother takes the shape of a *Jëntayu* to carry Chandra Kirana to safety, while in the Sanskrit epic Jatayus tries to save Sita from Ravana. Again in the same tale Panji expels Chandra Kirana for sleeping with the portrait of a supposed lover under her pillow, just as (following an accretion to the *Ramayana* in the 12th century) Rama repudiates Sita for sleeping with a fan on which is a portrait. In the *Hikayat Panji Susupan Mesa Kalana*, a son of Panji is called Klana Wira Nanoman or Hanoman the monkey-god. Reference to the drawing of Laksamana's magic circle is frequent.

Some of the versions of these Panji tales are older than others but even for the oldest versions work remains to be done to disentangle kernel from accretions. A good text of the *Hikayat Chekel Waneng Pati* from the oldest manuscripts is wanted. It is a pity that the *Hikayat Panji Sumirang* published in Batavia appears not even to have followed the Batavian manuscripts and anyhow is defaced by modern Batavian Malay. The Dutch scholar, H. C. Klinkert, printed part of the *Hikayat Mesa Kagungan Sëri Panji Wira Kësuma*. And even in the Malay peninsula there is a lingering interest in these relics of the past. In Perak I collected a copy of a Kedah manuscript of the *Hikayat Mesa Gimang*, in 1909 a Malay press at Ipoh published the *Hikayat Përbu Jaya*, and in 1931 a Kelantan press printed a first volume of a "Javanese *gëdok* tale," *Kuda Sumirang Sëri Panji Pandai Rupa*. Many of the tales are still performed in the shadow-plays of villages in northern Malaya. It is the irony of fate that while the good they did has passed, the evil in them survived. For while the translation of Muslim works by half-caste Indians and other foreigners marred

a fine Malay literary style not unnatural in adaptations from a kindred language like Javanese, the influence of these shadow-play romances was otherwise malign, encouraging Malay writers to delineate puppets rather than to depict men and women "not too bright and good for human nature's daily food."

Hikayat Hang Tuah.

Before one leaves the Javanese element in Malay literature, notice must be taken of a Malayo-Javanese romance, the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, modelled upon the Panji tales, though, as we have seen, like the *Chekel Waneng Pati* it has an Indian supplement and though it was not written down in its present form until the sixteenth century and has interpolations even more recent. It is notable as the only original romance in Malay literature, and like its Panji models it purports to have a historical basis.

First as to its date. Fact turns into myth with incredible speed in a community that has neither newspapers nor printed biographies. When the British went to Perak in 1874, tradition had already entered among the sixteenth century rulers of that State Tajū'd-din, a Kedah Sultan who had conquered it in 1818 and died in 1849! Before 1536 or more probably 1511 the first draft of the *Malay Annals* made Mansur Shah, a ruler of Malacca who died in 1477, woo a fairy on a local hill, while its editors of 1612 transferred this adventure to Sultan Mahmud who died in 1528. It is not, therefore, surprising that before 1536 and in the chapter probably drafted before 1511 when d'Albuquerque drove him out of cosmopolitan Malacca, the author of the *Malay Annals* was able to use the legends that had grown up in the Javanese and Tamil quarters of the port about a swashbuckler, Hang Tuah, who as late as 1459 had been a hot-blooded young man and who died towards the close of the fifteenth century. Considering the short memory and interest of tradition it is impossible that Hang Tuah could have been forgotten during the years between 1536 and 1612 (while the first draft of the *Malay Annals* was lying at Goa) only to be studied again academically in the 1612 edition of those annals and turned belatedly into the Malayo-Javanese hero of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* a century after the man of flesh and blood had been mouldering in his grave. Nor can we imagine that the author sat with the *Malay Annals* of 1612 before him and deliberately altering them turned Sang Sapurba's vomit-sprung herald into a bride and sent Hang Tuah instead of Hang Nadim to Kalinga to buy fabrics and to Pahang to abduct Tun Teja. It is clear that a narrator must have worked from oral tradition, as the authors of the two *Hikayat Sèri Rama* worked from oral tradition, and to do that he must have lived not so far from the last half of the fifteenth century as to have heard no verbal stories of its doings but just far enough to be able to take liberties, conscious as well as unconscious, with its history: that interval of time can hardly have been more than half a century. One other point. In the orthodox Muslim days of the seventeenth century there would be little reason to create such a

type of hero, while for Javanese and Malays of the fifteenth century still delighting in the stories of Sri Panji and in the Hindu epic of Sri Rama and his half-brother Laksamana there was a real stimulus to wreath round a local Laksamana some of the fantasy they enjoyed in the Panji tales and in their versions of the *Ramayana*. It has been suggested that not only the Malay title Laksamana but the duties of its holder were derived from the part the half-brother of Rama, the ideal king, plays in the Sanskrit epic. Doctor A. Zeiseniss quotes from Major McNair's "Sarong and Kris" that in Perak the Laksamana is high admiral, guardian of the Sultan's harem and sword-bearer in royal processions: he points out that in Indian and Malay versions of the Rama epic Laksamana is an ascetic who can forego food sleep and love and that any officer following in his steps would be an ideal guardian of a harem; and he adds that in later versions of the epic Laksamana figures as general and admiral of Rama's forces and that a sword is as symbolic of him as the bow is of his royal brother. Actually the title Laksamana seems to have been created first at the old Malacca court as a nickname for Hang Tuah; and the duties of the holder may well have developed in the light of Hang Tuah's exploits and his master's literary taste. It is not necessary with Doctor Zeiseniss to go back to Rama incarnate in a Malay ruler. "Hang Tuah," say the *Malay Annals*, "was cleverer, stronger, bolder than other boys. If he was playing with other youths, he would turn up his coat-sleeves, crying, 'Pooh! Laksamana is my match.' So the other boys called him Laksamana and Sultan Mansur Shah followed them, styling Hang Tuah Laksamana." Evidently the *Hikayat Sēri Rama* was popular enough in the middle of the fifteenth century for its characters to be known even to children. And once Hang Tuah had got the nickname for a title, fiction began to be embroidered about him too. Like the Laksamana of the *Hikayat Sēri Rama* he is a great ascetic. And just as in one manuscript of that *hikayat* (belonging to Von Dewall) Hanoman, ordered by Rama to kill Laksamana for some fancied slight, thinks that Rama may be sorry later and therefore conceals Laksamana, so too both in the *Malay Annals* and in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* this motive is borrowed and the Bendahara hides Hang Tuah, whom the Sultan has delivered to him for execution.

The nucleus of the romance, recorded from oral tradition in the Javanese and Tamil quarters of Malacca before the death of Sultan Mahmud at Kampar in 1528 was known there, exhibits no Muslim colouring. Only the later pages, written apparently in Johor or the Riau archipelago, show strong Islamic influence, while references to Saleh ud-din, Sultan of Aceh from 1530 to 1539, to Ibrahim Khan, founder of the Ibrahim Khanzade family, who died about 1622, and to the Dutch capture of Malacca in 1641 are clearly accretions to the Malayo-Javanese nucleus, though the narrative continues to be wildly romantic, with a rhapsodist's disregard for history and chronology.

The romance opens in a Panji setting. The mother of Sang Sapurba is marooned on an island Biram Dewa, the Wirama Dewa where Inu is washed ashore to wed a heavenly nymph in the Javanese tale of Jaran Kinanti Asmaranda. The Ratu of Lasem (famous for its *batik* cloths) orders his Kramawijaya to repair the land wasted by Radin Inu of Kuripan, one of Java's four great kingdoms in the Panji tales. At Bentan he meets Radin Inu Wiranantaja, who is in quest of a golden flower-like princess of Javanese romance, Radin Galoh Puspa Kenchana. Hearing from the Radin of Daha (Kediri) that she had met Radin Inu of Kuripan at Gagelang, another of Java's four kingdoms, he hastens there. All this is quite irrelevant to the tale of Hang Tuah but it was popular Malayo-Javanese romance and set the key for what was to follow.

Another Pateh Kramawijaya in the service of Malacca's ruler sails with Hang Tuah to Majapahit to ask for a princess for their master, who arrives and marries her: an incident built on the marriage of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca to a Javanese. Sentenced to death for seducing a palace maid, Hang Tuah is hidden by the Bendahara and goes to Pahang to regain royal favour by abducting for his master Tun Teja, affianced bride of a Trengganu chief with a Javanese title, Panji 'Alam, and daughter of a Pahang Bendahara with another Javanese name, Buana. Once more with the iteration of a Panji tale Hang Tuah is sent as an envoy to the Batara of Majapahit and again the Raja of Malacca visits Java; and the narrative is larded with names common in Javanese romance, Rangga, Kertika, Kertala Seri, Marga Paksi. Again the Javanese faction at Malacca headed by Kramawijaya accused Hang Tuah of intrigues with palace women; again he is condemned to death but hidden by the Bendahara. This second time he is recalled to kill Hang Jebat in a famous duel.

After this Javanese romance with its reminiscences of the *Ramayana* come South Indian episodes, some of them so like tales in the *Malay Annals* that they must be as early as the Javanese nucleus. Of the children of Sang Sapurba and his wife born from the vomit of Siva's bull, one Sang Maniaka became king of Bentan Singapore and Malacca and sent for his brother Sang Jaya Nantaka to become crown prince. Discarded on account of his popularity Sang Jaya Nantaka disguised as a fisherman is taken by a Tamil merchant Perma Dewan (perhaps a reminiscence of Purindan) to Kalinga to be king. Again. After his last trip to Majapahit, Hang Tuah "who had learnt Tamil in Majapahit" is sent to Vijayanagaram, a Tamil form of Vijaya Nagara (that occurs also in the *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*), where a merchant Nala Sang Guna, or Narasinggam, gives him anchorage at a spot reserved for Franks and announces his arrival to the king Kishdinan, which Professor van Ronkel has surmised to be an old form of Kittinan, the Tamil equivalent for Krishnaraja. Hang Tuah visits the 1000 mosques where the *anjumanattar* "a caste of Muslim weavers" pray, and

also a temple *sitambalam* (? *cambalam* 'store for travellers'). He eats dainties cooked in the Negapatam fashion, shows his horsemanship, and does the mango trick. The Tamil king sends Hang Tuah to China, where, like another envoy in the *Malay Annals*, he contrives to see the Emperor by lifting his head to eat string beans.

As in the seventeenth century "Chronicles of Banjarmasin" the tale of Alexander the Great is used to add Islamic mythology to Panji romance. On the way to Vijayanagaram Hang Tuah met that hero of the *Hikayat Iskandar*, the prophet Khadir, who foretold his voyage to China and his safe return. After that meeting, the story takes on the even more marvellous tinge of the romance of Alexander. There is the visit to China where to wash away their sins the people bathe in the tears of a large idol, father of all China. There is the hero's defeat of forty Portuguese ships off China by means of a charm. Returning to Malacca he escorts Radin Bahar, son of the ruler, to Java to succeed the Batara on the throne of Majapahit. Then he goes to Siam where he speaks Siamese. After that he opens a settlement for his Raja at Lingga.

The story then becomes even more inconsequent. The king of Ceylon sends the 13th century Raja Chulan to Trengganu, where he worsts the Raja's fighting-cock, and his victorious bird, like Hanuman, sets the palace on fire. Urged by the faery Princess of Gunong Ledang, who here is the daughter of a ruler of Malacca by his Javanese wife, a Raja of Malacca conquers Trengganu. His son marries a captive Trengganu princess and rules over Banten. Sultan Mahmud reigns at Lingga—where in fact his descendants first reigned in the latter half of the 18th century. Indrapura or Pahang is attacked by sword-fish and a son of Hang Jebat, old comrade of Hang Tuah, advises a wall of banana stems, like the precocious boy of 14th century Singapore in the *Malay Annals*, and like him is executed. Hang Tuah avenges him. The Raja of Malacca loses his crown looking overboard on a voyage to Singapore. Hang Tuah repels an attack on Malacca by Portuguese from *Manila*. Then he goes to Byzantium to buy cannon, meeting on the way at Aceh Sultan Salehu'd-din (who ruled from 1530 to 1539). He visits Jeddah and Mekkah where Sharif Ahmad ibn Zainal-'Abidin is ruling. On the way he again meets Nabi Khadir who gives him a flask of water to moisten lips and ears so that he may have the gift of tongues. He sees the sacred carpet brought from Egypt and Syria, visits the holy places and meets Shaikh Jamalud-din, keeper of the Prophet's tomb. Then he passes on to Egypt and 17 days later reaches Istambul, where Ibrahim Khakan—presumably Ibrahim Khan (d. ca. 1622), ancestor of the Ibrahim Khanzade family—describes the glories of the city, its royal garden with a dragon gate, its river, its hill, its river adorned with stone banks and flower-pots, the rock where the Sultan sits to fish, its markets, its orchards, and the sea of Marmora. The princess of Gunong Ledang is installed as queen of Malacca by her

father who however continues to rule. Tun Mat, son of the Bendahara, is made Bendahara Paduka Raja; and it would seem that historically this could only be Tun Muhammad, Tun Sri Lanang, who flourished from 1580 to 1615 approximately. Tun Karim, son of the Temenggong, was styled Temenggong Sri Seroja (or ? Seriwa), and Tun Kadim, who must be Tun Nadim, became Laksamana. Then we hark back to Hang Tuah (now dead!). The old Raja of Malacca offers a reward to whosoever will be buried alive and bring him news from the grave. Hang Tuah consents and on the way gives a cake to a poor dervish. Buried with a string in his hand, the other end being held by the Raja, he pulls it and is dug out, naked and holding a broken potsherd, with which he had fended off the fires of two volcanoes. The Bendahara retires to Tanjong Kling, the Temenggong to Tanjong Tuan and the Laksamana with his teacher, a Hadramaut Shaikh from Aceh, to Tanjong Jugra. All sailors passing Jugra head had to fire a shot and cast a wooden spear in their honour, if they would avoid squalls. One day wandering as a dervish, the old Raja of Malacca was given a gourd, took a bite from it and carried the rest with him. Nabi Khadir, disguised as a youth, tells him he is carrying not a gourd but a skull. Opening his bundle he sees a skull, faints and is told not to be so mistrustful as to carry food. He is never heard of again and the princess of Gunong Ledang rules Malacca. A Portuguese ship visited Malacca and a year later the Portuguese bought as much land as an ox-hide would cover, cut it into strips and on the large plot thus covered built a large warehouse equipped with cannon. In the night the cannon destroyed Malacca and the princess of Gunong Ledang fled to a forest near the home of the Bataks, who made her their queen.

Bendahara Tun Mat opened Johor and Sultan Mahmud left Bentan to rule there. Malacca fell under Portuguese rule till with Johor's help the Dutch ousted them (in 1641). The gold leaf on which the treaty between Johor and the Dutch was recorded is still in the possession of the Dato' Paduka Raja of Johor.

Hang Tuah's creese is still one of the prized heirlooms of the Perak Sultans, whose Malacca ancestor may have brought it with him when in 1528 he became first Sultan of Perak. Presumably this accounts for the last paragraph of the romance, which says that Tun Tuah is a saint, living as chief of the aborigines up the Perak river, who when accosted and asked if he needs a wife replies to the villagers, 'I do not wish to marry again.'

It is possible that a study of the various manuscripts of this uncritical farrago of legends might lead to further conclusions as to its composite origin.

V.

FROM HINDUISM TO ISLAM.

Malay Romance of the Transition.

The germ of every Malay romance is a folk-tale or cluster of folk-tales, nearly always Indian and manipulated by men wildly ignorant and intolerant of the unities of place and time and of historical truth. Princes and princesses of divine origin triumph over every wile of demon, giant and man; invulnerable heroes defeat monsters with the bow of Arjuna or the sword of Japhet, win brides from impregnable castles and solve intricate riddles by virtue of spells got from fairies, spirits, genii and sages both Hindu and Muslim. Starting as a hotchpotch of Hindu mythology and tags from the Panji tales these romances came with the advent of Islam to embrace the Hinduized folklore of Muslim India, reminiscences from Persian tales like the story of Amir Hamza, allusions to the heroes of the *Shahnameh* like Kobad, Jamshid and Bahram, incidents from the Alexander legend, references to Baghdad, Madinah, Egypt and Byzantium, and even expositions of Sufi mysticism.

Not always in time, because many belong to the Muslim period of Malay history, but at any rate in contents and in spirit most of them may be assigned to the era of transition between Hinduism and Islam. To determine the exact date of any romance is impossible, because except in theological works Malay authors preferred to remain anonymous and because contemporary references to these romances do not exist. The author of the *Hikayat Bërma Shahdan* is given in one Batavian manuscript as a Shaikh Abu-Bakar ibn 'Omar who lived to be 128 years old and had been alive at the time of Noah, but there is no mention of the date when he reached his remarkable age. A Leiden manuscript calls him Shaikh ibn Abu-Bakar, and so does a manuscript that belonged to Raffles, explaining that the "strange and rare contents of the romance were laid in the presence (*têrhampar*) from the fluent tongue of Maulana Shaikh ibn Abu-Bakar, a visitor from the west (*atas angin*), who was extremely famous and well-known in former days, the time of a Sultan learned and ascetic (*zahidi*), a trusty and excellent protector"—terms of adulation couched in Arabic. The honorifics Shaikh and Maulana point to this author being an Indian Muslim with the standing of a pundit, as in fact his story testifies. Along with such names as Bekerma Datia (Vikramaditya) Raja, Datia Bujangga, Nila Pertewi and Maharaja Asmara Gangga he tells of an Indra Dewa (explained by a Persian gloss Shah Pari), makes his heroine a princess Nur al-'ain, and introduces Mt. Kaf, Darianus and the Prophet Khadir, lifted from the Malay version of the story of Alexander the Great as a missionary of the religion of Abraham. The hero keeps a princess in a *chëmbul astagina* or magic box and at the same time owns a charger with the Persian description

jang-asap or "war-horse," while the chapters follow the example of the Persian romance of Amir Hamza in having descriptive headings. The use of Sanskrit and Persian words, the references to the tale of Alexander and the copying of Persian models all make it likely that this romance is to be ascribed to the fifteenth century. Manuscripts of the *Hikayat Iskandar* can hardly have been more common then than now, but we know from the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* that there was one in Malacca. And what other Malay ruler except the Sultan of a Malacca still unconquered could have been described in the preface to the *Hikayat Bĕrma Shahdan* as "of lofty fortune and ideals" (*tinggi bahagia-nya dan chita-nya*), "the support of all princes and Sultans, a shining light to all Muslims whose wisdom and justice stand like a banner above the oppressed and their oppressors" (*pĕrsandaran sĕgala Islam dan sĕgala Muslimin, yang mĕndirikan panji-panji 'arif 'adil-nya atas sĕgala orang lĕraniaya dan mĕnganiaya*)? Such terms, it is true, were used of the Sultans of Aceh, but the contents of the romance fit better with the culture of Malacca, and a Malacca ruler who could be described as "learned and ascetic" was Sultan Mahmud, who once went into seclusion and studied mysticism, leaving the government to his son. There is, of course, just the possibility that the reference is to an Indian or an imaginary ruler but this seems improbable in view of the actual name of the author being given with the comment that he was a stranger.

Though there are no contemporary references to these romances, we have the list of works known to the Dutch grammarian Werndly in 1736, while Munshi 'Abdu'llah in the account of his visit to Trengganu and Kelantan, written in 1852, tells us how he hunted for a *Hikayat Gĕmala Bahrain*, in Kelantan, and found the tale of Khajah Maimun or The Enchanted Parrot and a *Hikayat Isma Dewa Pĕkĕrma Raja*. These dates are both too late to be of value. But there is, as we have seen, a religious treatise, the *Sirat al-Mustakim* composed in 1634 A.D. by Nuru'd-din a'r-Raniri (author of the *Bustan a's-Salatın*) which in a paragraph on ablutions mentions two famous works and shows the force impelling the Malay romance to follow the line of change it took. "It is proper," writes the author, "to use for cleansing the body the Old and New Testaments, which are corruptions of their originals; and also works that are of no service to religion like the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* and *Hikayat Indĕraputĕra* and so on, provided that in them there is no mention of Allah." The mind of a student will at once revert to passages in Archbishop Laud's redaction of the Malay version of the *Ramayana*, where Adam prays to Allah on behalf of Ravana and where a prince 'Abd al-Malik approves of the behaviour of a buffalo. It was easy to save old-word sagas from the Muslim Index on such terms.

The original fabricators of Malay romances appear to have been reciters but it is not only to the vagaries of memory and of plagiarists and copyists that every variant of a tale must be ascribed.

Of the *Hikayat Indraputera*, for example, there are two Malay versions, a comparison of which will help to show how authors adapted romances from the Hindu period to the demands of their new religion. The shorter version is called the *Hikayat Putri Jaya Pati* or *Indera Jaya Pati* and whether it is older than the longer story or was condensed from it, it was clearly designed for an audience interested in Islam only from fear of persecution or intolerance. The hero is a prince who, astrologers foretell, will be carried off by a four-legged creature; who on his travels eats shell-fish that return to life when their shells are thrown back into water; who is warned by a skull that a fierce demon haunts a certain lake; who defeats the demon by pretending to sleep; who lodges with a gardener and flies by night into the bower of a princess; who is helped by warrior genies in a fight for her hand and returns home with his bride to succeed to his father's throne. His tutor in magic is Bagawan Narada who lives on the Hindu Olympus, Mahameru. There is the fairy kingdom of so many of these romances, the Pelinggam Chahaya of the *Hikayat Marakarma*, the Langkam Chahaya of the *Hikayat Parang Puting* and here Langkam Jaya. At the hero's birth thunder rolls, a rainbow appears and gentle rain falls, as in the tales Malays got from the *Mahabharata* and from stories of Buddha. As in the *Mahabharata* and its Malay version, when the hero joins a procession, all the women run to look, and fall in love with him. There are the old Hindu magic arrows. There is a pleasaunce Kesuma Angsoka. The heroine reclines in her bower reading a Panji tale, *Pérabu Jaya*. It is true that there are superficial tributes to Islam. Instead of being Chandra Kirana, the heroine is called Chandra Nur Lela, a semi-Muslim alternative for the older name. The guardian of her bower is *Malik* Indra, a fairy still but saddled with the title of a Muslim king. And when the hero comes to the throne, he is styled Maharaja Bikrama Indra Dewa but, to save him from the lavatory, is given a hybrid Muhammadan alias, Paduka Sri Sultan Putra Jaya Pati Sifat 'Ala'u'd-din Shah! It is quite obvious that many romances of this type were not invented after Islam was firmly established but are relics of Hinduism adapted to a changed world. They exhibit traces of the Sanskrit epics, of Javanese shadow-play tales and of Tamil influence, again a combination to be found in a port like the Malacca of the fifteenth century. The longer version of the tale just analysed, the *Hikayat Indraputera*, is in many respects equally a survival from Hindu times. Indraputra is the son of Bikrama Puspa of Samantapura, the "Frontier City" of the *Hikayat Maharaja Puspa Wiraja*. He consults Berma Sakti or Brahma, who is apparent in a light like the glitter of swords. Heroines are changed into lotus-blooms and their pursuers into swine as in the *Hikayat Sang Boma* and the *Hikayat Séri Rama*, while as in the Malay texts of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* magic arrows return to their archers who are therefore beings endowed with supernatural power. Mechanical fish and flying wooden peacocks point to that south Indian influence which added an appendix to the *Hikayat Chekel Waneng Pati*.

But concessions to Muslim ideas are marked. A minor detail is the adoption of chapter headings after the Persian formula in the romance of Amir Hamza. There appear places and genies with Persian and Arabic names. One of the suitors of a princess Chandra Lela Nur Lela is discovered reading the romance of a Baginda Shah 'Alam, and at the end of his grand tour Indraputra, scion of Hindu demigods, settles down like a good Muslim with four wives and the title of Sultan. It is not surprising to find that the adventures of a hero converted to such orthodoxy have been translated into Bugis, Macassar and Achehnese.

So, the detection of a Malay author is made difficult not only by the practice of anonymity but by a fondness for the employment of second-hand plots. The alternative versions of the tale of Indraputra are not the only example. Another is the different redactions of another story mentioned by Werndly in 1736, the *Hikayat Shah Kobad*, called also *Shahr al-Kamar* and *Hikayat Shah Johan Indëra Mëngindëra*, an ollapodrida of Sanskrit and Persian names and of motifs from the *Hikayat Sëri Rama*. Yet another is the four variants of the *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* "The young trader captain" and the use of its name for a different romance, entitled also the *Hikayat Maharaja Bikrama Sakti*: some copyist of the last work may have been looking for a more orthodox title for his manuscript and made his choice because both romances have in common the inseting of tales of cunning. Many of these Malay works have Muslim titles as well as Hindu. The *Hikayat Marakarma* is best known to-day as the *Hikayat Si-Miskin*: the *Hikayat Indëra Jaya* or *Bikrama Datia (Wi)jaya* is also called the *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*, and the *Hikayat Sërëngga Bayu* is now never known by any other name than that of the *Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad*.

The *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* is particularly interesting to Europeans because it contains a plot used by Shakespeare and an episode extant in Greek folklore. In the Malay tale the youthful trader captain or Siti Sara is a heroine who marries Sultan Mansur Shah of the Ghaznavid dynasty, that ruled for a few years from Lahore to Samarkand and Isfahan, permanently established Islam in the Punjab and before it fell in 1186 A.D. created a centre of literary culture. Apparently there was no such ruler of Ghazna as a Mansur Shah and one wonders if the name may not have been chosen as that of a romantic amorist who ruled Malacca from 1459 till 1477. Anyhow the plot existed before Ghazna. The gist of it occurs in the eleventh century *Katha Sarit Sagara* or "Ocean of Story," where, when a Brahmin deserts his wife, she sets up as a courtesan in his native town, rejecting every visitor till she can entertain a husband unaware of her identity and conceive a son to reconcile them. This is the plot of *All's Well that Ends Well*:—"When thou canst get the ring upon my finger which never shall come off, and show me a child begotten of the body that I am father to, then call me husband: but in such a 'then' I write a

'never.' " Shakespeare got the tale from Boccaccio who got it from the East. In the Malay tale the Ghaznavid ruler directs his vizier's sons to find a princess of whom he has dreamt. Found and wedded, Siti Sara disappoints him by her barrenness, and he sails away to the island Birama Dewa alias Langkawi with his treasure and a mare, declaring that he will return only when the treasury shall be refilled, his mare be with foal and his consort with child. Disguised as a trader captain, his wife follows her husband, and beats him at chess till she wins the treasure and the mare; after which, pretending to be the faithless mistress of the captain she is impersonating, she visits her husband by night and conceives, carrying off his ring. Presto! a treasury refilled, a foal, the ring, a son. There are slight differences of names and details in the several Malay versions, pointing perhaps to their circulation by word of mouth originally, a wide circulation seeing that one of the manuscripts was copied at Batavia, another at Singapore and another at Macassar, while a fourth has been deliberately mixed up with the tale of another dream princess and incorporated in a manuscript of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*. The story occurs also in Kashmir, among the Sinhalese and elsewhere in British India. To this day a Malay copyist will try to improve on his original, and in one of the Malay versions of this tale the vizier's sons enquire of the heroine's father for a house that has no kitchen and for the monkies' bridge, put on their shoes when wading a river and open their umbrellas in forest shade. Siti Sara interprets their riddles and eccentricities. The kitchenless house is a mosque; the monkies' bridge one without a hand-rail; shoes protect feet from the sharp stones of a river-bed but are worn out needlessly on a smooth road; dirt drops from trees but not from open sky. Her maid, Si-Delima or "Miss Pomegranate," takes the two young men for several days 30 cakes, 7 bowls of palm-sugar and a ewer of water, always reporting that "The month has 30 days, the week 7 and the tide is full and not ebbing." When one day the maid gives her lover four of the cakes, one bowl of sugar and a drink of water, the young men return a message, "The month lacked four days, the week one and the tide has ebbed before its time." Exactly the same episode occurs in a modern Greek tale that must have been borrowed from the East.

The composite nature of Malay romances may be seen from their wide use of that common Indian *motif*, the search for an object, to cure illness or barrenness. In the *Chekel Waneng Pati* Mesa Tandraman went in search of the *gandapura* flower that "grew in heaven" and proved to be blood from the bosom of Sakurba, the only medicine for his father, Radin Inu of Kuripan. In the *Hikayat Raja Kĕrang* the quest is for a mango to bring offspring to a childless prince; in the *Hikayat Langlang Buana* for jasmine for the same purpose; in the *Hikayat Pĕkar Madi* for a fish whereof a sick prince has dreamed; in the *Hikayat Laksana* and *Hikayat Kĕyangan* for a musical instrument. The hero of the popular *Hikayat Indĕra Bangsawan* is a perfect paladin of folklore, rescuer of a princess from a land ravaged by Vishnu's Garuda,

owner of a magic suit that changes him to any shape, a knight errant in quest of a bamboo musical instrument that will give him a kingdom and of tigress' milk to cure the eye of his lady love. He offers to give tigress' milk to any of her nine princely suitors who will have his thigh branded, brands them all and gives them goats' milk. The association of this branding with the quest for a medicine makes the tale akin not only to the *Hikayat Pëkar Madi* but to a number of Indian tales, associated in the *Gul Bakawali*, a compilation of 1702 A.D. by Nipal Chand that has been done into Malay in modern times. This Hindustani work includes episodes that make it nearly identical, so far as the broad plot goes, with Malay romances which can claim no other connection than descent from the generous fount of old Indian folk-lore, namely with the *Hikayat Jaya Langkara* and its variant the *Hikayat Raja Ta'bir*. In all three tales there is the son whose birth may bring calamity on his father; the favouring of that son by supernatural powers; the wicked brothers who fall into duress; the quest for a magic flower.

More original is the main plot of the *Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad*, the acquisition by one of the brothers of kingship from eating the head of a magic bird and the acquisition of vizier's rank by the other from eating its liver! One version of the tale is translated from the Javanese and, like several other Malay romances that cluster round the same title, so this romance differs in different manuscripts. In one are interpolated characters from the Javanese redaction of the Hamza romance (a redaction so popular in Java that it was adapted for the shadow-play) and along with Javanese names like Wira Santika we find Solomon, Mt. Kaf, 'Omar Ommaya and Buzurjmihr. Another version (lithographed at Singapore and edited with large omissions by A. F. von Dewall under the title *Hikayat Sukarna dan Sukarni*) leaves out Javanese names and references to the Hamza romance but is full of quatrains with allusions to a Laksamana and Paduka Tuan, to Singgora, Bentan, the Franks and so on. It is, as van Ronkel has remarked, "a fantastic variation of the Ahmad-Muhammad theme" but its allusions to famous chiefs of 15th century Malacca incline one to look for a date of compilation not too far removed from a time when their memory was green. Unless, indeed, a later author merely inserted stock quatrains. But could a late author have described the finery of the hero, his Majapahit creese, his Hindu armlets, his long hair curling on his neck, his ear-posy of the Sanskrit-named flower of paradise that can restore a dead warrior to life?

*Ia mëmakai bau-bauan dan mëmakai kain warna ija
dengan bënang emas sërta bërjëntëra tēpi di-pahat, bërkat-
pinggang chindai, bërbaçu kësumba murup, bërkanching mërak
mëngigal, bërgëlong leher, dan bërdëstar intan di-karang,
bërkëris buatan Majapahit dan bërtërapang naga tujoh bëlli,
bërazimat, bërgëlang intan....dan bërsunting bunga wijaya
mala.*

Passages like that were written at a court when there was Javanese influence and have the note of the old Malacca style.

Another Malay romance, that has many points of resemblance with a Javanese work *Angling Darma* is the *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*. Here we are plunged right into the Muslim era by a tale so popular from its religious colouring that there are many manuscripts of it at Leiden, Batavia, London and elsewhere. Still there is the older framework. A prince Bikrama Datia Jaya, ruler of Dar al-Hastan, has a son Shah-i Mardan who studies under a Brahmin of Dar al-Khiam, who is versed in the language of birds. Hunting, the youth comes to the bower of princess Kemala Ratna Dewi, daughter of the king of Dar al-Marjum, who had been ravished by a demon (*raksasa*) from her garth Sura-Kerama. He became her lover but was afraid to rescue her, whereupon she wiped his face with the charm *ulu-rana* and turned him into a parroquet. He flew to the bower of Siti Dewi of Dar al-Kiam, by day a bird, at night her lover, till the Brahmin came and restored him to human form. Married to Siti Dewi, he left her to travel, bidding her name their unborn child Ratna Dewi, if a girl, Panji Lelana, if a boy. As Indra Jaya he came to a hill where a hermit saint, Salam a'd-din, taught him to merge the visible into the invisible by prayer, patience and righteousness. Forty days later he reached a hill where the famous Lukman, having prescience of his coming, sends his son Jin Katub to welcome him. Lukman explains that the Muslim creed (*jatihah*) is recited because in the Arabic spelling of the word are five letters, symbolical of the five hours of prayer. In morning prayer there are two genuflexions, because it is first and original, that is possessed of an attribute of Muhammad. In afternoon prayer there are four flexions, because the origin of man is fire, wind, water and earth. In evening prayer there are three flexions, symbolical of absolute unity (*ahadiat*), unity of self stripped of attributes and relations (*wahdat*) and relative unity or unity in plurality (*wahidiat*), which are found respectively in Allah, Muhammad and Adam. In evening prayer there are four flexions because in sperm there are four components and prayer has no origin save creation by Allah. Standing erect in prayer comes from fire, bowing from wind, kneeling from water and sitting from the steadfastness of earth. There are four paths: the path of words or the sacred law (*shari'at*), the mystic path of deeds (*tarikah*), the path of conduct or truth (*hakikat*), the path of gnosis (*ma'rifat*). These paths can be equated with the tongue created of water, the mind created of air, (the... created of earth) and the spirit created of light. To define the nature of the elements brings one to the microcosm, man. "Whoever knows himself knows His Lord." After this course in the crude mystic pantheism so common in India and the East Indies, the hero travels on till he reaches a great empty mosque, where one thousand horsemen killed in holy war descend to pray and their leader gives him further instruction. With a tale Islam has come to its new converts, bringing innocent mysteries instead of Tantric graveyard terrors and teaching doctrine not to a caste but both to

the great and the lowly, if they incline to it. In spite, however, of the new religion, the hero kills garudas (sacred to Vishnu) and the usual thirty nine rival princes, transfers his soul into a curtain, a betel-box and betel-scissors and again into the body of an ape.

A study of plots, style and names of characters might lead to the association of several romances with the same author. Closely connected in style are the *Hikayat Koraish Měnginděra* and the *Hikayat Inděra Měnginděra*. Descriptive titles like *Sultan di-padang saujana halam* and *Koraish Měnginděra di-udara* from the former and like *Tabal di-měrchu gunong halam*, *Khalifah di-padang kěmala sakti*, *Shah 'alam di-tasek inděra sěgara*, *Sultan di-kota biram běrjuang* from the latter are unusual, remind one of the title of Mouse-deer *Shah 'alam di-rinba* in the *Hikayat Pělandok Jinaka* and show clearly the source from which Perak got the forms of address to its ninety and nine state genies:—

Hai halam!
Sultan pun raja yang sidi sakti!
Halam pun dewa yang těrus durja!
Raja di-tasek inděra chahaya!
Halam di-padang biram gěmala!

The abbreviation of *Shah 'alam* into *halam* would accord with the practice of a State that still abbreviates *tuanku* to *ku*. And all the facts accord with authorship at some court in the Malay peninsula, like Perak, in days before Malacca speech had succumbed to local dialect, and when as the metal-work of Perak creese-sheathes and betel appurtenances shows, there were at any rate Javanese employed as craftsmen at the Perak court. Both the romances abound in *pantun* that are obviously by the same stylist as their prose, and these *pantun* contain allusions to Patani and Trengganu and at the same time exhibit acquaintance with Javanese words. Both romances are written in beautiful Malay with a copious vocabulary and both employ a court and literary diction that was not yet strictly observed in Malacca's heyday. A reference to a Dutch prince's costume (*pakaian anak raja Wolanda*) in a characteristic *pantun* fixes the date of the *Hikayat Inděra Měnginděra* as not earlier than the seventeenth century: apparently only one manuscript, and that collected in the Malay peninsula, is known, so that it is fortunate it has been lithographed.

We come next to a recension of a well-known romance which illustrates that descent from the classical style of the Malacca period, that becomes more and more apparent as Hindu and Javanese influence passed and Malay literature fell into the hands of translators and adapters of Persian and Arabic models. Such a recension is that of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*, from which an edition was printed for the use of schools in the Straits Settlements. Wernrdly eulogized the good language and concise style of the romance and these are apparent in the edition by van Eysinga, which however omits

pantun. But take sentences at random from the school edition. *Maka oleh baginda terlalu sukachita hati-nya dan seraya memandang muka Isma Yatim lalu bertitah-lah baginda itu. Or berdiri-lah ia pada antara kepala hamba. Or dan kami sakalian-nya pun dukachita. Or kain rambut yang halus-nya. Or chandapeti itu bukan dengan perbuatan manusia. Or baik-lah aku pergi mengadap baginda itu dan supaya ku-persembahkan.*

Every page contains idioms that are not Malay. The romance opens with a paragraph in praise of God, followed by one in honour of the Prophet, after which comes an exhortation to the friends of the author, Isma'il. Except that reference to ruler or patron is omitted, the introduction is in accordance with the usual Persian model. Moreover like the Persian romance of Amir Hamza or like the Malay romance of Indraputra, which one of the court ladies in *Isma Yatim* owns, the work is divided by chapter headings. The hero is not a prince but the son of a Kling minister, Megat Nira, who left his country and migrated to Masulipatam after losing a game of chess at court. Most of the ladies have the old Hindu names, and the mechanical toys common in south Indian stories play a conspicuous part. The hero studies under a Sufi, starts his career by authorship and lards his talk with the saws and dissertations common in Muslim treatises. Quatrains may perhaps be changed and added by copyists, so that unless marked by a distinctive style they afford no absolutely certain guide to the date of a Malay work or to the place of its composition, but one may note for what it is worth that the *pantun* in the inferior recension of this romance refer to Indragiri, Bulang and Patani, while one of the princesses comes from Langkawi. The romance was known to Valentiju in 1726 and to Werndly in 1736.

The Malay translation of Nihal Chand's romance was published in Singapore in 1878 under its Hindustani name of *Gul Bakawali* with the alternative title *Wijayamala*. To the same period belong the *Hikayat Ganja Mara* and the *Hikayat Bustamam*, both translated by a mysterious Dato' Saudagar Puteh, that is, "White (or pale) Merchant Chief," and the latter from "the language of Hindustan." In the *Hikayat Bustamam* a scene where the clothes of sleeping palace maids are changed and their tresses knotted together recalls a similar scene in the tale of Isma Yatim.

An old-world Malay audience would have preferred Disraeli's novels to the masterpieces of Charles Dickens: it revelled in lords and ladies, sumptuous repasts and gilded equipages. The modern generation, inured to science and the cinemas, disbelieves in magic and yawns over the buckram characters and stock motifs of its interminable romances. Yet what plots they contain for Oriental films, with their spectacular marvels and their beauteous princesses as splendidly null as the gorgeous mannequins of Hollywood except when they exhibit a gift for repartee and neat verse.

VI.

THE COMING OF ISLAM AND ISLAMIC LITERATURE.

The first regions of the Malay world to embrace Islam were the little port States on the north coast of Sumatra, where as early as 1292 Marco Polo found that "Saracen merchants," probably from Malabar (to judge from the *Sējarah Mēlayu*), had converted the townfolk of Perlak, a state destined later like its neighbours to become part of the kingdom of Acheh. Malik al-Salih, the first Muslim ruler of Pasai, a son-in-law of the ruler of Perlak, died in 1297; a Muslim ruler of another of Perlak's neighbours, Samudra, died in 1326. In the middle of the fourteenth century a temporary set-back to Islam may have ensued from the Sumatran conquests of Majapahit, Java's great Hindu kingdom, but, as the Trengganu stone proves, Islam had found a footing in Malaya, and the tombstone from Minye Tujoh suggests that in 1380 A.D. (or 1389) a Muslim royal family ruled Kedah and Pasai. By 1416 the Chinese found the Sumatran peoples of Aru, Samudra, Pidir, and Lambri, all Muslims, while they record that as early as 1409 Malacca had embraced Islam, a conversion d'Albuquerque ascribes to the marriage of its ruler with a Pasai princess. d'Albuquerque also records that the trade of Cambaya lay at Malacca, and Barros says that the Malays of Malacca were converted to Islam by Persians and Gujeratis. The Malay versions of the romance of Amir Hamza and Muhammad Hanafiah came from the Persian, and were probably translated in Malacca. The *Malay Annals*, written originally in Malacca and Johor before 1536, contain Persian verses and Persian words rare in Malaya; in the same work the Arabic title *makhḍum* is applied to religious teachers, as it is applied in India but never in Arabia and seldom in Persia itself. Towards the close of the fifteenth century people came from the archipelago to Malacca to study Muslim theology just as at the beginning and middle of that century Malacca had resorted to Pasai. "Malacca is the right Mecca," Sultan Mahmud said to his father and some Javanese accounts record that two of that island's most famous saints, Sunan Bonang and Sunan Giri, came to Malacca to study in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

To the archipelago also went missionaries of Islam from Malacca, following the trade-routes. In Sumatra, beside the little ports of the north, they visited Tanjong Pura and Palembang; in Java they traded to Tuban, Majapahit's port in the fourteenth century, and to Muslim Grisek in the next two centuries. The first of Java's saints, Malik Ibrahim, a trader perhaps from Kashan, died at Grisek in 1419 A.D. By 1475 the coast of Java was Muslim, though even at the end of the sixteenth century the hinterland still remained Hindu. By 1511 Palembang and Sunda had accepted the new faith. In 1521 Brunai was subduing kafirs. By the middle of the sixteenth century Islam had reached the Moluccas and Banda. By 1606 Macassar and the Bugis had been converted, it is said by

a Minangkabau missionary. It will be salutary to bear these dates in mind when we read of Javanese, Sundanese, and Bugis versions of Malay books.

What were Islam's methods of propaganda in the field of literature? As we have seen already, a Muslim colour was given to Hindu romances partly to save them from the Muslim index, partly to employ them as a popular means of spreading the doctrine of the new faith. But earlier still the first missionaries had to provide Muslim romances to take the place of Malay versions of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, versions that if not written down lived on the lips of the reciter and on the screen of the shadow-play. So, it is not surprising to find that the story of Alexander the Great as a warrior missionary of the faith of Abraham, the precursor of Muhammad, must have reached the Malays almost with the coming of Islam. In the first half of the fourteenth century Ibn Battuta found in Ceylon a hill of Alexander and a Khadir grotto. In the Malay *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain*, Alexander after overrunning north Africa arrives at Ceuta and seeing across the water Andalus, namely Andalusia, builds a causeway and marches to the conquest of Spain; but to Malay etymologists the Andalus of the scholarly translator was clearly Andelas, an old name for Sumatra. Accordingly from Alexander's marriage with the daughter of Kaid, the Indian ruler, they found a pedigree for the half-caste kings of Palembang, and their descendantants the rulers of Singapore, Malacca and Perak. Early in the fifteenth century there was a king of Singapore or Malacca mentioned in the "Malay Annals," in the Chinese records (1414-1424) and by d'Albuquerque as Iskandar Shah, who reminiscent of the sixth century Syriac legend that Alexander had horns on his head wherewith to crush the kingdoms of the world was called Dhu'l-Karnain, because the midwife had crushed his head and caused a dent in the middle of his crown! As we shall see, the first chapter of the earliest recension of the "Malay Annals" consists of a paraphrase of the Malay *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain*, the form Alexander being derived of course from al-Iskandar.

Not only is the *Hikayat Iskandar* paraphrased by the author of the "Malay Annals" but he mentions two other Muslim romances the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* and the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*, both of them translations from the Persian. The passage, which describes the night after d'Albuquerque's first attack on Malacca, is as follows:—

"It was night and all the captains and young men were on guard in the palace hall. And the young men said, 'Of what use is it for us to sit here in silence? It would be better for us to read some story of battle so that we might benefit from it.' 'You are right,' said Tun Muhammad the Camel, 'Tun Indra Sagara had better go and ask for the story of Muhammad Hanafiah, saying that perhaps we may derive advantage from it, as the Franks will attack tomorrow.' Then Tun Indra Sagara went into the presence

of Sultan Ahmad and submitted their remarks to his highness. And Sultan Ahmad gave him the romance of Amir Hamza, saying, 'Tell them, I'd give them the story of Muhammad Hanafiah but I fear they'll not be as brave as he: if they are like Amir Hamza it will do, so I give them the story of Hamza.' Tun Indra Sagara came out carrying the story of Hamza and told them all Sultan Ahmad had said, and they were silent not answering a word. Then Tun Isak said to Tun Indra Sagara, 'Tell his highness that he is mistaken. His highness must be like Muhammad Hanafiah and we like the captains of Baniar.' Tun Indra Sagara submitted Tun Isak's remark to Sultan Ahmad, who smiled and answered, 'He is right.' And he gave him the story of Muhammad Hanafiah too."

These three romances, the tales of Alexander the Great, of Amir Hamza and of Muhammad Hanafiah are the only three Muslim legends whose Malay versions can thus with certainty be allocated to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. And the date of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* is corroborated by the existence at Cambridge of a fragment of it collected by the Dutch Arabist Erpenius from Pieter Floris, alias van Elbinck, who was at Acheh in 1604.

Another Malay manuscript copied in 1604 apparently by Pieter Floris himself, is the *Hikayat Yusuf* or story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, taken from the Kuran and Muhammadan legends. This work also appears to be from a Persian source: witness the use of the Persian form *chawush* for "courtier."

Apart from these works the age of the Malay translations of Muslim legends is a matter of surmise. Those that from Malay have been done into three or four of the languages of the Malay Archipelago are clearly of a certain age: witness van Ronkel's suggested *stemma codicum* for the *Hikayat Sama'un*. Sometimes a manuscript, like the Raffles manuscript of the *Hikayat Tamim ad-Dari*, will show signs of having been copied from an archaic archetype. A work showing Persian and Shi'ah influence is likely to be old. One of the manuscripts of the *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* is dated 1668 A.D. and the work was evidently well-known then. Some works are mentioned by the Dutch grammarian Werndly in 1736.

The earlier translations are written in excellent Malay quite unlike the hybrid style that occurs in the Malay translation of the Persian *Taj as-Salatin* done at Acheh in 1603. To Acheh Malay was what Latin was to Europe in the middle ages. But when in the Malay Peninsula or the Riau Archipelago, the homes of pure Malay, there comes a poor rendering, done from the Arabic and known only from a few manuscripts, like the *Hikayat Saif Dhu'l-Yazan*, then one may infer it is certainly late and perhaps the work of a half-caste. No wonder that Malay sometimes suffered, seeing that it was made the culture language of the archipelago by fore-

igners, traders and missionaries from India, and the commercial language of the same area by Indians, Portuguese and Dutch. The Malay Muhammadan legends are the popular tales of Islam. Some of them like the stories of Abu Samah and King Skull are hardly more than religious tracts: even the adventures of Alexander the Great are described for a moral purpose. Translation, too, has deprived these works of glamour of phrase and left them unvarnished narratives, lucid because the writers explore neither heights nor depths. The attitude to the worlds seen and unseen is objective, the attitude of extroverts interested even in the nature of the grass in heaven and the digestive functions of the blessed. Heroes and genies, giants and saints are depicted in outline as in a child's picture book or, at best, as in a Persian miniature. What is missing in depth is made up by the stature. Anti-Christ enters Isfahan on a donkey so large that the deepest sea wets only his fetlocks. No wonder that, in spite of its inordinate length and the iteration of its missionary purpose, a romance like that of Alexander could hold a Malay court spell-bound. The valley of ants, the giraffe-riders, the cave-dwellers with one foot and one eye; the place where angels told their beads above the sun and the noise of that luminary's descent made Alexander faint; the great flies that stoned his troops and were only driven away when one of their number was caught, saddled and mounted by a puppet rider; the angels, who pierced with lances the devils that dwelt in Coptic idols; the bird-worshipping Circassians in tiger-skin tunics; the nude gymnosophists who marvelled that a mortal should bother to subdue a world; Gog and Magog; the diamond mines of Ophir and the copper walls of Jabalqa; the riding on mares into the land of darkness and the visit to the spring of life—these and other episodes provided the Malay with what Europe found in the *Odyssey*, Marco Polo, Robinson Crusoe and Jules Verne; with what Asia and Europe find to-day in streptocci, malarial parasites and the films of Douglas Fairbanks and Ronald Coleman. A generation accustomed to Hollywood's inanities may rejoice that in tales where there is no sentiment at all there can be no false sentiment. But a touch of the spiritual, appreciation of character beneath the gold and the silk, individual temperament and outlook, these could have turned the story of Alexander and Tamim ad-Dari into *Odysseys* and made them works of great art, whereas in fact they are far below the level of Herodotus. Anyhow it is not fair to blame the Malay for not improving models common to half Asia and translated generally by half-caste Malays of Indian origin: when in folk romance he imitated them, he did better.

The Muslim legends which Islam brought to the Malay have been divided into

- (a) romances of pre-Islamic heroes like Alexander the Great, Nabi Yusuf or Joseph of the Old Testament and the Kuran, Nabi Isa, the Persian hero Amir Hamza and the Arabic, Saif Dhu'l-Yazan;

- (b) stories of the Prophet, the earlier ones from the Persian, and stories of the Shiah saints Hasan and Husain and Muhammad Hanafiah;
- (c) the adventures of people about the Prophet, fantastic and devoid of historical and geographical similitude, like the tale of Tamim ad-dari, and
- (d) locally concocted tales like the *Hikayat Raja Handak* or *Raja Lahad*, where misunderstanding of Arabic words has led to the fabrication of heroes out of words that mean respectively a moat and a place.

Besides these works Islam introduced quite early from a Persian source the famous cycle of Tales of a Parrot, to be followed later by the Story of Kalila and Damina, a Perso-Indian redaction of the *Panchatantra*, and by several recensions of the Bakhtiar cycle, including one from the Persian and another from the Arabic. If we add good books of morality, treatises on mysticism in prose and verse and an encyclopaedia of world history, mostly the products of Aceh in the seventeenth century, when it had become the centre of the Malay world, then we have all that Islam and foreign influence could contribute to the intellectual development of the Malay, until in the nineteenth century the educational efforts of Holland and Great Britain showed him the new fields of modern science, modern critical method—and alas! modern journalese.

A detailed review of some of the principal Islamic contributions to Malay literature is necessary to show how wide was the new field opened and at the same time how unscholarly and popular most of the works were and how, apart from the enlargement of vocabulary, they came to exercise on Malay style an influence increasingly bad. Never in after years was the Malay to recapture the large utterance of Malacca's golden age, when his style still followed its own proper idiom and subdued to its purposes the vocabularies of the Sanskrit epics, the Javanese shadow-play and the south Indian romance as well as the Persian and Arabic of his latest faith.

VII.

MUSLIM LEGENDS.

(a) Stories of pre-Muslim heroes

The romance of Alexander the Great.

The Malay *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain* goes back to the story of Alexander, written in Greek a century or so before or after Christ and wrongly attributed to Callisthenes, one of the historians who accompanied Alexander on his expeditions, a story published in Alexandria and representing the hero as a son of Nectanebo, the last king of Egypt before the Ptolemies. It enjoyed such popularity that there are extant Syriac, Ethiopian, Armenian, Turkish, Arabian, Persian, Hindustani, Javanese, Bugis and Siamese versions. It appears in Latin, Byzantine Greek, Norman French and Old German and was known even to Chaucer:

*"The story of Alisaunder is so comune
That every wight that hath discrecioun
Hath heard somewhat or all of his fortune."*

As Mr. Wilkinson has remarked, "Every race judged the Macedonian conqueror according to its own lights: in one story he figures as a knight-errant, in another as a squire of dames, in another as a monkish ascetic, in another as a missionary of Islam, in another as an all-prosperous monarch, in another as an instance of the futility of human ambition." In the *Tai as-Salatin*, translated into Malay in 1603 A.D. from a work of Persian origin and again in the fourth book of the *Bustan as-Salatin* there are short stories of Alexander as a disillusioned world-conqueror. But in the one Malay version* of the complete romance it is as a missionary of the religion of Abraham, forerunner of the founder of Islam, that Alexander figures, and there are two heroes, Alexander and the Prophet Khadir, who got his name of the Green either from diving into the spring of life or because wherever his feet touched the earth it became green; it is Khadir, like Elijah Jesus and Idris an immortal, whose miraculous powers enable the Macedonian to conquer the world for Islam.

The first Malay mention of the *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain* occurs in the *Malay Annals*, whose author refers to the "famous romance" (*hikayat yang tērmasshur itu*) as the source of his introductory chapter, an admission corroborated by comparing it with the same passage in the *Hikayat*. When was that introductory chapter penned? The oldest recension of the *Malay Annals*, the "history brought from Goa" about 1612 A.D. was written in the reign of the last Sultan of Malacca and stops abruptly in 1536. It seems certain that occurring in this oldest text the chapter paraphrased from the *Hikayat Iskandar*, like the chapters borrowed in

*From a cursory examination, due to MSS. being scattered in Malaya, Batavia and Leiden, the Wilkinson Cambridge MS. of 1808 was held to contain a second version, whereas it is only the last part of the one Malay version.

the same work from the *Chronicles of Pasai*, comes from a manuscript attributable to the fifteenth century and that the *Hikayat Iskandar* was already famous then. Though one recension of the romance begins with a doxology in praise of Allah and the Prophet, even this does not follow the seventeenth century fashion of adding a dedication to a ruling Malay prince, as one would expect in a late work on so acceptable a theme as Alexander the Great.

Comparison with Arabic versions of the romance show, it is claimed, that the Malay recension comes from an Arabic version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, and several of the Malay manuscripts cite as the authors Al-Suri and 'Abdu'llah ibn? al-Mukaffa, who translated the Old Persian (Pahlawi) version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* into Arabic. The early date of the Malay translation and the fact that it is a clumsy compilation from Persian as well as Arabic sources creates a suspicion that it may prove eventually to be derived from a Perso-Arabic source in British India. It was because of the epithet Dhu'l-Karnain or Two Horned that al-Iskandar was identified by the Arabs with a prophet mentioned in the Quran (XVIII 82) and turned into a champion of Islam. Then about 1000 A.D. the Arabs got to know the *Shahnama* of Firdausi through a summary by Mansur at-Ta'alibi, which described Alexander as the founder of the throne of Iran and gave the names of the ancestors of Bahman, a mythical ancestor of the Sasanid kings; and it is this fantastic Perso-Arabic version with its sop to Persian pride that is followed in the Malay romance of Alexander. By the older Arab historians the name of his father Philip is preserved, sometimes in the form Failakus, but the Malay romance corrupts it into Qilas of Macedonia. Quite apart from the impossibly late date, this detail alone would make it unlikely that the seventeenth century Malay scholar, Shaikh Nuru'd-din of Gujerat and Aceh, was the author of the well-known Malay *Hikayat Iskandar*. For in his *Bustan as-Salatin*, begun at Aceh in 1638 A.D., he refers to Filipus of Ionia and so scholarly a writer would not elsewhere corrupt Filipus into Qilas. The passage which has led students to mistake Shaikh Nuru'd-din for the author of the romance runs as follows:—

"All chronicles say that the rulers of Ionia were kings of Alexander's provinces and all of them ruled Rome at that time, none of them being famous except King Philip, who was Alexander's maternal grandfather. Your humble scribe will say no more because he has written something else in Malay besides this book (*tělah sudah di-jawikan fakir lain daripada kitab ini—Bustan. Bab II. p. 26. ed. Wilkinson cf. ib. p. 14*)".

Evidently Shaikh Nuru'd-din wrote something about Alexander that has not been traced.

The Malay manuscripts of the *Hikayat Iskandar* may be divided into Sumatran and British Malayan recensions. The Sumatran recension starts with the Muslim doxology and relates

how Allah showed Adam his descendants, Muhammad His Chosen Prophet, David worker in iron, Solomon lord of the animal world and possessor of a magic flying carpet; after which it gives a list of Bahman's predecessors, beginning with Gayumart builder of ships and houses and maker of saddles. But this recension does not in the known manuscripts carry the story as far as the British Malayan recension. "Otherwise the order of the contents and the contents themselves are practically similar in both recensions; nearly every sentence in the one finds a parallel in the other, though they vary in choice of words and construction of sentences." Each supplementing the other, neither can be derived from the other and they must descend from a common Malay original.

A manuscript of the *Hikayat (Iskandar) Dhu'l-Karnain* was known to the Dutch scholar Werndly before 1736 when his Malay grammar was published in Amsterdam. He notes that "the book is composed in very good Malay and adorned with very few strange words; it is written in a clear easy style and is therefore very useful for the study of the language." This is quite true, though there is a large sprinkling of Arabisms and unidiomatic usages e.g. *dengan melawan dia kapada-ku berpérang* 'by contest with my adherents in war'; *ia pun tahu* pada 'ilmu hakim' 'he too knew (of) science', a superfluous preposition being inserted; *yang mati itu tiada lepas daripada-mu* 'death will not escape you,' neither the use of *mati* nor the turn of the sentence being Malay. The vocabulary appears to be that of Malacca, but it has to be remembered that copyists must have taken liberties with the original and that there are two recensions.

Hikayat Amir Hamza.

This, as we have seen, was one of the works popular among Malays at the time when d'Albuquerque captured Malacca; and, even if the author of the *Malay Annals* has embroidered his account of that siege, pretending for example that the Malays were then not used to bullets, yet his work was written before 1536. So that it seems safe to ascribe the Malay version of the romance of Amir Hamza to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It was known to Werndly in 1736. And its early date is corroborated by Prof. van Ronkel's discovery that it is a direct translation from the Persian.

There is an Arabic as well as a Persian version, but it is unknown to the Malays. In the Persian version the hero is the son of Abdu'l-Mutallib and uncle of the Prophet, while the Arabian translator, seeing the Persian romance depict Hamza as a wandering warrior long before the time of the Prophet, deemed it unhistorical to regard him as the Prophet's uncle and therefore invented for him an imaginary progenitor Kinana. The Malay tale follows the Persian account of Hamza's ancestry; it follows the Persian division of the huge romance into chapters; it contains many Persian words and it contains verses that occur in the same passages in the Persian original; where in the Persian an Arabic word is found,

there too it crops up in the Malay. Clearly the Malay romance is derived immediately from the Persian and not through any Indian channel. By comparing them with the Persian, Professor van Ronkel has even been able to determine that one of his Malay manuscripts gives the more faithful rendering and another a better transcription of Persian names and more Persian verses.

The Malay work consists of:

- (a) the Persian romance of Amir Hamza,
- (b) the story of the adventures of Badi'ul-Zaman, taken direct from some unknown Persian manuscript of Amir Hamza, its Persian origin clear from its vocabulary and verses, and its connection with the main romance clear from its style,
- (c) a non-Persian tale of prince Lahad, whose name is either a corruption of Ohod, the scene of one of the Prophet's battles, or, as in Arabic *lahad* means 'grave,' is perhaps derived from some grave famous in story; just as in one Malay work a moat (*khandak*) dug round Medina has been turned by Malays into the name of a prince Raja Khandak and Badr the scene of a famous battle has been converted into Raja Badar;
- (d) an appendix by some Malay copyist who thought it unseemly that Hamza's companion, Amir bin Ommaya, should die an ordinary death.

Hikayat Raja Jumjumah.

Of the story of Raja Jumjumah, or King Skull, and Nabi Isa, or Jesus, there is no mention before the nineteenth century and there appear to be no early manuscripts. But versions of it exist in Malay, Sundanese and Achinese, in Persian, Hindustani and Afghan. It has been translated into English in the "Asiatic Journal" for 1823 (pp. 249-256).

Seeing a skull on a Syrian plain Jesus asked God that it might speak to him. The skull spoke and claimed to be a king of Egypt and Syria, possessed once of warriors, umbrella-carriers, cup-bearers, women, camels, elephants, horses and hounds, a just king but one who did not pray five times a day. After living for 400 years he had fallen violently ill and been visited by huge flaming angels and the angel of death, whose faces were four, an upper used when taking the souls of believers, a lower used when taking the souls of hypocrites, a face in front used when taking the souls of sinners and a face behind used when taking the souls of infidels. In the article of death angels poured molten copper over his body, and drawing of the soul out of his mouth was like the dragging of cloth over thorns. Dead he was bidden to write down his actions good and bad, and with finger for pen, spittle for ink and shroud for paper he wrote all save one sin. But God and the angel knew

of it and he wrote down that sin also. Then Munkir and Nakir, huge as date-palms, and fierce as tigers, struck him seven times till the seven heavens and the seven earths shook. After that he was cast into hell, whence he saw the throne of God and four chairs for Muhammad, Ibrahim, Musa and Isa. His body swelled so that a horseman could not traverse his back in three days and three nights. He was dressed in snake-skin hung with scorpions and centipedes. He wore also a coat of fire and had to eat of the fruit of a tree, shaped like a pig's head, so hot that molten copper was poured to cool his mouth. Zabaniah dragged him to a hill where serpents hung upon him and threw him into a river where crocodiles bit him. He saw adulterers hanging head downwards, and women who had procured abortion with tongues on fire. And the chains and fetters about his body were so heavy that all the iron in the world would not make one link of them. But his alms to the poor and the learned gained him release from hell, and King Skull asked Jesus to pray God to let him return to earth to do good works. And he came to life but renounced kingship and devoted himself to God. He wore his hat on one side, wherefore all the hills of Egypt and Syria inclined themselves, and when he bowed in prayer, trees bowed likewise.

Some Malay manuscripts say that he lived for 16 years doing good works, others that he ruled for 60 years. Arabian versions say that he lived for 66 years. There are nine manuscripts at Leiden, six at Batavia, and two in London.

Hikayat Saif Dhu'l-Yazan.

About 570 A.D. a Himyarite prince Saif ibn Dhu'l-Yazan, with the help of the Persian king Khusrau Anushirwan, drove the Abyssinians out of Yemen and ruled southern Arabia under Persia. His victory over the Abyssinians who later became the enemies of Islam made Saif the hero of an Arabian romance, the *Sirat Saif ibn Yazan*, compiled by one Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu'l-Ma'ali al-Kufi, cited throughout the Malay version as Abu'l-Ma'ali, who was also the author of the *Sirat Hamza* or Arabian version of the tale of Amir Hamza. The name of the Abyssinian king mentioned in the *Sirat Saif ibn Yazan* is Saif(a) Ar'ad, who reigned from 1344 to 1372, and this name coupled with borrowing from "The 1001 Nights" would fix the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century as the date of existing Arabic versions, although parts of the romance may be earlier. Personal and place-names point to Cairo as its place of origin. Like Alexander the Great, Saif is a follower of the religion of Abraham with foreknowledge of the coming of Islam. The Abyssinians are described not as Christians but as worshippers of Saturn, fire, idols, rulers and animals, reminiscent of ancient Egypt. As in the story of Alexander, so here the Prophet Khadir appears as a confuter of infidel magic. The work "gives a faithful picture of the popular mind in Muslim Egypt at the end of the middle ages and forms therefore a valuable source for the history of Islam in its widest sense."

Of the Malay text of this Arabian romance there is one manuscript at Leiden, four at Batavia, one in the library of the School of Oriental Languages, London, and one version lithographed and another romanized at Singapore. The four texts at Batavia all belonged to H. von De Wall (b. 1807-d. 1873 at Riau), and one of them was copied at Malacca in 1842 from a manuscript belonging to a Muslim Tamil, Tambi Hasan bin Farsab. The lithographed version also came from a Malacca manuscript of unknown date. Some of the Malay versions of this pre-Muslim tale start with the doxology and one of them is entitled *Hikayat Sitti Kamariah*. Apparently none of the manuscripts are old and the work is not mentioned by Werndly, Leyden or even Hollander. The Malay of the romanized edition is bad, marred by poor idiom, literal translation, colloquialisms, misuse of words and grammar and lack of style. The work may have been translated by a half-blood Malay with a foreign father.

Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham.

Ibrahim was a native of Balkh and died about 776 A.D. He belonged to a band of Muslim devotees, who followed the simple life of the Prophet but seldom adopted a hermit's life. A hundred years later came Sufism with its *fakir* and dervishes, divorced from all earthly ties and possessions, and an attitude owing something to the Manichaeans and something perhaps to the Buddhist missionaries who had been active in Persia before Islam and founded monasteries in Balk. In Sufi legend, modelled upon the story of Buddha, Ibrahim appears as a prince who while hunting was warned by an unseen voice that he was not created to hunt hares and foxes; whereupon he abandoned the world for ascetic piety. There are Arabic, Turkish, Hindustani, Javanese, Sundanese and Achinese stories of his life. There are also three different Malay versions. The longest, said to have been translated from the Arabic of a Hadrami *shaikh*, Abu-Bakar first printed by van Eysinga in 1822, tells how he built a fort and told his subjects to discover in it any flaws, and how when an old man pointed out that it was impermanent, he gave up this transitory world. In another version in the fourth book of the *Bustan a's-Salat* the prince is told that there is only one fort, Paradise, which will never decay and whose people will never die. In the third version Ibrahim hands over his kingdom to his vizier and leaves his palace with a beggar's bowl. Hungry he eats a pomegranate and goes to beg forgiveness from the owner of the orchard, Siti Saleha, whose dying father Sharif Hasan of Kufa has foretold she will wed Sultan Ibrahim. They wed and then Ibrahim wanders on to Mecca. Saleha bears a son, Muhammad Tahir, whom folks deride as a bastard. He finds his father who gives him his ring and bids him God-speed lest affection disturb his meditations. The son goes to Irak, where the vizier welcomes him as his father's heir, but he refuses the throne and taking only some jewels for his mother's support returns to Kufa.

(b) Tales of the Prophet.

Relics of the Indo-Persian phase of Islamic culture are four tales widely spread in the Malay world. These tales are the *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* or "Story of the Mystic Light of Muhammad," the *Hikayat Bulan Běrbělah* or "Story of the Moon Splitting" at the command of the Prophet; the *Hikayat Nabi Běrchukor* or "Story of the shaving of the Prophet" and *Hikayat Nabi Allah Wafat* or "Story of the Prophet's death." Their comparative age is attested by their spread in the Archipelago and by their Persian tinge.

Of the first work, which is also known as the *Hikayat Kējadian Nur Muhammad*, there is one Batavian manuscript copied as early as 1668 by a Banjarese, Ahmad Shams ad-din for Sultan Taj al-'Alam Safiyyat ad-din Shah, a ruler of Aceh. Three copies of it were known to Werndly in 1736. And it contains the same mystic cosmogony that is found in the fifteenth century Malay translation from the Persian of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* and in the *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*. The 1668 manuscript actually calls it a *ta'rikh mukhtasar* or Concise History translated from the Persian work *Rauzat al-ahbai* (? *al-ahbab* or "Paradise of Lovers"), which again was a translation of the Arabic '*Umdat al-ansab*'. The glorious bird made from the mystic light has for its head 'Ali, for its eyes Hasan and Husain, for its neck Fatimah the Syrian, for its arms Abubakar and 'Omar, for its tail Amir Hamza, for its back 'Abbas and for its legs Khatijah al-Kabri. 'Ali, Hasan and Husain, Amir Hamza and Fatimah the Syrian, a character in the tale of Muhammad Hanafiah, are all famous in Persian Shi'ah literature.

The story of the mystic light runs as follows. The mystic light was before all things and of it all things were made. For fifty years it bowed before Allah. Then Allah said, "Light of Muhammad! I have ordained for men the creed, the five daily prayers, the fast, the giving of tithes, the pilgrimage." And Allah made of the light a glorious bird (as described), and said, "Light, I give thee seven seas, the sea of knowledge, the sea of kindness, the sea of patience, the sea of intelligence the sea of thought, the sea of mercy, the sea of light. Swim in each of those seas for 10,000 years." Then God created 124,000 Prophets, and from drops of light that fell from the eyes, ears, shoulders, nose and hands of the bird were made 13 Apostles the four Archangels, the Pen and the Tablet of Fate, the Throne and the seven circles of heaven, the sun and the moon, wind water and fire, the tree of life, the *tuba* tree, the seal of Solomon, the rod of Moses. From Adam the Light descended to Sheth and from Sheth to Moses. And Allah said unto the Light of Muhammad, "Go unto the four elements, which I will make manifest to sight." And the Light found wind in his pride and said unto wind, "Why art thou proud? For thou art but a fugitive." And wind answered, "Art thou without flaw?" And the Light said, "There is none without flaw save Allah." And wind accepted Islam. Then the Light converted fire also, telling

him that water killed him and wind created him and he was but the slave of cooks. And the Light converted water, showing him he was but the cleanser of filth. And the Light found earth lowly and meek and the Light praised earth. Now the dispositions of men are those of the four elements.

Whosoever owns or reads the story of the Light of Muhammad shall enjoy the merit got from reading the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Psalms, and God's words of power to His Prophet. The four archangels will guard him and he shall have acquired the merit of the pilgrimage and of the man that circles the Kaabah seven times. If one reads it nightly or daily, one acquires the merit of those who die in holy war. One is reminded of the indulgences of the Catholic Church and one is reminded of the introduction to the *Mahabharata*:—"whoever presents a learned Brahman with one hundred cows with gilded horns and whoever listens daily to the sacred stories of the Bharatas, these two acquire equal religious merit."

The story of the Splitting of the Moon is known also as the *Hikayat Mujizat Nabi* "The story of the Prophet's power to work miracles." There are Macassar and Bugis versions and in it there is special mention of 'Ali, beloved of the Shi'ahs, though unless it comes under the description of *Hikayat Nabi Muhammad* it is not mentioned by Werndly. If it reached Celebes but not Acheh or Java, this may point to its being written after Acheh and Java had ceased to have close connection with the Peninsula, namely in the 18th century. At the same time it would seem likely that such a legend would have been translated nearer the beginning of the Islamic period.

Abu Jahil went to Habib ibn Malik, ruler of Mekkah, and complained that Muhammad claimed to be the last (*akhir zaman*) and chief (*makhdum*) of the Prophets. He said that all other prophets had given a sign. Noah's ark had gone up into the sky, Abraham had been unhurt by the fire of Nimrod, Moses' rod had become a serpent and his shoes scorpions, the trees had bowed when David prayed, Solomon had his seal and crown, Jesus had raised the dead and made a skull talk. So Habib summoned all his people to a wide plain (*abtah*). All came save the family of Hashim, 'Abbas, Abu-Talib, 'Ali and Ja'afar. 'Ali was the champion of the new faith and when Abu-Jahil suggested haling Muhammad to the assembly, 'Ali threatened to fight. So the king sent a captain to invite Muhammad. After being visited by Jibra'il and Mika'il and legions of angels, Muhammad walked alone, but like a host in himself, to the field and the king asked for a sign from Muhammad, Amin Allah: "Call down the moon and bid it recite the creed that there is no god but Allah and you are His Prophet; bid it circle the Ka'abah seven times and entering your right sleeve come out from your left sleeve; bid it split in two halves, one to the east and the other to the west, and then return whole to the sky." And Muhammad and his companions went up into a mountain and prayed

and the moon did as the king required and the king accepted Islam, he and all his people save only Abu-Jahil and his house. Then the king returned to his palace and bethought him of his girl child, who had neither feet nor hands, and he sent her to the Prophet. And Jibra'il came and bade the Prophet wrap her in his coverlet and pray. So the Prophet did and straightway the child became whole.

The *Hikayat Nabi Bērclukor* again is not mentioned by Werndly, though of it there are Javanese, Sundanese, Achinese, Bugis and Macassar versions. Moreover to those who have sat at the feet of missionaries from the Hadramaut it is heretical. One of the Leiden manuscripts is full of erasures and has a marginal note that "this story has been compiled by heretics (*Rafidi*): do not believe it." Its writer starts by declaring that whosoever reads the story from start to finish, all his sins shall be forgiven. A man asked Abu-Bakar when and before whom the Prophet was shaved, and Abu-Bakar answered, When he returned from war with Mahdi, on Monday 19th Ramthan, while he was reciting the Kuran, the word of Allah was brought to the Prophet by Jibra'il ordering him to be shaved. And he asked of Jibra'il, "Before whom shall I be shaved and by whom and where shall I obtain a cap for my head?" And Jibra'il returned and asked Allah, and Allah said, "In the presence of his own Light and by thee, and for a cap thou shalt fetch a green leaf of the *tuba* tree from paradise." Then Jibra'il went to paradise and bade Ridzwan, the angel that keeps the gate, open unto him and he fetched a shining leaf and called the houris (*bidadari*) who came down and caught each a hair of the Prophet so that not one of the 126,666 hairs fell to earth but each was bound on the right arm of a houri for an amulet. And Allah said to the Prophet, "Whoso cherishes this story, he shall be safe from all danger and from the questions of Munkar and Nakir in the grave," and the Prophet said, "Whoso cherishes not this story, I am not his Prophet. Give it not to unbelievers and heretics, but whose cherisheth it, the mercy and blessing of Allah shall descend upon him, no thief shall enter his house, no enemy prevail against him."

The *Hikayat Nabi Wafat*, again, is not mentioned by Werndly. Professor van Ronkel has described it succinctly as "one of the numerous imitations of the Persian *Wafat-Nameh*." One day when the Prophet had returned from the mosque and was reclining, the word of Allah came unto Jibra'il to escort the Angel of Death to take the life of His beloved. When they came, the Prophet wept, not at leaving his family or Abu-Bakar or Hasan and Husain but for fear mankind might not follow Islam. The archangel Mika'il also came. Then the angels departed and the Prophet told his family that he would die, bidding them not to beat their breasts or tear their hair, as this was sinful. And he kissed Fatimah. And she asked where they would meet again. And he said, "Thou shalt meet me on the day of judgment on the bridge, supported by Jibra'il and Mika'il, or by the river of paradise or on the plain of meeting

or in paradise." Then supported by 'Ali, he went to the mosque and having recited the prayers bade anyone whom he had wronged declare it so that he might repay. And one 'Akasah said that once the Prophet had struck him on the bare back. And the Prophet ordered that his whip be fetched from the house of Fatimah. And all of them, Abu-Bakar, 'Ali, Fatimah entreated that they should take his place, for he was sick. The Prophet refused and removed his coat. But when 'Akasah saw the navel of the Prophet, he flung down the whip and his face was transfigured as the face of a man in Paradise. Then 'Ali carried the Prophet back to his house and while all were weeping, the Angel of Death came in the form of a young man and knocked at the door and the Prophet bade Fatimah let him in. And the Angel of Death said, "The seven gates of the sky and the gate of paradise are open and the houris await thee." And he returned and fetched Jibra'il, and Jibra'il and all the angels came and the Prophet said, "Jibra'il, thou hast always been with me: let us not be parted again." And he kissed Fatimah and the Angel of Death took him to the mercy of Allah.

(c) Adventures of people about the Prophet.

Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah.

This romance is another of the works mentioned in the earliest recension of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* as having been read at the Malacca court one night during the Portuguese seige of Malacca in 1511. Its age is corroborated by the existence of 60 pages of it among the manuscripts bought for Cambridge University Library by the Duke of Buckingham from the Arabist Erpenius who had collected Malay manuscripts from a Pieter Floris alias Willemsz van Elbinck, visitor to Acheh in 1604. In addition to such archaisms as *tĕrbĕsar* and *tĕrtua*, the Cambridge manuscript (p. 53) has the obsolete *kutaha* that occurs in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and elsewhere: *apa kutaha dosha-mu kau-pĕrbuat?* Again, when Husain is wounded, it reads *Amir Husain mĕnahan darah dĕngan tangan-nya, maka di-tambangkan-nya darah itu ka-langit* where for the rare *tambang* a Leiden manuscript reads *pandang* and a Singapore lithographed edition *lontar*. Tengku Muda Chik, father-in-law of the late Yam-tuan Muhammad of Negri Sembilan, talked to me of *tambang ubat di-makam marhum* "exposing medicine on the shrine of his ancestors" to make it efficacious, so that this definition crept into my dictionary and Wilkinson's; whereas "offering to spirits or to God" would clearly be a better rendering.

In examining the Cambridge fragment Professor van Ronkel noted that the praises bestowed on Hasan and Husain, the presence of a Persian verse and the title given to Muhammad suggest translation from the Persian. The Professor has amended and restored the Persian verse, of which the Malay equivalent is: do not expect good faith from a bad man, for washing will not make a negro white. Later he discovered in Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum (vol. II, p. 819) two "apparently

detached portions of a late composition exhibiting the Shi'ah legend in its most exuberant form," namely a *Kesah Amir ul-Muminin Hasan wa Husain* "from their birth to the death of the former, prisoned by Yazid, and to the martyrdom of the latter in Karbala" and a *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* "history of Muhammad son of the Hanafiah from the time when the tidings of his brother Husain's death reach him, to the time when he releases the latter's son, Zainal-'Abidin, from captivity, and finds the charred body of the accursed Yazid at the bottom of a well." Both manuscripts (Add. 8149 Fol. 83) were written in 1721 A.D. in the province of Murshidabad, Bengal. Though in Arabic there are biographies of Muhammad Hanafiah, only in Persian is there a special *hikayat*.

In the Malay romance there is a preface, apparently absent from the Persian manuscripts, and dealing with the creation, the Prophets, the birth and life of Muhammad and the first four Caliphs. It notes that the Prophet's birth was followed by the quenching of the fire of Persian fire-worshippers, by the collapse of the dome of Nushirwan's palace and by the falling down of prince Khosrau, but Khosrau is mentioned in its Arabic form Kisri. A mystic explanation of the Prophet's ascent to heaven is suggested, namely that the universe is as a mustardseed. The end of the tale, also, would appear to have been added either in India or by a Malay hand. Zainal-'Abidin is installed ruler of Damascus in Indo-Malay Muslim fashion, seated on a throne with a Sanskrit name, in the presence of eunuchs and other representatives of Hindu caste. Neighbouring princes send him gifts of silks with Sanskrit and Arabic names and of Portuguese velvet. Zainal-'Abidin marries a girl with that stock name of Malay romance Shams al-Bahrain. And Muhammad Hanafiah slays countless followers of Yazid in a huge cave in spite of the warnings of a mysterious voice to desist, and finally is locked for ever in the cave.

The Singapore lithographed edition would be of value for the preparation of a definitive text. For example. It follows the Cambridge manuscript in the passages quoted by Professor van Ronkel from the Cambridge and Leiden manuscripts, in using the words *khali* (and not *jalan*), *milek* (and not *mahligai*), *duri* and so on. A definitive text would show that the work was written in the good idiomatic Malay characteristic of early translations.

Hikayat Tamim ad-dari.

Tamim ad-Dari was a Christian who seven years after the *Hijrah* became a Muslim and removed from Palestine to Medina, where his Christian training enabled him to advise the Prophet on such ritual as the use of oil-lamps in mosques. The first narrator of religious legends, which scandalized theologians but did so much to popularize Islam, he told the Prophet how once he had been shipwrecked on an island where he found al-Dajjal Anti-Christ and a monster Jassasa waiting to break loose at the end of the world. On this story which occurs in the earliest *Hadith* was founded later

a romance in Arabic, that appears to have existed in the eighth century and has been adapted in Sundanese, Malay, Bugis, Macassar, Achinese, Turkish, Spanish, Urdu and Afghan versions. In its introduction the Malay romance purports to be derived from an Arabic work, *Tarikh al-Hijrat*. But in spite of Arabic names and quotations, it is doubtful if it is derived directly from the Arabic *Kissah Tamim ibn Halib ad-Dari*. Probably it comes immediately from an Indian adaptation of the original Arabic: witness Sanskrit and Persian words and the episode of the ship of a Raja of Hind.

Wanting to bathe one night at a well, a practice forbidden by the Prophet, Tamim asked his wife to accompany him to a spot notoriously haunted by genies, but she refused, exclaiming "A genie run off with the coward." So Jin 'Afrīt Majusi carried him off to the land of the infidel genies, where he helped an invading host of Muslim genies and became their teacher, until their raja Yimut

يموت got the Jin Sahir to fly him back to Medinah; but he had to recite a prayer to keep himself and his carrier safe, and forgetting it at the sight of the stars he allowed Jin Sahir to be burnt to ashes by an angel and himself fell into the sea. He swims to an island where a voice comforts him, and he sees Iblis, the one-eyed father of Shaitans with a trunk for a mouth, whose pastime it is to divorce husbands and wives. An 'Afrīt gives him a handful of bullets and leads him to a cave whose seven doors open when a bullet is hurled at each of them in turn. Inside is Solomon asleep and guarded by two snakes. The 'Afrīt tries to steal Solomon's ring, bidding Tamim to revive him every time one of the snakes bites him to death. Once Tamim does this but then the black snake threatens him with death if he does it again. He leaves the cave to meet first Dabbat al-ardl the Beast of the Day of Judgment and then Dajjal or Anti-Christ, who shrinks on hearing the Muslim creed and expands on hearing that Muslims sin. Travelling on he comes to a Hindi ship, and is given a passage but, as its Raja owner will not pay tithes (*zaka*t), it is shipwrecked and he swims to an island of cannibal women. Passing several lands he meets an 'Afrīt, B-rh-sh, who turns into a bird and flies with him again to Solomon's cave, the incidents of the bullets and the attempted theft of the ring being repeated. He meets a lady of Andalus, whose mother had been ravished by B-rh-sh, and she gets a genie to fly him to Medinah. On the way he falls into the sea, at the scene of his former shipwreck, and he swims to an island where the bird of the Prophet Isahak gives him refreshing water from its beak and tells him to travel on and look for a young man in a green coat and green turban. Him he meets in a mosque. The young man, who is the Prophet Elias, gives him a pomegranate and bids him still travel on in search of greater marvels. He comes to a golden city with jewelled meads where recline those killed in Holy War, tended by houris. Jibra'il and Mika'il on white horses evict Tamim. He pleads that Idris entered heaven alive but they say that, when Izra'il had taken him to look at it, Idris went back

to get his shoes and refused to leave, and, as he had once felt death, Allah allowed him to remain. Mistaking a glow for that of a hermit's fire Tamim finds himself in a cave full of jewels and starts to take them, but a snake attacks him and a young man bids him throw them away. Bidden by a young man to look at the marvels over a hill, he finds Anti-Christ in the form of a bitch with puppies barking inside her. He sees a symbol of this world in an old hag in gorgeous attire lamenting her age. And he sees a usurer trying to fill a vessel with a hole in it. He sees a man who has committed breach of trust condemned to carry a date-palm on his back till the last day. He meets Nabi Khadir who explains to him (as once to Alexander the Great) the names of all the places and persons connected with his adventures. (The comforting voice of) a hermit was (that of) K.rs.h., a disciple of Jesus. The name of Isahak's bird was Mursal al-salin. The inhabitants of the seven countries passed were the family of Nabi Yunus. The second treasure cave was that of the infidel genie S-fian son of Gh.lin.h.

After Tamim had been away seven years four months and ten days his wife Khul-h married H.dlir. But before the consummation, Tamim arrives borne on a cloud which Nabi Khadir had hailed on its way to water Medinah. Unshaven and with uncut nails he is taken for a genie. He and his wife's new spouse appeal to 'Omar who cannot determine his identity and refers the case to 'Ali, "the father of Hasan." 'Ali recalls that the Prophet had talked of a white spot behind Tamim's knee, and so identifies him.

There are many manuscripts of the romance. They reveal a shorter and a longer version, though which is prior has not been determined. The shorter version ascribes Tamim's abduction not to bathing but to his wife's anger at his forgetfulness of a prayer (*do'a*).

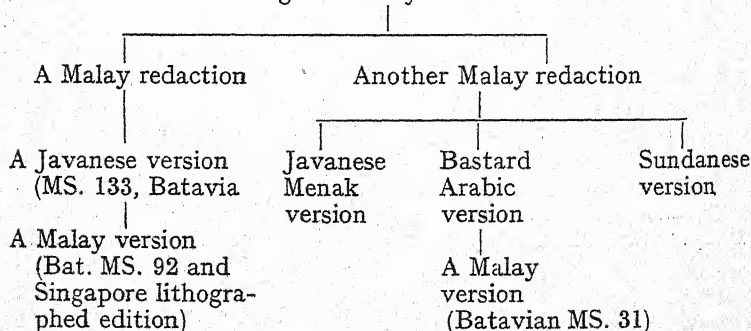
Raffles manuscript 50 belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society London, which van der Tuuk summarized and I have re-read and outlined anew, bears marks of being copied from an old manuscript. The final vowel is generally omitted in words like *mati*, *suku*, *lalu*, *dchulu*; *shin* is used in Sanskrit words like *seksa*; the old forms *upama* and *pēnah* are found in place of *umpama* and *pēnah*; the *pēpēt* sound is sometimes represented by *wau*, for instance, *bulalai* and *kuliling*; and rarely by *alif*, *lalah* for *lēlah*; *md* stands for *muda*. All these usages occur also in the Bodleian manuscript of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, which dates from about 1600 A.D. at the latest. There are a few words which are either corrupt or archaic forms, such as *pētas* for *pēntas*. The Malay version, though it is not cited by Werndly in 1736, must be old to be recorded in such archaic script and to have spread so widely through the Archipelago. It may be noted, however, that Raffles manuscript twice contains the Portuguese word *bēlēdu* 'velvet.' *Tirai dewangga katifah yang emas dan kain daripada sundus dan istibrak dan bēlēdu yang*

běřemas (p. 56) and *běľědu katifah dewangga běřemas* (p. 63) remind one of the *sutěra dan dewangga dan katifah dan běľědu* of the *Kitab Sa-ribu Mas'alah*.

Hikayat Sama'un.

About the time of his Khaibar Campaign the Prophet despatched letters announcing his plans for world conquest to Heraclius emperor of the Greeks, to the king of Persia and to the governor of Alexandria. The last sent Muhammad a Copt girl, Mariah or Mary, by whom the Prophet had a son that soon died. Out of this episode has been constructed the fantastic story of an otherwise unknown Muslim hero, Sama'un or Simeon, whose exploits are related in Malay, Javanese, Sundanese and Achinese. In Malay there are two versions, one which has been translated from the Javanese and whose contents I give below, another Cohen Stuart's manuscript 31 at Batavia, which has been translated from the Arabic. Usually Muslim legends in Javanese are adapted from the Malay. But the preface to the one Malay version of the *Hikayat Sama'un* expressly states that it is translated from the Javanese, a statement corroborated by the number of Javanese words and by the peculiarly Javanese humour exhibited at the end of the narrative. On the other hand the Arabic recension, in spite of Arabic prayers and words, is a bastard production, talking of "tigerish" warriors and making Muhammad king of Medinah, evidence that it was written not in Arabic but in the Malay archipelago. And in fact there is a second Javanese version of the tale of Sama'un, inset in a Semarang manuscript of the *Menak* or Javanese version of the tale of Amir Hamza, which is far closer to the bastard Arabic version than it is to the Javanese version from which the other Malay version comes. Taking all the evidence of Arabic names and of contents into account, Professor van Ronkel has constructed tentatively a *stemma codicum* which goes to throw an interesting light on the age and wanderings of this fantastic tale:—

Original Malay version



Furthermore the fact that for the names in the Achinese version we have to look to *both* the modern Malay versions leads Professor van Ronkel to surmise that the Achinese text may have been based on an older Malay version.

The lithographed text, like Batavian manuscript 92, starts by saying the Prophet declared unto 'Ali, "Whosoever of my people, man or woman, reads or hears this story shall have his or her sins forgiven."

Hikayat Abu-Samah.

Abu-Samah, son of the second Caliph 'Omar, was scourged by the prefect of Egypt for drinking wine: when he returned to Medina, his father had him scourged again, so that he died soon afterwards. This historical incident has been embroidered into a story, of which there are Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Achinese and Hindustani versions.

According to the version of the Malay tale lithographed in Singapore, the boy Abu-Samah begged to go with his father to fight against the infidels of Khalwan (خلوان). On his return he got fever and did not recover till his relatives vowed to give alms for his recovery as 'Ali had vowed for Hasan and Husain. He then chanted the Kuran to the delight of all and afterwards went for a ramble and met a Jew who declared he had a fine medicine for convalescents and gave the boy spirits so that he became drunk and went with a Jewess and begat a child. She brings the child to 'Omar who gives her support but sentences his son to 100 stripes, which are given amid the tears and lamentations of 'Omar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Hasan and Husain. Even the angels plead with Allah who declared he will reward Abu-Samah in the next world. Abu-Samah dies. Watching his body 'Ali and 'Uthman dream that they see him sitting in heaven beside the Prophet, who bids them slay Jews and Christians unless they embrace Islam. 'Ali arrests the Jews of Medinah, who consent to become Muslims.

(d) Malayo-Muslim fiction.

The story of the siege of Madinah and its defence by a moat is turned in this tale into a fictitious narrative of an infidel Raja Handak, who is overcome on the plain of Hunaini by the war-cries of 'Ali. Raja Handak is given a son Raja Badar, named after the famous battle of Badr, and a sister princess Zalzali, named after 'Ali's mule Duldul! One of his warriors is Jabal Kaf or Mount Kaf! 'Ali's war-cries that startle the bull who supports the world find a parallel in the shouts of Amir Hamza, and the conversion of a moat into a man reminds one of the tale of Raja Lahad in the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* and of the conversion of a herald of good tidings (*bashir*) into a person Basir in the Malay tale of Joseph. There are Sundanese and Macassar versions as well as the Malay. Leiden has three manuscripts of the work, Batavia eleven and it was lithographed in Singapore in 1888 A.D. My outline is made from the lithographed edition, which is in good Peninsular Malay, while in brackets I have added variant forms of names from the manuscripts. The work is mentioned by Raffles' friend, Doctor Leiden, in 1808, but not by Werndly.

VIII.

CYCLES OF TALES FROM MUSLIM SOURCES.

Hikayat Bayan Budiman.

The framework of the famous Tales of a Parrot occurs in the *Jataka* tales and several of its stories find their prototypes in the *Panchatantra*. But as a collection, the book goes back to the *Sukasaptati* of "Seventy tales of a Parrot," of which there were two versions in Sanskrit, one long and one short. From the former were derived a Persian recension not now extant and a later Persian recension translated and augmented by one Nakhshabi in 1329 A.D. and entitled *Tuti-nameh*. Like Kashifi's version of the *Kalila and Damina*, this was at the order of Akhbar the great Mogul emperor simplified by his prime minister Abu'l Fadl (1551-1602). Next it was done into Persian verse by 'Abd al-Hamid Lahori, who died in 1655, and it was abridged by Muhammad Kadiri in 1793. Nakhshabi's edition was also the source of a Turkish version by Sari 'Abd'ullah Effendi, who died in 1660, and of a Dakhani version composed in 1639 A.D. by Awari. There are Tamil and Kanarese recensions and a Hindustani edition, called *Tota Kahani* and composed in 1801 by Haidari or Haidar-Baksh from Kadiri's abridgement. There are Javanese recensions in prose and verse that differ entirely from the Malay, and there are Bugis and Macassar versions.

This recital will show the popularity of this famous work while the dates, we shall see, exclude all of them as sources of the Malay version except (possibly the version by Abu'l Fadl and) the two early Persian editions. Three times in the text the work is ascribed to one Kadli Hasan and twice a date, 1371 A.D., is given :—

Maka kata bayan, 'Dēmikian-lah kesah-nya di-chēritakan oleh Kadi Hasan hijratu'l-Nabi sanat 773 tahun dal'.

"The parrot said, 'Such is the tale told by Kathi Hasan in the *dal* year, A.H. 773'." And again, in the colophon :—

Dēmikian-lah kesah-nya Hikayat Bayan Budiman yang tēlah di-chēritakan oleh Kadli Hasan dalam hijrat Nabi sallā' llahu 'alaihi wa-sallama tujuh ratus tujuh puluh tiga tahun kapda tahun dal, ada-nya : tatkala ia mēngajar anak chuchunya, dēmikian-lah hamba dēngar pada masa itu.

"Such is the tale of the Wise Parrot told by Kadli Hasan in the *dal* year 773 A.H. : when he was teaching his children and grandchildren, such was what I heard then."

It looks as if the reference is to an unknown author of a lost Persian version. For the reference is included in a remark by the parrot, and moreover the date seems too early for a Malay version, even though recently the dates of Malay translations from the Persian have been pushed back a century by the new recension of the *Sējārah Mēlayu*.

The oldest manuscript of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* or Tales of the Wise Parrot, to give the work its Malay name, is a fragment of 14 pages in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which belonged to an orientalist Edward Pococke (1604-1691). Pococke was chaplain to the English "Turkey Merchants" at Aleppo from 1630 to 1635 and chaplain at Constantinople from 1637 to 1640, in both places collecting Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian, Samaritan and other manuscripts to the number of four hundred and twenty, for which Oxford University paid £600 in 1693. The wrapper of the Malay fragment has a note written in a sixteenth or early seventeenth century hand: "This is the Mola tounge Spoke by the Molaianes in the Sou (th) Seases, the coste of Vormeo," while inside the wrapper is an account from 1598-1600 of "Clothes Receaved for the privy Accompt of my Mr. Ferdinandoe Clotterbooke *per* me Thomas Wade." :—there was a Ferdinandoe Clotterbooke of St. Martin's London who died in 1582, but his son of the same name was alive in 1615. The history of the fourteen pages, it may therefore be concluded, goes back to 1600. Alongside this evidence may be placed that of a manuscript of the work (MS. 2606 (327) in the India Office Library) which according to the colophon was copied in 1808 A.D. but originally written (*di-rivayatkan*) in the year *wau* on Sunday 18th Saaban 1008 A.H., that is in 1599. If, however, the work reached European hands about 1600, it is unlikely that it had been newly translated into Malay only the year before. It takes time for a Malay manuscript to be copied even to-day when paper is cheap and literate Malays many. When paper was dear, it is unlikely that any Malay parted with a new copy of a recent publication to an English captain. The fact that there are only 14 leaves makes it likely that it was an old torn copy, and the probability is that the work had become popular before it was offered to a sea-captain. On all these probabilities one may conclude that the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* was done into Malay at least as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, and its excellent Malay marks it at once as a work of the Malacca period or tradition. One may even suppose that the Persian original and a translator for it were more likely to be found in Malacca itself before 1511 than afterwards in Johore or Pahang or elsewhere in the Malay Peninsula or Riau archipelago in the troubled years between 1511 and 1600. The *Malay Annals* mention a daughter of the Malacca Laksamana Khoja Hasan, named Sabariah probably after a heroine of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*. The spelling of the Bodleian fragment is more archaic than that of Archbishop Laud's *Hikayat Sèri Rama* in one respect. For in addition to having all the archaic points of that manuscript the fragment of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* goes back to a time or place where the omission of a symbol for *ê* was not yet established so that its copyist has used *a* and *u* and even *i* to represent it, as for example *kumarau*, *karing*, *kakaseh* and *pilobang*.

Spelling is hardly more than evidence of the age of the manuscript itself. But an archaic feature in the text of the Bodleian fragment is the succinct quality of the translation before copyists

had expanded it in accordance with their notions of style. The printed text of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* is excellent Malay but differs considerably from its Bodleian archetype.

Sa-tĕlah istĕri Khoja Maimun pun mĕnĕngar kata tiong itu, maka ia pun mĕngerek-lah, tĕrlalu amarah-nya, kata-nya, "Kĕrama bagi-mu! Tiada ĕngkau tahu akan hal hati orang bĕrahi? Ku-sangka ĕngkau kĕnahui rasa akan hati sama pĕrĕmpuan." Maka di-sentakkan-nya tiong itu dari dalam sangkaran-nya, maka lalu di-hĕmpaskan-nya ka-bumi lalu mati-lah tiong itu. Maka ia pun datang kapada bayan. Ada pun bayan sĕgala hal ahual tiong itu sĕmua-nya di-lihat-nya, maka ia bĕrtidor diri-nya. Maka istĕri Khoja Maimun pun datang kapada bayan, maka di-dapati-nya bayan lagi ia tidor; maka di-bangunkan-nya bayan itu. Maka kata bayan, "Apa pĕkĕrjaan tuan hamba datang itu?"

Compare this from the Bodleian fragment with what it became later :—

Sa-tĕlah sudah istĕri Khojah Maimun mĕnĕngar kata tiong, maka ia pun tĕrlalu-lah marah, kata-nya, "Kĕrama bagi-mu! Tiada ĕngkau tahu akan hal hati orang bĕrahi? Ku-sangkakan ĕngkau ada mĕnaroh timbang rasa, kĕrana sama pĕrĕmpuan." Maka di-sentakkan-nya tiong itu dari dalam sangkaran-nya lalu di-hĕmpaskan-nya ka-bumi. Maka tiong itu pun mati-lah.

Sa-tĕlah di-lihat oleh bayan kĕlakuan Bibi Zainab mĕmbunoh tiong itu tiada dĕngan sa-mĕna-mĕna-nya. maka ia pun mĕndiamkan diri-nya, pura-pura tidor. Maka Bibi Zainab pĕrgi-lah mĕndapatkan bayan sĕrta di-bangunkan-nya. Maha bayan pun pura-pura tĕrkĕjut, sĕraya kata-nya, "Apa-kah pĕkĕrjaan tuan datang ka-mari dĕngan malam kĕlam ini?"

The Malay version of this world-famous book has been variously called the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, *Hikayat Khojah Maimun*, *Hikayat Khojah Mubarak* and *Chĕrita Taifah*. Though till 1920 it was almost unknown to the modern Peninsular Malay, (perhaps on account of religious sentiments found in some of the manuscripts at the conclusion of the different tales), its former popularity is evinced by the large number of manuscripts at London, Leiden, Paris and Batavia. Three of the tales (2, 12 and 13 of my edition) appear also in the older Malay *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* and six (3, 8, 15, 17, 20 and 21) in the larger *Hikayat Bakhtiar*; the Javanese romance, *Angling Darma*, of which the Malay version is the *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*, contains two (6 and 16). In a Batavian manuscript there is interpolated the story of *Nakhoda Muda* and in other manuscripts the *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*.

Little beyond the framework has remained of the original Sanskrit except two sentences in the story of Siti Sabariah. In the Sanskrit (tale XXXI; Wortham's *The Enchanted Parrot*, London

1911) are the sentences : " the arrow shot by a mighty hunter may or may not kill," and (ib. p. 13) again :

" A father, a husband, are all very well as long as they are alive, but when they are both dead or as good as dead, it is a great mistake to waste one's life and youth in tears and lamentation. Now that you have lost your husband, you have not lost your youth and vigour, and you should make the best of both."

The Malay equivalent of these sentences will be found on pages 203 and 206 of my edition of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, which also contains an outline of all the tales and in its introduction a bibliography of relevant literature.

Hikayat Kalila dan Damina.

Kalila wa-Dimna is the title of an Indian work for the instruction of princes by means of animal fables. It was compiled by a Vishnuite Brahman perhaps about 300 A.D. in Kashmir and called *Panchatantra* or Five Moral Tales. By order of the Sassanian king, Khusrau Anusharwan (531-579), it was translated into Pahlavi by his physician Burzoe, whom he had sent to India to get it, and was enlarged by the addition of eight other fables, three of them out of the *Mahabharata*, and by a preface signed in honour of Burzoe by the vizier Buzurjmihr. The Pahlavi version has perished but before the death of Khusrau it had been done into Syriac about 570 A.D. under the title of " Kalila and Damna," these names being a corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two jackals, who are the principal characters. Two centuries later 'Abdu'llah ibn al-Mukaffa translated the Pahlavi version into Arabic, and this Arabic version was again translated into Syriac and rendered by Arabs and by Persians into verse : probably after 1144 A.D., it was done into Persian prose by one Nasr Allah who dedicated it to Bahram Shah (1118-1157), a Sultan of Ghazna who patronized literature. Nasr Allah's text was revised by Husain Wa'iz Kashifi (d. 1504) and entitled the *Anwar-i Suhaili*, a work further translated into Pushtu and other Indian dialects, into Georgian and the principal languages of Europe ; Akbar, (1556-1605) the Mogul emperor had its extravagant style revised by his minister Abu'l-Fadl, and this edition of Abu'l-Fadl has been printed in Hindustani. The Turkish, Mongol, Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Spanish versions of the old Sanskrit book are irrelevant to a study of the Malay recension but are evidence of the widespread popularity of this Indian store-house of animal fables, which can boast of at least two hundred versions in more than fifty languages. In Europe the work is commonly known as " The Fables of Bidpai ", a legendary person mentioned in one of the Arabic versions, whose name may be a corruption of *vidyapati* " lord of knowledge."

This collection of fables reached the Malay archipelago at different times and in different ways. One of the tales is illustrated on the ninth century Chandi Mendut in Java and the frame-work of the book on the thirteenth century Chandi Jago. There is a

version of the book in Middle Javanese, two versions in New Javanese and two in Madurese. In Malay there are three recensions:—*Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* cited by the Dutchman Werndly in his grammar of 1736 A.D. and printed by Gonggrip, the *Panchatanderan* translated by Munshi 'Abdu'llah from a (south Indian or) Tamil recension and lithographed in Singapore in 1835, and finally a volume entitled *Dalang ia-itu segala dongeng dan chëritëra yang tëläh di-karangkan oleh Hakim Lokhman dan Bidpai*, being Gonggrip's translation into Malay of Spoopendaal's Dutch translation from the French of Galland and Cardonne, which again was a rendering of the Turkish version, styled *Humayun-nameh*.

The early version, known to Werndly, starts by relating how a Brahman told Horman Shah, son of Nushirwan the Just and ruler of Madinah, that Said, a Hindu scholar, owned a manuscript of the story of Kalila and Damina and how Barzoe had sailed to Hindustan and copied it and was rewarded at his own request by having his name recorded in the preface written by Khoza Buzur Jamahir, a corruption of Buzurjmihr. "The Tale was translated from the Hindu language into Persian," a statement that, as we shall see, must have been translated from the Persian original which was the source of some South Indian version used by the Malay translator. It continues, from the same Persian original that "the book has ten chapters from the Hindu and six from Persian." This Malay introduction and the fact that ten of the tales are Indian and six not, both accord with the edition by Nasr Allah. So, too, the order of the tales differs from that of al-Mukaffa's Arabic version and agrees with that of Nasr Allah's Persian version. And again in the tale of the lark, whose young became the pet of a king's baby and was killed by the child, whereat the lark pecked out the baby's eyes and refused all the king's entreaties to be his friend; in this tale the Sanskrit terms the bird a *pujani* and the Arabic recension terms it a *panzah* but Nasr Allah and the Malay term it a *kubra*. At the same time Nasr Allah's introduction is truncated in the Malay version, which cannot have been derived directly from his Persian.

For after the account of Burzoe comes this truncated introduction and then six fables, which may be summarized as follows. Readers of the book should not be like

- (i) the man who wrote his Arabic lessons on a golden slate but memorized them so badly that he was ridiculed;
 - or (ii) like the fool that followed a blind man into a well,
 - or (iii) like the thief, who was killed, because being overheard by a householder he relied on a charm to send people to sleep and protect thieves, which the householder purposely recited to his wife to put the thief off his guard.
- But (iv) they should resemble Taif, who to keep Luck in the form of a woman from leaving the palace of his master the king of Rukham prepared to kill his only son.

- (v) They should not be like the dog that seeing his own reflection in the water dropped a bone to attack it ;
- (vi) or like the ass that went out with two horns and came back with two torn ears.

Of these the fourth fable occurs in no other version of the *Kalila and Damina* but is found in the *Bayan Budiman* as well as in the *Hitopadesa* and *Kathasaritsagara* ; the first, third and fifth occur in *al-Mukaffa* but not in *Nasr Allah*. With these six fables the preface of Buzurjmihr is said in the Malay to end and the book of *Kalila and Damina* to begin. Grieved at the stupidity of his four sons, Iskandar Shah (a corruption of the Sudarcana of the *Hitopadesa*) gives them to the care of a Brahmin Sumasanma (a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit Wisnucarma), who tells them a story with five parts to illustrate (I) the danger of making trouble between friends, (II) the duty of helping a friend in trouble, (III) the risk of trusting enemies (IV) the loss consequent on greed, and (V) the need of thought before action :—and these five parts from the Sanskrit original are retained, though vaguely, in the consequent pages. In the Arabic version by *al-Mukaffa* and in kindred texts, *Bidpai* is mentioned and the tales are related for the instruction of a young prince *Dabhelim* only.

The Malay goes on to tell of the two bulls *Satruboh* and *Saburboh*, the property of the son of a Hindu merchant, *Barza-ghan*, whose name is not found in *Nasr Allah*. On the other hand in the third part there are omitted tales, which do occur in *Nasr Allah* ; the tale of a Brahman who had his goat stolen ; the tale of an old husband who offered a burglar all his goods because his entry had sent his young wife into the old man's arms ; the tale of the devil and the thief, whom a Brahman made friends when he heard them disputing whether the thief should steal his cow first or the devil take his life ; the tale of a gardener and his wife.

Clearly, therefore, the Malay text, while it owes much to *Nasr Allah*, did not come directly from his version and its original had borrowed from other sources as well as *Nasr Allah*. And in fact it includes three tales which occur elsewhere only in the *Anwar-i Suhaili* of Husain Wa'iz Kashifi, who died in 1504 A.D., and in its derivative the Turkish *Humayun-nameh*. There is the story of the cat which, kept on short commons to sharpen its appetite for warehouse rats, tried to catch two doves and was killed by its master. There is the story of the Sultan of Kashmir who, advised by his vizier to poison his favourite concubine *Ratnasuri* and her lover, told his daughter of his intention, whereupon she told a soldier, who told the concubine and enabled her to forestall her fate by poisoning the Sultan. There is the story (that is found in the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*) of why Solomon did not drink of the water giving immortality. But of all the supplementary tales in the *Anwar-i Suhaili* these are the only three inserted in the Malay text. Nor again has the Malay translator used the introduction of the *Anwar-i Suhaili*. So the

Malay text can no more be derived directly from this work that it can from Nasr Allah, though its indebtedness to it makes it certain that the Malay translation was not done before 1504, the date of Kashifi's death.

Finally this Malay text contains tales that are missing from the Arabic version of al-Mukaffa, the Persian version of Nasr Allah and from the *Anwar-i Suhaili*. There is the story of the Persian Amir who having failed to seduce his Arab host's wife was spared by the husband and lived to restore to him his wife whom Bedouins had sold into slavery. There is the story of the hermit, who turned a mouse into a lovely boy and his wife first into a lovely woman but, when she would leave him, into a bitch; and then finally he turned them both back into their original forms. There are the seven last tales that occur in no other recension of the tale of Kalila and Damina but are found in the *Hikayat Golam* and may have been added either in British India or in the Malay Archipelago.

It seems likely, therefore, that the Malay text was translated from a south Indian edition, based on several recensions. In the tale of the fox that bit the drum and found it empty, it makes the drum a relic of a battle between Raja Sulan and Raja Pandayan, namely the Chula and Pandayan kings of south India, who play such a part in the early chapters of the *Malay Annals*.

The Malay translation must have been done years after the death of Husain Wa'iz Kashifi in 1504, especially as it came through at least one other translation in an Indian language. It owes nothing to Abu'l-Fadl's revision in the last half of the sixteenth century. As Valentijn knew it in 1726 and Werndly in 1736, it may be ascribed safely to the seventeenth century. In that century wealth and the patronage of letters passed from the Malay peninsula to Sumatra and Java. And the vocabulary, at any rate, of Gonggrip's text goes to show that it was translated in the Dutch Indies; for example *tukas*, *kondangan* (= *gundek*), *kurang ati-ati*, *indong*, *kuntul* (= *bangau*) *lahar*, *gotong* (carry) *angkoh*, *sukara* (Javanese) 'swinishness'. Clearly, too, it was the work of a clever foreigner or halfcaste, who in spite of a fine vocabulary could not or would not master Malay idiom and syntax. Instances are many. *Di-përoleh-nya këbinasaan atas diri-nya* he got himself destroyed; *tiada-kah dari di-përanakkan ibu-nya bëbërapa kësakitan di-rasa-nya* has he not from birth experienced many troubles; *bërtolong-tolongan akan kësakitan sohbat-nya* helping friends in trouble; *baik di-përbinasakan samëntara bëlum tuanku këdahuluan oleh-nya hëndak di-këjakan* it were well to destroy him before he anticipates your highness and attacks you; *ada-lah yang pakaian itu ada përangai-nya dari-pada dua hal, suatu hal pada masa baharu-nya, këdua hal makin sa-hari makin burok juga këadaan-nya* a sentence almost untranslatable; *tiada ia mau mënghampirkan diri-nya kapada këbinasaan-nya* he would not involve himself in destruction; *tiap-tiap yang hina itu sahaja*

pêrhimpunan niat jahat dan fitnah every common nature is a mixture of evil and slanderous intentions ; *mati-lah marah-nya* she was deadly angry.

Werndly described his manuscript as "full of rhymes and apothegms from the Sanskrit as well as Arabic and Persian," which would appear to show it differed from the text published by Gonggrip, unless Werndly read a great deal into the constantly recurring word *sha'ir* of our text. There is also a variant version in the Batavian Society's Library. A new and detailed study of the manuscripts is desirable.

A word on the *Hikayat Pancha Tanderan* translated from the Tamil by 'Abdu'llah bin 'Abdu'l-Kadir Munshi in Malacca and finished on 12 October 1835. The Tamil version, which turns the Sanskrit Wisnucarma into Somasanma and Sudarcana into Sugadarma and Patalipura into Padalipurwam, is derived from the oldest recension, that of south India, which is found in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, in Ksemendra's *Brhat Katha Manjari* and in Gunadya's *Paisaci*. To this south Indian recension can be traced all other versions of the book, though excluding the framework the Sanskrit has only five chapters against the thirteen or more that occur in later translations. 'Abdu'llah's work, therefore, differs entirely from the Malay 17th century version. An outline of its contents in English has been printed by me in *Papers on Malay Subjects : Malay Literature, Part II*, pp. 49-53, Kuala Lumpur, 1907.

The Bakhtiar Cycle.

As early as the tenth century A.D. Mas'udi mentions the *Sindibad-Nameh* or "History of the Seven Viziers" whose stories postponed the execution of a prince calumniated by a king's favourite wife until he was proved innocent. This incident of a false charge of assaulting the modesty of a queen was borrowed for a famous Persian cycle of tales, the *Bakhtiar-Namah* or "History of the Ten Viziers," who do not try to save a prince but get him unjustly condemned, so that he has to extricate himself by story-telling. This tale of Bakhtiar "the Fortunate," son of king Azadbakht of 'Ajam, is found in a Persian version composed apparently about 1203 A.D., in an Uigur version of 1434 A.D., in Arabic versions including some in the "Thousand and One Nights" and in a later Persian adaptation. The Malay has two main recensions : (I) the *Hikayat Puspā Wiraja*, from a non-Muslim Indian source (p. 35 *supra*), and two Muslim redactions, the smaller *Hikayat Bakhtiar* and the *Hikayat Maharaja 'Ali*, none of them bearing more than a faint resemblance to the Persian, and secondly (II) the last part of the seventeenth century *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* and the *Hikayat Golam*, the former derived from the late Persian adaptation and the latter from Arabic adaptations of the original Persian text, but both of them containing respectively 7 and 9 tales from the Persian cycle. What is known as the shorter Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar* may or may not have been known to Werndly in 1736 A.D. He mentions not only

a *Hikayat Raja 'Ajami Azbakh*, which is one of the Malay names for *Hikayat Golam*, but also a *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, which he describes as "the history of the Persian king Azbakh." This description could not apply to the shorter Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar* or to the longer, though it would fit the *Hikayat Raja 'Ajami Azbakh*. Either therefore Werndly made a slip or he had two manuscripts of the *Hikayat Golam*.

The shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar* has two Portuguese words in its narrative *měski* "although" and *bělidu* "velvet," and so, unless those words are interpolations, must post-date 1511 when d'Albuquerque took Malacca. Actually in its rigidly conventional use of such court terms as *titah*, *patek*, *paduka kakanda*, *suami*, and so on and in its very smooth style, it postdates the Malacca period and appears to belong to the Riau-Johor school.

It tells how envied his throne by his younger brother and threatened with civil war, a king abdicates and flees into the forest, where his queen bears a child which hunger forces her to desert. The infant is found and adopted by a childless merchant Idris and his wife Sita Sara, who call him Bakhtiar. On his flight the infant's father is chosen by a sagacious elephant to fill the vacant throne of Idris' country. One day Idris takes Bakhtiar to court, where his father fails to recognize him but is so attracted by the youth's cleverness that he makes him chief vizier. At this T. hakim and the other viziers are so jealous that they get him sentenced to death on a false charge of having an amour with a royal waiting-maid. He postpones his execution for seventeen days by telling five stories, until finally the king discovers from Idris that Bakhtiar is his own son. The following are the five stories :—

- (1) A fowler, popular with a king of Samanta Indra because of his gift of a rare bird, is persecuted by Muhammad Julus and the other ministers. At their suggestion he is set the hard tasks of finding a mate for the bird and of getting Mengindra Sari, daughter of the emperor of Rum, for his master. These feats he performs with the help of a Shaikh, who bids him require a black bull with white eyelids to be slaughtered on each of the twelve steps of the palace, as Mengindra Sari mounts them, or failing a bull, Muhammad Julus must be killed. The wretched minister can purchase only eleven such bulls and is executed in place of the twelfth.
- (2) A fisherman gave a friend a jar of fish-paste for the emperor of China and bade him ask for a knife in return. Reminded of his commission by criers who announced that the pregnant empress longed for fish-paste he presented the jar which proved to be full of jewels. The royal pair sent the fisherman a knife and a coconut-monkey that had got them their throne. By dancing the monkey got not only food and raiment for the fisherman but attracting the notice of a princess persuaded her to

marry his master, before she could detect his boorishness. Even when a rejected suitor attacks the country the ex-fisherman merely guzzles fish on his door-step, till, when a dog snatches his food, he charges after it into the midst of the enemy and so leads the soldiers to victory. After that he is given the throne and his manners change.

- (3) One night a king ordered that no one should be abroad on pain of arrest or death. On the advice of Siti Dinar his wife, a rich merchant Hasan privily hunts for offenders against the proclamation, seizes the king and is made prime minister. At this the prime minister Abu Fadl is jealous, and, as by law the husband of an adulteress should be impaled, he claims to have lain with Siti Dinar. Hasan is sentenced but Siti Dinar takes a golden bejewelled shoe to the mosque and charges Abu Fadl with having stolen its fellow. When Abu Fadl denies having ever seen the complainant, Hasan is released and Abu Fadl impaled.
- (4) To avoid civil war with a younger brother, a king flees with his consort and his two sons. The boys invite ill-luck by playing with two fledgeling birds and are seized by fishermen, while their father is carrying his queen across a river. As the king returns for his sons, his queen is ravished by sailors—whose captain hearing her story treats her courteously. An elephant chooses the king to rule another country, where later the fishermen bring his sons. Not recognizing them their father makes them royal pages and sends them to guard a ship so that its captain may come to court. As the elder recounts their adventures to the younger to keep him awake, a woman overhears their talk. It is their mother and she comes from her cabin and kisses them. Mistaking the situation the sailors denounce the pages to the king who sentences them to death.

The keepers of the city's three gates refuse to let them be taken out to the execution-ground at night, telling stories of the consequences of undue haste. Two peasants returning home found their cat covered with blood and their baby dead in his cot, but after they had killed the cat they found it was red with the blood of a snake it had killed in the baby's defence. Finding his dog lying bloody beside his dead wife, a man killed the animal and entered the house only to discover that the dog had killed his wife's lover in his bed. Once an astrologer was executed because a palace built at the hour he struck a gong did not turn to gold, as he had prophesied. But the king's ministers had been slow, while an old man who had heard the prophecy had had a banana sucker ready and planted it at the exact moment, so that all its fruit turned to gold. And the king repented of his haste and was sad.

- (5) The spoilt consort of a prince wants a gold-fish to do tricks. The astrologers say it will do what she wants if the treasurer, the prince and the princess will confess what they really want. The treasurer's confession that he would be a king makes the gold-fish gasp, the king's confession makes it do obeisance and the queen's confession that she would like the king to have always a beautiful young woman about him makes it leap. This last story has not been printed.

The abandonment of a son by a fugitive king, the child's adoption by another, his employment as a royal page by a father ignorant of his identity, his fall on the charge of impropriety and the revelation of the secret of his birth—these are the only *motifs* that bear a distant relation to the Persian *Bakhtiar-Namah*. Nearer to the Malay are some versions of the "Thousand and One Nights," one of which mentions an elephant's choice of two pages' father to become a ruler and of their trial and acquittal for impropriety with their own mother, the queen, while another version makes a poor shipwrecked Jew become a king, and employ his two unrecognised sons at court, until their mother by persuading the merchant who has rescued her to accuse them of improper conduct gets herself and her sons revealed to their father.

As the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar* bears little resemblance to the Persian story, so, too, it exhibits no relation to the (unpublished) longer Malay *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, though story 63 in the latter is the tale of the Fowler and the Shaikh, and story 39 is the tale of the merchant who through his wife's cleverness becomes a minister to the disgust of Abu Fadl—in the longer version the king is al-Ma'mun son of Harun ar-Rashid and the vizier is Fadl.

The longer *Hikayat Bakhtiar* among its sixty seven tales contains sixteen or more from the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, a tale of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, a tale from the *Taj a's-Salatin* of 1603 A.D., of Raja Shariar being accosted at a review by the Angel of Death, the story of Jauhar Maligan (=Manikam), stories of Sultan Aflus of Hindustan and his vizier Bahman, of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and his servant Ayaz, a story from the *Bustan as-Salatin* of 1638 A.D., of Alexander the Great and the king among the tombs and another of an Arabian vizier caught by his master playing hobby-horse for a woman, stories of Harun a'r-Rashid and Abu Nawas, stories from the Kuran and the Hadith. Needless to say, this olla-podrida of Persian and Arabic tales bears very little likeness to the Persian *Bakhtiar-Namah*. Nor does it throw any light upon the origin of the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar*.

It is obvious that the framework of the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar* and its fourth inset story are different versions of the same tale. Yet another version occurs in that Muslim pastiche, the *Hikayat Maharaja 'Ali*, which has the following plot:—

'Ali Maharaja of Badagra and his queen Haynan (or Hasinan) leave their kingdom owing to the wickedness of their eldest son

Baharum Shah. Twelve thieves rob the royal fugitives, and Baharum Shah strays and is lost, but Maharaja 'Ali, Haynan and their two other sons reach Kabitan, the kingdom of Raja Serdala, where every Friday alms are distributed. Fearful of recognition Maharaja 'Ali lets his queen go and beg for alms, when her beauty causes her to be decoyed into Serdala's palace. Maharaja 'Ali sets out again and comes to a river. As the ferryman demands money or one of the young princes, their father ties one to a tree and swims across with the other; but, while he is swimming back for the boy left behind, a crocodile takes him. The ferryman adopts the two boys. Raja Serdala wants to marry Haynan who tells him how there was once a prince who married his dream princess and was captured and buried up to the waist by seven robbers who carried off his bride; how he escaped but was ordered by King David to be impaled for claiming a woman who four mosque officials swore was a robber's wife; and finally how his dream princess appealed to the boy Solomon who took the witnesses apart, heard the discrepancies in their evidence and acquitted the prince. Undeterred by this irrelevant story, Serdala tries to embrace Haynan, whereupon at her prayer God shortens his arms.

One day walking beside a river Jesus heard the skull of Maharaja 'Ali implore to be restored to life, and granted the request—an episode from the *Hikayat Jumjumah*. Called by its viziers to settle their disturbances, Jesus then restores Maharaja 'Ali, unrecognized and unaware, to his old throne. His sons come to court and unrecognized are made royal pages. Raja Serdala, visiting Maharaja 'Ali for medicine for his arms, asks for two men to guard his ship and is given the two pages, whose mother from her cabin hears the elder relate their story and comes out and embraces them. Maharaja 'Ali orders their execution and they are taken to prison, where the keeper is Baharum Shah. He carries them before the ruler, who sends for their mother and is reunited with all his family.

This pastiche has been very popular and there are several versions, some in idiomatic Malay, others in the Batavian dialect. In some 'Ali is termed Padishah and in one his kingdom is called Sham (or Syria) and Serdala is called Zubayr.

The *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*, that finer version of the fourth story in the shorter *Hikayat Bakhtiar* with its three inset tales, has been allocated already to the Hindu period.

Then we come to the use of the Persian cycle in the seventeenth century *Hikayat Golam*. The *Hikayat Golam* or *Hikayat Raja Azbakh* or *Hikayat Zadah Bokhtin* as it is variously called was known to Werndly in 1736 and according to a Leiden manuscript was translated from the Arabic by 'Abdu'l-Wahab of Siantan, one of the Anambas islands that can hardly have produced authors before Sultan 'Abdu'llah was driven from Johor first to Lingga and then in 1623 to the great Tambelan Island: the book may

therefore be assigned to the seventeenth century, a date corroborated by its strong Arabic as opposed to Persian colouring. The *Hikayat Golam* begins as follows :

Raja Zadbakht of 'Adan in Persia had ten viziers and a Shahbandar, whose fair daughter M. hur. t he marries hugger-mugger after seeing her on her mule at a feast. Pretending to submit, her father siezes Zadbakht's throne, and Zadbakht and his bride flee on horses to Kirman. One night M. hur. t bears a son and leaves him-behind as they have no food. The boy is found and adopted by a robber. One day the robbers are defeated by a merchant caravan and the boy is taken to the court of Zadbakht, now reinstated with the help of Kirman. Zadbakht does not recognize his son in Golam but makes him a chamberlain. One night when he falls drunk in the king's bedchamber, the jealous viziers tell the queen to say the youth had made overtures to her and had threatened to be found in her room if she did not comply. Golam pleads innocence and says misfortune has overtaken him as it did The Unlucky Merchant, who unable to sell his flour at a profit walled up his granary to keep it fresh : rain came and rotted it. He bought a ship and loaded it with merchandise but it foundered and he escaped on a plank. Working on a farm he feared he might not be paid, so retained his wages out of his earnings and hid it ; getting his pay, he found the hidden money gone, confessed what he had done and was dismissed. Then he met ten pearl-divers (*ghawwasun*) whom he knew. They dived for his luck and getting many pearls gave him ten. Eight he put in his mouth and two in his pocket. Thieves were passing him by as a beggar but he sneezed, when out came a pearl, whereupon they choked the eight out of his mouth. He tried to sell the two left to a jeweller who having been robbed of ten pearls tried to surprise him with the query, ' Where are the other eight ? : ' Thieves took them,' he answered. He is arrested and imprisoned, till the pearl-divers exonerate him. The Sultan has the jeweller flogged and his property given to the luckless merchant, who is also made court chamberlain. A falling box tears a hole in the harem wall. The chamberlain stops it up but the envious viziers tell the king it is a spy-hole used by the chamberlain to spy on his daughter. The king orders that his eyes be plucked out.

In the Malay *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* the Bakhtiar section starts with a request by his pupils to the Brahman Somasanma to tell them stories of men who have acted in haste. Nothing is said of Raja Azbakht and his consort. Somasanma starts off with the tale of Bahzad the prince who in his hurry to marry a daughter of the king of Rum attempts robbery to get the bridal price, refuses to await the preparations for his wedding and dashing into the princess' bower pries on her through the trellis-work, whereupon ignorant of his identity she has a two-pronged spear plunged into his eyes. After that Somasanma tells the tale of the Unlucky Merchant, giving the name of the farmer as Sahib A'suri. The merchant meets five pearl-fishers and gets five pearls.

Bedouin robbers steal only two which he has in his mouth. The jeweller is a Hindu Manikchata. And the king, having had the merchant blinded, discovers that his daughter has been away for three days and repents of his unjust haste.

In the *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* the third tale is the story of Abu-Sabar, the man of Job-like patience who gains a throne; the fourth the story of a king of Yaman, who having spared his servant Ibraha when accidentally he shot off a royal ear is himself spared by Ibraha, who is a king's son, when in Rinji Ibraha's country he throws a stone and cuts off Ibraha's ear; the fifth is the story of the king who slew his two viziers, one for trying to save his daughter from marriage with the king and the other for making overtures to her; the sixth is the story of the queen caught kissing her son by a former marriage, of whom her royal husband is unaware; and the seventh (found only in Leiden manuscript 1729), is the story of a jeweller Hasan Manikcheti, who kills his two sons in error.

In the *Hikayat Golam* there are nine tales and the order is different. First comes the story of the unlucky merchant, secondly the tale of a merchant who threw his two sons into the sea, thirdly the tale of Abu Sabar, fourthly the tale of Bahzad the hasty prince, fifthly the tale of the king who slew his two viziers, sixthly the tale of Bakhtin Azmaya, seventhly the tale of the king of Yaman and Ibraha, eighthly the tale of Abu Tamman and ninthly the tale of the queen who kissed her son by a former marriage.

Versions of all these stories can be read, for example, in the Breslau text of "The Arabian Nights" and of all but one in Ouseley's translation of the later Persian *Bakhtiar-Namah*. They differ much in detail. In the story of the King who killed his two viziers, only the Malay *Hikayat Golam* and a Gotha manuscript of the "Thousand and One Nights" from Zanzibar say that the wicked vizier threatened to charge the heroine with having a *cook* for her lover if she did not yield to him; and the version of the same story in the *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* is peculiar to itself and may have an Indian source.

The order of the tales in the *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* is except for the transposition of tales one and two that found in Ouseley and other editions of the late Persian *Bakhtiar-Namah*; the order in the *Hikayat Golam* is, except for the transposition of tales nine and ten, that of the Breslau text of the "Thousand and One Nights". The version of the *Bakhtiar-Namah* contained in the seventeenth-century Malay redaction of the story of Kalila and Damina came from the later Persian adaptation, or second-hand from Persia; that contained in the *Hikayat Golam*, which is full of Arabic quotations, third hand through two Arabic recensions from an older Persian version. *Habent sua fata libelli*.

IX.

MUSLIM THEOLOGY, JURISPRUDENCE AND HISTORY.

Perlak and Pasai in the north of Sumatra were the first Malay centres for the propagation of the Muhammadan faith and culture. At Pasai, in 1407 was buried 'Abdu'llah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Kadir ibn 'Abdu'l-'Aziz ibn al-Mansur Abu Ja'far al'Abbasi al-Muntasir, a missionary from Delhi of the house of the Abbasides who furnished Baghdad with Caliphs from the time of the Prophet till it was destroyed by the Turks in 1258. Pasai converted Malacca, a centre greater than itself. But the Malays themselves were not theologians. The *Sējarah Mēlayu* notes that the most learned of Malacca Malays at the end of the XVth century knew only Arabic grammar and a little jurisprudence. When in 1511 Malacca fell to the Portuguese, its foreign Muslim pundits scattered and Islam flourished in the ports of Java and in Aceh, where a pepper trade outside the radius of Portuguese control created a kingdom, that in 1524 conquered Pasai and attracted missionaries as Malacca had done.

The "Malay Annals" tell us also of missionaries with the Indian title of Makhdum who came in XVth century to Malacca; of Malay envoys sent from Malacca to Pasai offering presents of slave-girls and cockatoos for the solution of such problems as whether the damned suffer the pangs of hell for ever; of a Maulana Abu-Bakar who introduced a treatise by his Sufi teacher Abu Isahak, entitled *Durr ul-manzum* on the names and attributes of Allah. On their first voyage home from the Malay archipelago the Dutch took back a Javanese religious treatise, probably compiled as a result of study at Malacca and mentioning among its sources the *Hadith*, Ghazali's *Ihya' ulum al-din*, Nawawi's *Talkhis al-minhaj*, and Abu-Shukur's *Tamhid*, irrefragable evidence that Ghazali's mysticism had penetrated the Malayan world at least as early as the sixteenth century.

Ghazali, who died in 1111 A.D., described *fikh* or jurisprudence, that is, the doctrine of duties incumbent on a perfect Muslim, as the bread of a believer's life; *usul* or dogma he termed the medicine for heresy and unbelief; *tasawwuf* or mysticism he extolled as the spiritual element serving to digest the bread and the medicine. All these branches of Muslim learning were studied in the Malay world and for all there were translators and exponents of the Arabic theological classics. One of the most indefatigable of these authors, in his work the *Bustan a's-Salatin*, gives us a list of teachers famous in Aceh in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1582 there had come two pundits from Mekkah. One Abu'l-Khair ibn Shaikh ibn al-Hajar taught jurisprudence and was the author of a book *Al-saif al-kati* or "The Sharp Sword" on fixed archetypes (*'ayn thabitah*). The other, Muhammad of Yaman, taught dogma. They argued on archetypes without finality and sailed back to Medinah. Between 1577 and 1586 there arrived from Gujerat a Shaikh Muhammad Jailani ibn Muhammad Hamid a'r-Raniri, who was a popular teacher of

logic, rhetoric and jurisprudence, until, to meet the demand for tuition in mysticism, he went to Mekkah to study it, returning to Acheh in 1588. Between 1604 and 1607 there was an Egyptian, Muhammad Azhari alias Shaikh Nuru'd-din, who taught metaphysics. In 1630 there died at Acheh the famous mystical author, Shams u'd-din al-Samatrani, from Pasai, and a few months later an expert in jurisprudence, Shaikh Ibrahim Ibn 'Abdu'llah al-Shami, that is from Syria. The author of the *Bustan a's-Salatin*, Shaikh Nuru'd-din ibn 'Ali ibn Hasanyi ibn Muhammad, a'r-Raniri, was another foreign scholar from Gujerat, probably a relative of his earlier fellow-countryman, and he reached Acheh on 31 May 1637. Although one of his predecessors was a Sumatran, locally born, this Gujerati missionary could not refrain from mentioning this heterodox mystic Shamsu'd-din against whose writings he directed so many pamphlets, but he does omit mention of two other famous Sumatran mystics, Hamzah of Barus, the Donne among Malay poets, and the prolific writer, 'Abdu'r-rauf of Singkel. Hamzah Pansuri lived in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth and had established himself as a teacher of influence before Shamsu'd-din, whom however he outlived: for the student of poetry his metaphysical verse makes him incomparably the greatest literary figure among religious writers in the Malay language. Hamzah's travels are evidence of the peripatetic life of most of these missionaries of Islam: starting from Barus, the camphor district of Sumatra, he visited in search of truth Pahang, Banten and Kudus in Java, Shahr-Nawi namely Ayuthia the then capital of Siam, Mekkah and Medinah, only to find in the end God at his own home in Barus. 'Abdu'r-Rauf of Singkel, another Sumatran, was later, being a teacher at Acheh in 1661. The preface of a Batavian manuscript of his *Mir'at at-Tullab* states that not being adept at Malay he got the help of two experts to write it "in the language of Pasai." For, much as these Muslim teachers did for the intellectual life of a pious Malay minority, yet most of them were foreigners or at best Achinese, who in their difficult task of translation murdered Malay idiom and introduced for Arabic theological terms Malay synonyms as unintelligible as those employed by some British translators of Hegel and Kant. Arabic terms were employed not only perforce but from pride of scholarship. Hamzah of Barus declared that he wrote in Malay for those without knowledge of Arabic and Persian.

Taj a's-Salatin.

Of Persian origin is this work, *The Crown of Kings*, compiled by a jeweller of Bokhara and done into Malay in 1603. It is this date that makes mention of such a miscellaneous work appropriate here, and its date makes it probable that the translation was done at Acheh, then the first Muslim power among the Malays. Translation there would also condone the atrocious Malay idiom. It is not easy, for example, to render into Malay Aristotle's remark that "intelligence is unmixed, being in its

essential nature an activity," but it is doubtful if any Malay ever understood the equivalent in *The Crown of Kings*: *ségala hakim mēnyertai dalam pērkataan ini, 'Bahawa barang yang ada dalam dunia ini bērkēhendak akan budi, dan budi itu tiada bērkēhendak akan suatu pun, mēlainkan akan choba juga.'* (ch. 16) Foreign too, and unidiomatic are such usages as

- (a) the constant repetition of *dan* "and", where Malays would omit a conjunction and prefer antithesis;
- (b) the fondness for clumsy relative clauses—*ségala pēri yang bukan layak itu, yang di-kēhendaki-nya*;
- (c) the use of the prepositions *atas* and *pada*, where Malay requires no preposition—*dunia ini tiada atas suatu pēri....hampir pada-nya....lihat pada diri-mu....mēmbēzakan pada antara Sultan dan ra'yat....mēmbich-arakan pada hal yang maha sukar itu*;
- (d) the use of adjectives for nouns—*Tuhan mēnjadikan maha-luas bumi itu*;
- (e) the misuse of Malay words—*ségala kasehan* "all the poor"; *daripada dēmikian manusia* "from that sort of man"; *kēbēsaran dunia ini jadi-lah duka-nya dan chinta-nya dan belanja dan seksa-nya*;
- (f) the separation of subject or object from the verb—*bukakan, pada sa-nafas ini yang ada lagi pada-mu, kēdua mata-mu....kalau-kalau ada sa-orang, daripada sakalian orang yang bēbērapa tahun ia mēmēhiharakan dēngan bagai-bagai ne'emat dan daulat dalam dunia, akan mēnolong dia*.

It is amazing that Werndly, writing in 1736, was so seduced by its "many moral precepts and tales" as to detect "a very good and clear style" in the book. But its contents suited the European taste of that day. A manuscript of it at Leiden belonged to one A. Reland (1676-1718); three editions of the book have been printed by Dutch in Java, and as late as 1878 Marre translated it into French. From its Persian tinge it is no longer popular with modern Malay orthodoxy, and a Singapore manuscript in Raffles Library, for example, while scholarly in Arabic quotations, omits passages smacking of Shi'ah pantheism and is an interesting example of the way Malay copyists will tamper with a book.

No Persian original has been discovered but the *Crown of Kings* is clearly of Persian origin, though, as there was no direct contact with that country, the Malays must have got it from an Indian source. The verses in the book are all in the forms of Persian prosody: the *mathnawi*, *rubai*, *ghazal*. The Persian word, *Nauruz*, is used for the New Year. There are Persian forms of Arabic names like 'Omari 'Abdu'l-'Aziz in place of the usual 'Omar bin 'Abdu'l-'Aziz. Among Persian works cited are the *Siyar u'l-Muluk*, composed by the famous Vizier Nizam u'l Mulk,

born in 1017 ; a verse out of the *Secrets of Attar* composed by the Persian druggist and poet, Farid al-Din Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Ibrahim, who died about 1230 A.D. ; the well-known Persian romance of Mahmud and Ayaz, of which there are versions from the sixteenth century onwards, and " the Persian stories " of Khusrau and Shirin, and of Yusuf and Zulaikha (or Joseph and Potiphar's wife). The introduction acknowledges indebtedness to many sources, including an ethical treatise *Akhlak-i-Muhsini* written in 1495 by Husain Waiz Kashifi, a prolific author from Herat in Afghanistan, whose best known work is the *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, a Persian version of Bidpai's Fables or as they are called in Malay, the *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*.

The *Taj a's-Salatin* is divided into twenty-four chapters of which the first three, on the nature of man, of God and of the world, reek of pantheism. Man must know himself to know his God. He is a creature, compounded (as Plato held) of earth, air, fire and water, a microcosm wherein he may see God the macrocosm. Man exists in the knowledge and power of God, as fishes exist in water, not one of whose scales even can live apart from water, though the fishes know neither themselves nor the nature of water nor their dependence on it. Whomsoever He wills, God leads astray or directs in the right way. This world is a place for the lover and the beloved, the knower and the known, a bazaar for the next world. The way is far, and age like a cavalcade halts not. Some say life is a dream and men the sleepers.

The remaining chapters deal with such topics as death, the Caliphs and their honourable poverty, just and unjust rulers Muslim and infidel, viziers, writers, envoys, officials, children, right conduct, intelligence, the science of physiognomy, the qualifications of rulers and their duty to subjects Muslim and infidel, their need to keep faith and to be liberal. An unjust king is the shadow of Iblis upon earth and virtue in a king is a greater ornament than a golden creese. Once when Solomon's crown was askew he chided it, whereupon it replied, " Straighten your heart and I will be straight." The Prophet and his Companions, the Caliphs from 'Omar to Harun u'r-Rashid, rulers of Syria and Irak, Persia and Khorasan, Lokman and Alexander, and Aristotle all point the various morals by incidents in their lives. Especial emphasis is laid on the virtue of liberality in rulers and their ministers. A vizier of Harun u'r-Rashid gave a beggar of his own food and 1,000 *dinar* a day so long as he sat at his gate—which he did for a month. The most generous man who ever lived was Hatim Thai, an Arab, whose liberality was tested by the rulers of Byzantium, Syria and Yemen. Respect for the learned and the pious is also inculcated. Because Isma'il, Samanid ruler of Khorasan, walked seven paces behind a learned man to honour him, the Prophet visited him in a dream and promised that for seven generations his descendants should be kings. The two mightiest forces in the world are the pen and the sword, without which not even Alexander could have acquired empire. Even to infidel subjects Muslim princes should be fair, but infidels should not

be allowed to repair heathen temples or to ride on horse-back or to wear arms or rings or Muslim dress, or to drink spirits in public or to live or be buried near Muslims, or to keen for their dead.

The *Crown of Kings*, poorly written and of small literary worth, is yet to be studied for its influence on Malay ideas; even Munshi 'Abdu'llah's attempt to read Raffles' character in his face was based on the science of physiognomy as set forth in chapter 19 of this treatise.

The name of the translator of the *Taj a's-Salatin* is unknown. But when we reach the more scholarly theological works of this period, then for the first time we find the Malay rule of anonymity broken.

Hamzah Pansuri.

Hamzah of Barus in Sumatra is the earliest and the greatest of Acheh's group of writers on heretical mysticism. His poetry will be considered elsewhere but a religious writer who could adapt the metre of the *sha'ir* and the figures and phrases of the *pantun* to the expression of the erotic mysticism of the Persian poets is a unique figure and struck a new note in Malay literature.

*Hapuskan 'akal dan rasa-mu,
Lénnyapkan badan dan nyawa-mu,
Péchahkan hendak kedua mata-mu,
Di-sana-lah lihat permai rupa-mu.
Ada-mu itu yogia kau-sérang,
Supaya dapat negeri yang senang,
Saperti 'Ali tatkala perang
Mélépaskan Duldul tiada berkéang.
Hamzah miskin orang 'uryani
Saperti Isma'il mênjadi kurbani,
Bukan-nya 'Ajami lagi 'Arabi,
Sênétiasa wakil dengan yang Baki.*

Or, as one may paraphrase these stanzas—

*Your wit, your feeling quench them quite,
From breath and body take your fight,
And both your eyes deprive of sight,
And then you'll glimpse your self—how bright !
Appearance you must fight alway
To win a land of lasting day ;
As 'Ali his bride hurtled away,
When Duldul his steed charged into the fray.
Not of Persia or Araby is Hamzah a son ;
A pauper and naked his race he has run ;
As Ismail aforesaid his life would have done,
He has sacrificed all with God to be one.*

The same philosophy, reminding one often of Ibn 'Arabi of Spain, runs through his poems and through his two prose works. His *Sharab al 'ashikin* or "Drink for those athirst with love" has an alternative title *Zinat al muwahhidin* "The ornament of those who unify," that is, of pantheists. It starts with a discussion of

shari'at, God's commandments or the canon law of Islam, of *tarikah* the mystic's path of renunciation leading to *hakikat* that makes a man indifferent to joy or sorrow, wealth or poverty because he knows himself and perceives nowhere anything but God, and of *ma'rifat* or gnosis of a reality beyond time and space, a God who is not only omniscient as for the orthodox but one with His creatures. There follows a dissertation on God's relation to the universe. To hold that the universe came from nothing and will return to nothing is to deny the infinity of God; the universe is a wave in the sea of God's being. The last section is in praise of love. Love is not to be won: it is a gift of God. It is opposed to reason. Reason demands life, wealth and honour. The man who is drunk with the love of God is dead to self and fear, prefers poverty to wealth and has no pride except to say 'I am God.'

Hamzah's other prose work is named *Asrar al-'arifin fi bayan 'ilm al-suluk wa'l-tauhid*. After a eulogy of gnosis he breaks into a short poem on the knowledge and love of God and on His attributes and names, vowing that he himself is drowned in the depth of God's sea, untroubled by wind and wave, and so is a Sultan of both worlds. A commentary follows, expounding and defending his pantheism.

For Hamzah God includes heat and cold, good and evil, the Ka'abah and idolatrous temples. All lies potential in the Divine Being like the seed in the tree. If heat and cold, good and evil, were not always immanent in God, then He could not be called perfect. In addition to Ibn 'Arabi, Hamzah quotes the older Persian mystics al-Junaid, al-Hallaj, and the later, Jalalu'd-din Rumi and Shamsu Tabriz.

In spite of its saturation with Arabic words, his prose is good. Fortunately his prose and verse have been edited by Doctor Doorenbos. So one example will suffice here:—

Jika sa-orang bertanya: "Jikalau Zat Allah kapada sëmesta sakalian lëngkap, kapada najis dapat-kah di-katakan lëngkap"? Maka jawab, "Sapërti panas lëngkap pada sakalian 'alam, kapada busok pun lëngkap, kapada baik pun lëngkap, kapada jahat pun lëngkap, kapada Ka'abah pun lëngkap, pada rumah bërhalat pun lëngkap, kapada sëmesta sakalian pun lëngkap: kapada najis tiada ia akan najis: kapada busok tiada ia akan busok; kapada baik tiada ia akan baik; kapada jahat tiada ia akan jahat; daripada Ka'abah tiada ia bëroleh këbajikan; daripada rumah bërhalat tiada ia bëroleh kējahatan. Sëlang panas dëmikian, istimewa Allah subhanahu wa-taala suchi daripada sëgala suchi, di-mana ia akan najis dan busok?"

For the prose of a Malay theologian that is lucid.

Shamsu'd-din of Pasai.

A student of a Javanese teacher, Pangeran Bonang, this heterodox mystic secured the patronage of Aceh's greatest ruler, Makota Alam (1607-36), though after the death of that patron his books like those of Hamzah were condemned to be

burnt. One that escaped the flames and has survived in Malay and in Sundanese is his *Mir'at al-mu'min*, dated 1601, an orthodox work on dogma in the form of a catechism about the attributes of God, the Prophets, revelation and the resurrection: while Werndly tells us that there were 211 questions and answers, the only extant manuscript (at Leiden) contains no more than 95—it contains also such interesting archaisms as *tiada pai* = “not yet”. The Leiden library also owns a fragment of one of this author's speculative pantheist works, the *Kitab Mir'at al-Muhakkikin*—the first section of it deals with gnosis, admonitions, recitations (*dhikr*) of the name of God, open and secret, and bears the title *Nur al-daka'ik*, while the work also contains excerpts from lost books by Shamsu'd-din entitled *Kitab fi dhikr da'ira kab al-kawsayna*, *Kitab siri al-'arifina*, *Mir'at al-Kulub* and a tract on the seven *martabat* and twenty *sifat*. Another Leiden manuscript may contain his commentary (*Sharh ruba'i Hamzah Fansuri*) on the mystical poems of Hamzah. It is to be hoped that some scholar may do for the surviving works of Shamsu'd-din what has been done for those of Hamzah. His doctrine is known. For him only Being is real; man, a puppet in God's shadow-play, is but appearance, an image of the attributes of Allah. To know one's self is the way to perfect knowledge. By brooding on Himself God started a process of differentiation and manifestation, just as man by self-conscious thought discovered I and not-I.

Shaikh Nuru'd-din ibn 'Ali, a'r-Raniri.

Was this prolific Gujerati author the son of a Malay mother? Nine years before he reached Aceh, he had compiled, in 1628, a still popular (and often lithographed) work on the pillars of Islam, called *Sirat al-Mustakim* and dealing with such topics as Muslim dress, ablutions, the cleaning of the teeth and cutting of the nails, the plucking out of hair on the body, defilements, prayer, burial, alms, fasting, food and so on. Although derived from Arabic sources, this orthodox treatise contains a few interesting local comments, as the condemnation of the *Hikayat Sèri Rama* and *Hikayat Indraputèra* to the lavatory, unless they mention the name of Allah. The favourite Arab text-book *Sharh al-'aka'id al-Nasafiya* (compiled in 1367 by the famous Sa'd al-din Mas'ud al-Taftazani, whom Timur induced to settle in Samarkand) was translated by a'r Raniri into Malay under the name of *Durrat al-Fara'id bisharh al-'aka'id* and seems to be identical with Leiden Codex 3288, entitled *Kitab Hadith Nabi*, which was written in 1635 and purports to be translated from an Arabic work called *Durrat al-Fara'id bisharh al-'aka'id*! Among its topics are fasting, the pilgrimage, *dhikr*, wine, usury, envy, wailing and holy war. In 1638 a'r-Raniri began his most important work, the *Bustan a's-Salatin* or “Garden of Kings,” a compilation that like the *Taj a's-Salatin* of 1603 is adorned with numerous anecdotes in the Persian style. The first of its seven books deals with the Muslim story of the creation of earth and of heaven, whose lote-tree has “leaves as large as the ears of elephants.” The second book deals with the prophets from Adam to Muhammad,

Persian princes to the time of Omar, the emperors of Byzantium to the time of Muhammad, Egyptian princes to the time of Alexander, the princes of Arabia, Nejd and Hijaz, the Prophet and the first four Caliphs, the Arabs under the Omayyads and Abbasides, the Muslim princes of Delhi and of Malacca, Pahang and Acheh. The author begins this second book with the intention of writing of the rulers of Acheh down to his patron Iskandar II (d. 1641), but the manuscript, as it has come to us, interpolates mention of Inayat Shah who ruled Acheh from 1678 to 1688. The third book tells of just kings and good officials, the fourth of pious kings and holy persons like Ibrahim ibn Adham and Alexander, the fifth of unrighteous kings and foolish and disloyal counsellors, the sixth of generous and noble men and the heroes of the battle of Badr and Ohod and the Prophet's campaigns, the seventh and last of the intelligence ('*ahl*') and all kinds of sciences, including physiognomy and medicine.

At the request of Iskandar II, just before 1641, he began a polemic work on the *ruh*, entitled *Asrar al-insan fi ma'rifat al-ruh wa'l-rahman*, and containing a reference to Hamzah of Barus. In 1642 he did a book *Akhbar al-'akhirah fi ahwal al-kiamah* on the creation of the Nur Muhammad, Adam and Death, on the signs of the Last Day and on hell and heaven, its contents taken from the *Daka'ik wa'l-hakaik* and *Durrat al-fakhirah min kashf 'awamm al-'akhirah* of Ghazali, the '*Aja'ib al-Malakut* of Shaikh ibn Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Abdillah al-K.rah and the *Bustan* of Abu'l Layth. His thoughts turned more and more to mysticism and the confuting of the heterodox views of Hamzah and Shamsu'd-din. In 1642 he wrote a treatise on Sufism, entitled *Jawahir al-'ulum fi kashf al-ma'lum*, and apparently his untraced works *Fath al-mubin 'ala al-mulhidina*, his *Huja al-siddik li'daf' al-zindik* and his *Lata'if al-asrar* all dealt with mysticism. In his *Tabyan fi ma'rifat al-adyan* of 1664 he attacks the heresies of Shamsu'd-din. His brief catechism, *Hill a'z-Zill*, has the same object and is an adaptation of his longer work, now missing, the *Nubdha fi da'wa a'z-zill ma'a sahibihi*.

The *Asrar al-insan* and *Bustan* summarize clearly doctrines that are found scattered in many Malay and Javanese tracts. Shaikh Nuru'd-din compares himself to a cup-bearer circulating the wine of the Prophet. In spite of a mediaeval cosmogony and Neo-Platonic absurdities, he is highly educated and a thinker, acquainted with the work of such orthodox mystics as Ghazali, Fakhr a'l-din, Shihab a'l-din al-Suhrawardi, Abu Talib al-Makki, Abu al-Kasim al-Kushayri, Ibn 'Arabi and 'Abdu'l-Karim al-Jilani. For him spirit is not eternal but created. He condemns the identification of man and the world with God, comparing Hamzah's pantheism with the nihilistic theories of the Vedantas and the Mahayana Buddhism of Tibet.

Coming to Acheh after Mahkota 'Alam had filled it with captives he had brought from the Malay Peninsula, a scholar like Shaikh Nuru'd-din would have no difficulty in acquiring the idiom of the Malay language, especially as he seems to have

known it before arrival. He writes Malay with ease and fluency, though he displays an unidiomatic fondness for prepositions and for *dan* "and." Examples of imperfect idiom are common in his fine work, the *Bustan*. *Telah sudah-lah segala ayam betina itu daripada makan....Maka Kaiomarz pun sampai-lah kapada tempat jin 'afrit itu dan pada suatu riwayat ia-itu manusia....Ada bagi Kaiomarz itu saudara-nya laki-laki....Sakalian manusia pun suka-lah pada menjadikan....Ada-lah ia lama dalam kerajaan 90 tahun.*

Abdu'r-Rauf of Singkel.

Known also as Tengku di-Kuala this writer was teaching in Aceh in 1661 and has survived in popular esteem as a saint. Several of his works are extant. Leiden and Batavia each possesses a manuscript of his *Mir'at a't-Tullab fi Tashil Ma'rifat al-Ahkam a'sh-Shar'iyyah li Malik a'l-Wahhab* compiled at the request of Taj u'l-'alam Safiat-u'd-din, queen of Aceh from 1641 to 1675. It is a book of Shafiite jurisprudence, handling as was usual all aspects of social, political and religious life. He did a Malay translation, not always accurate, of Baidhawi's commentary on the Kuran, which was published as recently as 1884 at Constantinople. His *Umdat al-muhtajin* describes a form of mysticism in which *dhikr* or recitation of the creed played a great part; and the book concludes with a short autobiography in which 'Abdu'r-Rauf claims to have studied for years at Mekkah, Medinah, Jiddah, Mokha, Zebid, Betalfakih and elsewhere.

Theological studies continued to be pursued at Aceh, when the kingdom had waned, though in the absence of royal patrons the names of authors are not always recorded. An example is the anonymous *Hujjah Balighah 'ala Jama'at al-Mukhasamah* on law-suits, evidence and perjury. It purports to have been written in 1648 A.D. (1058 A.H.) but under Sultan 'Ala-'u'd-din Johan Shah who actually ruled Aceh from 1735 to 1760. By this later date, we can surmise from manuscripts extant that the study of Muslim theology and jurisprudence flourished more vigorously elsewhere. One of these centres was Palembang and to Palembang perhaps belongs the anonymous.

Kitab Sa-Ribu Masa'alah

so ably edited by Doctor G. F. Pijper. That the text which has come down to us certainly post-dates 1511 and the advent of the Catholic Portuguese may be inferred from the presence of the word *Nasrani* or "Nazarene" meaning Catholic, and of the Portuguese loan-word *bélédú* or "velvet." The presence of such Javanese forms as *télapak* for *tapak*, *kéringat* "sweat" and *ménanyakan* instead of *bértanyakan* suggest, unless they are due merely to a copyist, that the original translator was a native of some place like Palembang, where the manuscript of 1757 A.D. was transcribed and Javanese borrowings are common in the local Malay. Although Palembang became Muslim in the XVth century, its first ruler with a Muslim title was Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman who reigned from 1649 to 1694. A copy of the Malay version of this

"Book of the Thousand Questions" was found by Valentijn as far afield as Amboina before 1726, and already in the XVIIIth century manuscripts of the work the glosses of some earlier copyist or translator are identical. Of the fifteen manuscripts known, that of 1757 was written by a Palembang scribe, another by a Javanese and another on the east coast of Sumatra, while one edition has been printed at Mecca and another by Malay editors from Trengganu and Kelantan at Singapore.

The existence in Malay of the fullest version of the first Arabic account of Islam that Europe got to know brings home to us vividly that Malay was one of the languages of Muslim culture. Even after 1085 when the Moors lost Spain for ever, Latin translations were made at Toledo of the Kuran, of the philosophical works of al-Kindi, al-Farabi and Avicenna, and of the "Book of the Thousand Questions," one of those apocalyptic guides to eternity so popular with Muslim and Christian in the middle ages. The work was written in Arabic as early as 963 A.D. being mentioned by the vizier and historian, Abu 'Ali bin Muhammad al Bal'ami, who describes one of its questions as about a spot where the sun shone once never to shine again, the answer being the bottom of the Red Sea rolled back by Moses. In the Malay recension there is reference to so many place-names round the Caspian Sea, that it has been surmised the original author of "The Book of the Thousand Questions" may, like al-Bal'ami, have lived at Bokhara. In 1143 A.D. the Arabic work was translated into Latin at Toledo by Herman of Dalmatia; earlier still into Persian under the title of the "Book of Eight and Twenty Questions"; from a Persian original into Turkish by the sixteenth century, into Malay by the seventeenth century, and into Hindustani. It was translated from Portuguese into Dutch and thence again into Latin. And it was translated into Javanese. The Javanese recension, preserved in an early 18th century script, contains the number of questions found in the later Arabic version, namely 404, and it has passages missing from the Malay text and a different arrangement of topics: Javanese Muslim works come mostly from the Malay and this Javanese recension must be derived from some unknown Persian Arabic or Malay original.

One Persian text entitled "The Book of the Thousand Questions" was copied in Shiite Golconda, that is Haiderabad, in 1615 A.D. and has three *motifs* that occur also in the Malay recension, namely the number of questions, now a thousand, references to the Old Testament, the Psalms and the Gospels, and to the hero's following of 700 Jews. This Golconda text changes the order of the questions and muddles the answers. The Persian texts, which the Malay translator followed, must have been older and he must have used two; for he gives two accounts of the creation and two separate lists of those born miraculously like Adam and Eve and Jesus and the goat substituted for Isma'il, while after the description of the Last Day, which should end with the passing of Death, he inserts additional minor incidents, such as the age of the various Prophets. Signs of the Persian origin of the Malay text are

Piramun, the Persian name for the World Snake and Persian grammatical forms like *minbari*, though the absence of Shi'ite colouring differentiates it from Malay XVth century works.

The hero of the "Book of the Thousand Questions" is a half historical half legendary Rabbi from Khaibar, called 'Abdu'llah ibn Salam" of Samud, a place north of Medina. The Traditions say that this Jew went to Medina and put Muhammad three questions which only a Prophet could solve:—"What are the signs of the last day? What is the first food eaten in Paradise? Why may a child be like its father or its maternal uncle?" "Jibra'il has told me," replied Muhammad. "The first sign is a fire that shall cause men to assemble from the east to the west; the first food eaten in Paradise is fish-liver; and a child's looks vary according as his father's seed or his mother's comes first." Proving by hard questions was a test applied by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon and by Bedouins as well as Jews to Muhammad; and critics have detected a resemblance between 'Abdu'llah ibn Salam and another learned Jew, Nicodemus. Both came privily for fear of the Jews, both put hard questions, both were satisfied and ended by avowing their faith openly. The questions put by 'Abdu'llah ibn Salam as to the creation of heaven and earth, as to hell and paradise and the last day, as to the Prophets and as to a child's likeness to father or maternal uncle are all inspired by the *Taurat* or Jewish scriptures.

The answers given by the Prophet employ the usual properties of the Muslim cosmogony, the radiance, the slate, the pen, the archangels, the seven heavens and so on. Supported on chains by 70,000 angels, the sun and moon are Muslim, differing in brightness because to make day and night Allah ordered Jibra'il to wipe the moon's face with his wing and darken it. If one speck of the flames of hell as big as a fire-fly fell on the earth, the world would shrivel. There is a picture of Anti-Christ entering Isfahan on a donkey so large that the deepest sea wetted only his fetlocks. The Angel of Death kills himself at Allah's command, groaning and remorseful like some wicked giant in a fairy tale, while the tortures of the damned are portrayed with the imagination and vivacity of Hieronymus Bosch. Questions are answered as to the size of the archangels and of Noah's ark, the names of the rivers in paradise, the nature of the grass there and of the trees, and the digestive functions of the blessed. "What son," asks 'Abdu'llah ibn Salam, "is harder than his progenitor?" and gets the answer, "Iron the son of stone." "Who killed without knife or weapons?" the Prophet is asked, to which he answers, "Kabel the slayer of Abel." Mountains are described as the nails of the universe which indeed must need them, as it is balanced on the horns of a bull, who is kept quiet from fear of a mosquito bigger than an elephant that stings his nostril if he thinks of shaking his head. One of the questions asked is "Why cannot one be two, and two be three and so on?" The Prophet replies that one is one because Allah is one, and two cannot be three because

God created Adam and Eve, day and night, height and depth, and three cannot be four because God is three with Muhammad and Adam, and God instituted three stages for Muslim divorce, and four cannot be five because Allah inspired the Old Testament, the Psalms, the Quran and the Gospels—and so *ad infinitum*. In paradise virgin houris spring out of the pods of the trees and some of the grass is camphor grass from Barus in Sumatra.

'Abd a's-Samad of Palembang.

This Sumatran pundit was a pupil of Shaikh Muhammad ibn 'Abdi'l-Karim a's-Sammani al-Madani. In 1764 at Mecca he wrote a Malay work on *tauhid* at the request of one who with him had attended the lectures of Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'l-mun'im al-Damhuri, and he called the book *Zuhurat al-Murid fi Bayan Kalimat a't-Tauhid*. In 1778 under the title of *Hidayat a's-Salikin fi Suluk Maslak al-Muttakin* he did a translation of Ghazali's *Bidayat al-Hidayah* which was lithographed in Singapore in 1873; its subjects are orthodox belief, religious duties, the sins, the virtues, *dhikr*, the love of God and of one's fellows, the '*Umdat al-muhtajina* of 'Abdu'r-rauf being twice quoted.

From 1779 till 1789, when he finished it at Taif, he was occupied with a translation of Ghazali's *Ihya' ulum u'd-din*, which he enlarged with commentaries and called *Siyar a's-Salikin Ila 'Ibadah Rabb al-'abidin*: it deals with man's duty to God, the usages of Muslim life and works that lead to salvation and damnation.

Muhammad ibn Ahmad Kemas of Palembang.

Living from 1719 to 1763 this author wrote a *Hikayat Shaikh Muhammad Samman*, being an account of the miracles and virtues of a teacher of mysticism at Medina who was revered as a saint in the Malay archipelago. "These accounts" wrote Snouck Hurgronje, "are valued not only for their contents: their recitation is regarded as a meritorious task both for readers and listeners and vows are often made in case of sickness or mishap to have the *Hikayat Samman* (or the *Hikayat Nabi berchukor*, etc.) recited, if the peril should be averted." At the request of Sultan Mahmud Badru'd-din this Palembang author translated a book, *Bahr al-'ajaib* on future events from the Arabic *Bahr al-Wukuf fi 'ilm at-taufik wa'l-huruf* of 'Abdu'r-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Bistami.

Kemas Fakhru'd-din of Palembang.

This Palembang author, of whose work the earliest manuscript is dated 1823, compiled a *Mukhtasar* or abridgement of a mystical work by Shaikh al-Wali al-risani of Damascus, with additional matter from the commentaries on the *Fath u'r-Rahman* by Shaikh Zakaria al-ansari and on the *Hamzah Ikhan* of Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Isma'il.

A Riau School.

Penyengat on the little island of Riau was evidently a centre for the study of mysticism under its Bugis regime at the beginning of the XIXth century. From it comes a work dated 1809 and entitled *Sabil al-Hidayah wa'r-Rishad fi Zikr Nubdhah min Fada'il al-Kutb al-Haddad*, being a translation of a work on mysticism by Ahmad ibn Hasan ibn 'Abdillah Haddad ibn Sayid 'Aluwi Ba'aluwi of Terim in Hadramaut. From Penyengat, too, comes a manuscript dated 1836 of the *Kitab al-Hikam* by Taju'-d-din Abu'l-Fadl Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdi'l-Karim ibn 'Ata'ullah; it has been translated into English in this Journal, though unfortunately not even a specimen of the Malay text is given.

Daud ibn 'Abdillah ibn Idris of Patani.

This author wrote at Mekkah. In 1809 he compiled a treatise on the law of marriage, borrowing its contents from famous Shafite law-books such as the *Minhaj*, the *Fath al-Wahhab*, the *Tuhfah* and the *Nihayah*:—Batavia has another manuscript by him on *fikh*, dated 1859, derived from the same sources but called *Ghayat at-Tallab al-Murid Ma'rifat al-Ahkam bi's-Sawab*. In 1816 he wrote a book, often reprinted *Ad-Durr a'th-Thamin*, on *i'tikad*. In 1824, also at Mekkah, he published a work *Minhaj al-'abidin ila Jannah Rabb al-'alamin* being a Malay translation of the *Ilya 'Ulum a'd-Din*, the *Kitab al-Asrar* and the *Kitab al-Kurbah Ila Allah* of Ghazali. In 1838 he compiled his *Furu'al-Masa'il wa Usul al-Masa'il*, a collection of gems from the *Fatwah* of Ramli and *Kashf al-anam 'an as'ilah al-anam* of Husain ibn Muhammad al-Mahalli on such topics as ritual purity, the five pillars of Islam, sacrifices, food, ritual slaughter, the law of succession, marriage, oaths, vows, the administration of justice and the freeing of slaves.

Apart from these works of known authors, there are many other anonymous, and there are treatises on astrology, divination, medicine and the interpretation of dreams.

X.

MALAY HISTORIES.

In history we reach a branch of literature that in spite of Arabic titles like *sajarah*, *sulalatu's-salatin* and *tuhfat al-nafis* is from its very subject matter more indigenous than any other type of Malay prose ; and the Malay Peninsula is particularly rich in histories.

Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai.

The oldest Malay history is this Pasai chronicle. It starts with the reign of Malik al-Saleh, a ruler of that little Sumatran port, whose gravestone imported from Cambay gives 1297 A.D. as the year of his death, and then it describes the reigns of Malik al-Dzahir, who died on 9 November, 1326, and of his son Sultan Ahmad, and it ends with Majapahit's conquest of Pasai about 1350 and with Minangkabau's vain attempt to conquer Majapahit. The work must, therefore, have been written after 1350 and as it is quoted, sometimes *verbatim*, in chapters 7 and 9 of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, it must probably have been written before 1536, when the first draft of that later and more famous history was completed. Pasai was one of the first of the little Sumatran port kingdoms to accept Islam in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D., and, though that premises earlier contact with Muslims, Arabic loan-words must have taken time to creep into Malay so that for this reason also these chronicles could hardly have been compiled before 1350. Actual incidents, too, while often retaining the vividness of history not remote, are given a mythical tinge that only time could add. It would, however, appear unlikely that these chronicles were written after 1524 when Aceh drove out the Portuguese and annexed Pasai. Authors wrote generally to please a court and it is incredible that any author would have the stimulus or even the courage to begin a history of Pasai after 1524 ; for, after that date, its history could only be written discreetly as a chapter in the annals of Aceh. Nor again is it very likely that a history of Pasai, quoted in the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, came into the plagiarist's hands after 1511 when d'Albuquerque sacked Malacca and ousted not only the Malay court but all Muslims. One may conclude that the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* was written most probably in the fifteenth century. In the list of countries subject to Majapahit, which forms an appendix to this Pasai history, is Banjarmasin. Mentioned neither in the *Nagarakretagama* of 1518 nor in Castanheda's list of Bornean harbours in 1530, Banjarmasin is presumed to have been founded about 1550 ; and, if this date is correct, the appendix is later than the body of the Pasai chronicle. To-day the language of Pasai is Achinese, but in the seventeenth century "the language of Pasai" still meant for the theologians of Aceh the Malay language, and the Pasai history is written in good Malay, its archaic features being few beyond the use of an obsolete interrogative particle *kutaha* that occurs also in the earliest version of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* and in a Erpenius MS. at Cambridge :—it is unfortunate that the only MS. of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* is dated 1814 A.D.

The historical value of the chronicles has not yet been fully worked out. Titles like *Megat Skandar* and *Megat Kedah*, for example, may go to show that the Alexander legend was known in thirteenth century Pasai and to corroborate Dr. Stutterheim's reading of the memorial *sha'ir* on a Pasai tombstone of 1380 A.D. which makes one and the same royal house rulers of Pasai and Kedah. Especially interesting is the picture of Indian influence at Pasai. Ghiath al-din, the name of one of the ministers of Malik al-Saleh, was a name common in Delhi but was never popular in Malaya. His companion Husam al-din also bears a name found in India. It is a Kling miner who finds gold in Samudra, and a Kling *yogi* who dubs Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal and a Kling ship brings four swash-bucklers.

For the student of literature interest centres more round the literary sources to be traced in this early history and the influence it had on later works. One of the sources is the *Ramayana*. There is the story of a princess born from a bamboo, a tale found also in a *Hikayat Aceh* and in the *Kedah Annals*. And the killing of his son by a Pasai Sultan because a Majapahit princess had fallen in love with a portrait of the princeling recalls Rama's repudiation of Sita for sleeping with a fan on which was a portrait of Ravana. The description of women hurrying untidy and dishevelled goes back to Malay shadow-play versions of the *Mahabharata* and is found here and in the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* (or *Malay Annals*) and again in the *Kedah Annals* and many Malay romances. The choice of a ruler by a sagacious elephant occurs in the *Katha Sari Sagara*, is used in this Pasai chronicle and has been borrowed for the *Kedah Annals*, the *Sha'ir Si-Lindong Dalima* and other works. But the influence of the Pasai history on the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* goes far beyond the borrowing of identical folk-tales from Indian sources. Not only has the author of the later work constructed two of his chapters by paraphrasing the chronicle of his predecessor but he has also imitated his style and method. Both chroniclers invent origins for place-names, making a feature of their inventions. Pasai, for example, was founded where a dog of that name was resisted by a courageous mouse-deer (just as in Sinhalese folklore a hare, bounding off a rock, faced a jackal at the spot where Candy was built): so Malacca has to derive its name from a tree against which its founder leant during a similar episode. The downfall of the handsome young warrior "Braim Bapa" is copied in the adventures of Hang Tuah and Hang Kesturi in the *Malay Annals*. So, too, the mythical account of the conversion of a Malay ruler to Islam is copied in the *Malay Annals*, and, later, in the *Kedah Annals*. Finally both in the Pasai chronicle and in the *Malay Annals* long ethical exhortations are put into the mouths of dying rulers.

Sĕjarah Mĕlayu.

This work, commonly known as *The Malay Annals*, is the most famous, distinctive and best of all Malay literary works. Until recently it was known only from a version purporting to have been

begun at Pasai, while Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah of Johor was there as a prisoner, on Sunday 13 May 1612. Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din was not taken captive till 1613 and then he was carried not to the dead port of Pasai but to his captor's capital. Old MSS. correct the place where this edition was penned to Pasir Raja or Pekan Tua, a forgotten capital on the Johor river. But only one MS., that was copied for Sir Stamford Raffles and is now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, antedates this Johor version of 1612 and ends with an account of a Portuguese attack on a Malay stockade at Sungai Telor up the Johor river in 1535. The 1612 edition claims to be based on "a history brought from Goa", according to some MSS. by an Orang Kaya Sogoh, and the original of Raffles' MS. may well have been carried there when the Portuguese sacked Johor Lama in 1536. Raffles' MS. contains no historical incidents occurring after 1535 and no genealogies later than the grand-children of Bendahara Mutahir, whose eldest son was old enough to be Temenggong of Malacca in 1509. Unlike the later Johor edition, it does not deliberately suppress or alter various details to glorify the Malacca line of Sultans and their prime ministers, the Bendaharas. In it the prince who gave the island of Tumasik the name of Singapura, after the name of the capital of Kalinga, is a Tamil Bichitram (as he is in the tradition of his descendants the Sultans of Perak), nephew of Pandayan of Negapatam. Iskandar Shah first ruler of Malacca is followed by a Sultan Megat, namely by one with a royal mother but a commoner father, unexpected confirmation of the theory that the first ruler was a Javanese nobleman, or possibly a Sumatran princeling, married to a Javanese princess, his Hindu title of Parameshwara denoting his subordination to his wife. Further in Raffles' MS. that puzzling figure Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din (d. 1488) of Malacca is Raja Radin son of Sultan Mansur Shah by a Javanese woman: the Johor revision kills off this son and fabricates a Raja Husain son of a Bendahara lady who becomes Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din. The Johor edition naturally deleted references to the older legitimist branch of the Malacca line, who became and still are Sultans of Perak. Moreover while the original author, writing in the reign of Sultan Mahmud last Sultan of Malacca, could not possibly ascribe to that ruler the fool errand of wooing the fairy princess of Mt. Ophir, the Johor editor seeing that Sultan Mansur was already the hero of fictitious marriages with a princess of Majapahit and a princess of China, thought it better to deprive him of his fairy wooing and ascribe it to Sultan Mahmud, who by 1612 had been dead eighty-two years. The author of the first or Goa draft of the *Malay Annals* is unknown. His vivid accounts of Malacca life would appear to show that he lived in Malacca before it was captured by d'Albuquerque in 1511 and survived long enough to embroider his narrative with a story of the amazement of the Malays at Portuguese bullets, though in 1511 they themselves possessed cannon. MS. 68 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, says that the original Annals were compiled in the time of Solomon and that their revision was mooted in 1482 A.D. (a date possible for the commencement of the original draft)

at a council of chiefs held in the time of Alexander the Great ! Even the 1612 revision did not see an end to the tampering. The Johor appendix, which took the place of Perak chapters, carries Johor history well beyond 1612. A variant appendix in a Batavian MS. gives an account of Siak in the XVIIIth century. The preface in two printed editions has been cribbed word for word from the introduction written by an Indian pundit for his *Bustan as-Salatin* in 1638. The text of the *Sējarah Melayu* is an extreme example of the liberties taken by all Malay copyists.

That the original author of these annals lived in Malacca is attested by his cosmopolitan culture. Sanskrit and Persian and Tamil words, Javanese sentences and Arabic texts are all familiar to him. He professes a smattering of Chinese and Siamese and Portuguese. His account of the origin of the title Laksamana and his invention of Hang Tuah being hidden instead of executed point to his acquaintance with the story of the *Ramayana* and to an episode preserved in a MS. of its Malay version (belonging to von De Wall), where ordered by Rama to slay Laksamana, Hanoman conceals him till Rama comes to his senses. The request of the Malay warriors to their Sultan to lend them the romance of Muhammad Hanafiah to read one night during the Portuguese attack on Malacca may be a reminiscence of Krishna reciting the *Bhagavad-Gita* to Arjuna before the great battle between the Pandavas and Kauravas began. The adventures ascribed to Hang Tuah come from the Javanese legends of Panji and of Damar Bulan. When Sultan Mansur Shah wooed the fairy princess of Gunong Ledang, she refused his hand until he should give her seven trays of lice's livers, a tub of tears, a tub of the juice of young betel-palms, a basin of his own blood and a basin of his son's blood. This *motif* comes from the Persian but may have been suggested also by the Javanese. In the story of Damar Bulan, when Menak Jingga, prince of Balambangan, asks for the hand of a Majapahit princess, the sons of the Pateh of Majapahit demand a present of spear spume, a sea of blood and a mountain of heads. In the Persian *Sindi-bad Namah* a merchant arriving at Kashgar sells his stock of sandal-wood to a rogue, who persuades him it is valueless, on condition that he give in return "Whatever else he may choose". Finding himself swindled he resorts in disguise to the rogue's den and hears his blind chief rate his subordinate's folly : "Instead of asking for gold, this merchant may require you to give him a measure of male fleas with silken housings and jewelled trappings and how will you do that ?" The annalist makes Malay princes write letters to their adversaries before engaging in battle, as Alexander does at the prompting of Khadir in the *Hikayat Iskandar*. Not only has he borrowed long passages from that romance and from the Chronicles of Pasai. He has also an intimate knowledge of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* : he makes the Bendahara Maharaja of Malacca think in his heart *Kekayaan-ku ini datang kepada anak-chuchu-ku makan dia, tiada akan habis*, while in the story of Hanafiah the crowd envy the luck of the successful wooer of Princess Shahr-banun,

reflecting *maka datang kapada anak-chuchu-nya makan, tiada akan habis*. And it may have been either an episode in the same romance or the *sayambara* of so many Hindu tales that suggested the episode of Wi Kesuma, princess of Majapahit, choosing a consort from a throng of youths passing before her. Finally the annalist was versed in the esoteric knowledge of the Sufi mystics of Pasai and Malacca. All this culture was accessible in the cosmopolitan port of Malacca but hardly in a petty refugee court up the Johor river.

The author of the *Malay Annals* is not only a pundit but a literary artist. He gives us a vivid picture of a port thronged with Indian traders, Hindu and Muslim, with settlers from China, Java and Sumatra. His pages are full of adventurers who frequented the precincts of a flourishing court, Tamil archers, Pathan horsemen, bibulous mahouts, Indian missionaries self-important and eccentric, and cowardly in battle. There are vignettes of Malays : Tun Isak the Nippy because he could cross a ditch on a dipping branch so quickly that he did not wet his feet ; the Prime Minister who had a long pier-glass and consulted his wife on the set of his hat ; the old chief who put gold-dust along the skirting and panelling for his grand-children to play with. Especially good are the skilful touches delineating the portrait of that amorous, spoilt, clever half-caste ruler, Mahmud last Sultan of Malacca. I will translate one passage :—

“ The story goes that when Sultan Mahmud went for recreation to Tanjong Kling or elsewhere, he would ride a pony, with one follower Sang Sura carrying a betel-set, a bundle and a pen-case. When his heir heard that the Sultan had set out, he would order all the chiefs to follow, but as soon as the Sultan saw the throng approaching he would spur his pony to avoid them. Sang Sura ran at his horse's heels, as if he would hide the Sultan's tracks with his own foot-prints. As he ran, he would put lime on betel-leaf for his master.”

Even a sketch like that shows a master hand. Perhaps the polyglot author was a half-caste Tamil.

Bustan a's-Salatin.

Next in date comes the *Garden of Kings* begun by the Gujerati pundit, Shaikh Nuru'd-din of Ranir, at Aceh in 1638. In addition to much Islamic history from foreign sources it contains a section on the princes of Malacca, Pahang and Aceh. Evidently the author got material from the 1612 edition of the *Malay Annals*, for he writes :—“ Says the Bendahara Paduka Raja who compiled the *Sulalutu's-Salatin* ” (namely, the *Malay Annals*) “ he heard it from his father who heard from his grand-parents : on Sunday in the month Rabi al awal A.H. (=1612 A.D.) he wrote a history of the administration of all the princes who ruled Malacca, Johor and Pahang with their race and genealogies from Iskandar Dhu-l-

Karnain." The chapter on Aceh contains a precise chronicle of its rulers and immigrant missionaries: the chapter on Malacca and Pahang is no more than a set of genealogical trees. Both have been printed.

Misa Melayu.

The meaning of this enigmatic title is obscure. Is it an illiterate tribute to the popularity in XVIIIth century Perak of that Panji tale, the *Misa Përabu Jaya*, chosen in ignorance of the fact that there the word means "buffalo"? Or is it a dialectical form of *misal* "exemplar"? The work is an attractive contemporary account of a period of Perak history from about 1742 till 1778, written by Raja Chulan, a prince of the Perak royal house, who "at that time was the cleverest man in Perak at prose and verse". Much space is devoted to court ceremonies, marriages, funerals and picnics; and a royal sea-trip round the Perak coast is depicted in very tolerable if sycophantic verse by the author who calls himself "a poor neglected bat living in the clouds" and "a piece of dirt in a midden" and tells how they met an English ketch whose captain sold two cannons to the Sultan in exchange for tin. There are references to Bugis invasions, to trading with Indians in elephants, and to a lodge maintained by the Dutch at Tanjong Putus to enforce their monopoly of the purchase of tin at the Perak estuary. Raja Chulan also describes the coming of a Dutch commissioner to the Malay court and the signing of a treaty. He has considerable literary talent, notices the *chêrus-chêrus* sound of English talk and denounces the sound of Chinese music "like the noise of frogs in a marsh after a fall of rain", but he lacks the quiet cynicism and intimacy of his model the *Sêjarah Melayu*, and it is a pity that he made no attempt to record the earlier history of Perak. His work has particular value as an authentic specimen of eighteenth century prose at the court of a native State.

The Kedah Annals.

Were it not for a colophon giving a list of Kedah rulers, a preface copied from later recensions of the "Malay Annals" and the borrowing of the Arabic title of those chronicles, the *Hikayat Mërang* (or *Marong*) *Mahawangsa* would never have been styled the "Kedah Annals" or accepted as serious history. It starts with confused traditions of Byzantium, of figures from the *Ramayana*, and of Vishnu's *garuda*, here strangely subject to Solomon, lord of the animal world. It includes the story of a cannibal king cribbed from the *Maha-Sutasoma-Jataka*, the legend of an infant found in a bamboo that occurs in the *Ramayana* and so many Malay folk-tales. abduction by a roc, magic combats, the choice of a ruler by a sagacious elephant, all of these the very commonest incidents of Malay romance. Its references to Langkasuka and other places are based on authentic tradition but Langkasuka sends an embassy to Aceh, a kingdom founded in the XVIth century! Kedah itself is termed Zamin Turan "land of Turkistan!", a name purloined from a passage in the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* where a prince Gulanggi also occurs,—though in the

"Annals" Gulanggi is the name of a country near Burma! A passage showing traces of a Javanese hand purports to give an account of Kedah's conversion to Islam by a Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Yamani from Baghdad. Kedah became Muslim in the fifteenth century but these "annals" say that on its conversion the Sultan received his *Sirat al-Mustakim* from Shaikh Nuru'd-din a'r-Raniri who arrived in Acheh from India in 1637! Again, it claims that Indra-Sakti, an eighteenth century capital of Perak, was chosen by a pre-Muslim ruler of Kedah, who loosed an arrow that fell there! Perak was not subject to Kedah until 1818, so that it is unlikely folk-lore adapted this Persian arrow story before that date. The modernity of this pseudo-history is confirmed by the lack of old manuscripts.

Hikayat Negeri Johor.

There is a plain chronicle of events with this title, recording the history of the Johor rulers and of the Bugis in the Riau archipelago and the Malay Peninsula between 1672 and the last decade of the eighteenth century. It is a useful history with no literary pretensions. The text of one of the two MSS. at Batavia has been printed, and portions of one of the two Leiden MSS. appear in Part III. of Meursinge's Leesboek. The author is unknown.

Sĕjarah Raja-Raja Riau.

In manuscript there are many fragmentary histories, some of them plain unvarnished chronicles with little literary merit. One such is this eighteenth century history of the Malay Peninsula and Riau, of which an outline in English has been printed.

The Works of Raja 'Ali Haji bin Raja Ahmad.

A grandson of the famous Bugis warrior who was killed in 1784 at Teluk Katapang fighting the Dutch under Jacob Pieter van Braam, this Riau prince is one of the greatest Malay writers of the nineteenth century.

He wrote *Silsilah Mĕlayu dan Bugis* or an account of Bugis ascendancy in Borneo, the Riau archipelago and the Malay peninsula down to 1737, adorning his narrative with poems. The work was printed at Singapore in 1329 A.H. (1911 A.D.) and a paraphrase of it in English has also appeared.

His *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, or "The Precious Gift", was begun in 1865 and after recapitulating the traditional history of old Singapore and Malacca relates the history of the Johor empire and its relations with the Bugis, other Malay States and the Dutch down to the '60s of the last century. The author is described simply as Raja 'Ali of Riau but the style of the work and the use of much of the subject-matter of the *Silsilah Mĕlayu dan Bugis* point to his identity with the author of the earlier work. The *Tuhfat* is the most important Malay historical work after the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, and though the writer is handicapped by the quiet seclusion of his home at Riau he endeavours in places to give some

of the realistic colour so frequent in the pages of his greater predecessor. Notable is a passage where he describes his father's visit as an envoy to Batavia in 1822, when the Governor-General Baron van der Capellen invited them to a curry tiffin, after which they strolled in the garden and smoked cigars (brought to them stuck each on the branch of a silver tree), until escorted by two outriders in silver breast-plates with bushy beards and moustaches His Excellency drove away in his carriage and four. Unfortunately Raja 'Ali lacks the psychological insight and graphic pen of the author of the *Malay Annals*.

This historian also wrote in 1857 a grammar *Bustan al-Katibin*.

Modern Works.

Two chronicles of nineteenth century Johor have been published, one by Haji Muhammad Said, who has also compiled a Malay dictionary in Malay, and another by Muhammad bin Haji Elias. Two histories of Kedah have also appeared, romantic and unreliable on the past but containing useful *data* for modern times. So, too, there have been two histories of Kelantan, that contain folk-lore and valuable material on a state of which little is known. None of them display the literary ability of the author of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* or of 'Abdu'llah Munshi.

There are many chronicles of places in the archipelago: chronicles of Banjarmasin, Kutai and Sambas, of Ternate and the Moluccas, of Bandong and Preanger, of Palembang, Tambusi and Bangkahulu. None are written in the classical Malay of the Peninsula, but many of them have identical characteristics, being introduced by flotsam and jetsam of folklore, the *Ramayana* and and the *Panji* tales.

XI.

CODES OF LAW.

The development of Muslim sway over peoples of different races and civilisations led to the introduction in Muslim countries of special enactments called *kanun*, that is, canon or customary law, which stood apart from *shari'a* or religious law. Under the influence of Muslim pundits, Malacca, perhaps first of all Malay kingdoms, compiled a code of such law called *Risalat Hukum Kanun* or *Undang-Undang Mēlaka*, a code that in practice was no more than a book of reference liable to have its provisions overruled by any strong Sultan or ingenious or obsequious judge. It has survived in manuscripts written at Riau, some of them in the time of Sultan Sulaiman Shah, who reigned a puppet of Bugis overlords from 1719 to 1760, and these manuscripts have been collated and edited by Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel. The preface of this code claims that it embodies custom in force from the time of Alexander the Great down to the time of his namesake, Sultan Iskandar, first of Malacca's rulers to embrace Islam, and of his descendants, the Sultans Muzaffar, Mansur, 'Ala'u'd-din, Muhammad and Mahmud, the last of whom is described as "caliph of the faithful, shadow of Allah on earth, in whose hands are custom, law and government." The code, therefore, professes to be compiled in the reign of Mahmud, last ruler of Malacca. In five of the manuscripts a later section says that the work was undertaken by order of Sultan Muzaffar Shah on instructions from his father Sultan Muhammad (*sic*): this prince, to give him his full title, must be the son of Sultan *Mahmud*, namely Sultan Muda Muzaffar, who was dispossessed of the Malacca throne in favour of his younger brother and became first Sultan of Perak. Later still it is stated that the author was Hang Sidi Ahmad son of Inang, and that he drew up the code to meet the case of Portuguese prisoners captured when Sultan *Mahmud* was a refugee at Banten. The date, therefore, would be 1523 or 1524, though in one of the Leiden and one of the Batavian MSS. the Malay copyist in spite of the mention of the Portuguese and of Banten has confused Sultan Mahmud of Malacca with Sultan Mahmud of Lingga who died in 1812! This Malacca code has enjoyed great popularity and is found over a wide range. Copies have been collected from Riau and Pahang, Pontianak and Brunai; the copy from Brunai is dated 1709, is said to contain laws formerly in force and was quoted recently in the case of a claim to fruit trees. The Malacca code exhibits no clear division between constitutional, criminal and civil law. It jumbles regulations for court etiquette, criminal law, the jurisdiction of the ruler and his ministers, the law for fugitive slaves, the law of libel, the law of contract affecting the hire of slaves and animals, the penalties for *lèse majesté* and the breach of betrothal agreements, the usufruct of fruit-trees and rice-fields, trespasses and wounding by domestic animals, the offence of selling into slavery a person who has entered service to escape death from starvation or shipwreck, the fencing and dyking of fields, the

law of debt, the penalties for stealing the slaves of owners of various ranks. One section that is of interest to students of language runs :—

Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan hukum bahasa segala raja-raja itu, lima perkara yang tiada diperoleh kita menurut kata itu melainkan Raja yang kerajaan juga, pertama-tama titah, kedua patek, ketiga murka, keempat kurnia, kelima anugerah.

Another code ascribed to Sultan Mahmud of Malacca deals with maritime law. It has been printed by E. Dulaurier under the title of "Institutions Maritimes de l'Archipel d'Asie, traduites en français," Paris, 1845. The fragment printed by de Hollander begins : " These were the customs of old when Malacca was still a powerful kingdom under Sultan Mahmud caliph of the faithful ; for that reason old sea-captains have written down this law for the use of their descendants to-day." To the " Asiatic Researches " of 1909, Sir Stamford Raffles contributed a translation of another manuscript of these laws, in which it is stated that two persons Pati Seturun and Pati Elias consulted Nakhodas (or Captains) Zainal, Dewa and Isahak and having compiled this code took it to the Bendahara Sri Maharaja (or according to another MS. Sri Nara 'diraja), who got Sultan Mahmud to sanction it. Nakhoda Zainal was given the title of Sang Utama 'diraja and Nakhoda Isahak that of Sang Setia 'diraja, or, according to another MS., Sang Boya (?Bijaya) 'diraja and 'dipati Shah respectively. The code was adopted by the Bugis and Macassar traders. There are many MSS. at Leiden, Batavia and London, and an authoritative edition is wanted. The topics of the code are the authority and duties of officers and crew, regulations for the safety of a ship at sea (including the provision of an opium-pipe to keep the watch awake), the discarding of cargo in storms, the shares of trade allowed to officers and crews in port, fares, rescues and salvage, mutiny, sexual offences, assaults and thefts on board.

Kedah Laws.

As a State in close touch with Sumatra, especially Acheh, it is not surprising that after the fall of Malacca Kedah became particularly rich in legal codes.

The oldest recorded code is dated 1650 A.D. and deals with port laws, which resemble closely those of the Great Moguls recorded in the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*. They include such topics as the poll-tax on immigrants, port-dues on ships from Kalinga and Gujerat, the collection by the harbour-master of money due to trading captains, ships, manifests, duties on slaves and tin, fees for port-clearance, the policing of the port, standard weights and measures, the reception of envoys and their missives.

Another set of laws (*tëmbëra*), dated 1667 A.D., starts with enforcing a register of thieves, gamblers, cock-fighters, opium-smugglers, drunkards and worshippers of trees and rocks, with the penalty for not attending the mosque and with the necessity of

paying tithes. Sales should be certified by a headman. A tax must be paid for slaughtering cattle. Several sections deal with buffaloes damaging rice-fields, with buffaloes wounding one another, with trespass and wandering at night and with access roads.

A so-called *Hukum Kanun Dato' Star* is undated and deals only with the ceremonial privileges of bridegrooms and the dead and with court etiquette.

Undang-Undang dated 1784 A.D. are a hotch-potch of court etiquette, the first 23 sections of Malacca's *Kanun*, a few pages on marriage, divorce, adultery and commerce, and finally the Malacca maritime code.

Another copy of Kedah laws was written down for Raffles and is in the Batavian library. Yet another is in the library of the School of Oriental Studies, London.

Perak Laws.

The fullest and most interesting of these laws, the *Ninety-Nine Laws* of Perak, purport to have been brought to Malaya in the XVIIth century by a Sayid Husain al-Faradz of the great Hadramaut house of Ahmad bin Isa al-Mohajir, and to have been used by his descendants, who from the middle of the XVIIIth century held the post of Mantri in Perak for several generations. Seeing that these laws are written down in the form of questions by Nushirwan to his minister Buzurgmihr, it looks as if these legal notes were put together under that Persian influence which came from India. By way of impressing the unsophisticated, there are references to lions and camels, but the trail of non-Muslim native custom is over most sections. A piece of a man's trousers as proof of paternity, the fining or putting away privily of a man suspected but not proved guilty of murder, the payment of compensation instead of the death sentence for murder, the return of house and land and kitchen utensils to the woman and of debts and dues and weapons to the man in the case of divorce, all these belong to Malay customary law. Local, too, are the sections dealing with rice-fields, goats, buffaloes and elephants, and the fees of a shaman for cleansing a parish! Such laws would make the Hadramaut gape and stare but they afford an interesting side-light on the adoption of Islam by the Malays. Like other Malay laws "they do not claim to be a national code": the *Ninety Nine Laws* are "merely a book of reference kept by a private family and used by members of that family when called upon to advise the Sultan on legal issues. This book enabled the owners to pose as experts in matters of law and to have a hereditary claim to the office of Mantri."

In the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, there are many MSS. of codes collected by Sir Stamford Raffles and Sir William Maxwell that await comparative study. From a code belonging once to Sultan Ja'afar of Perak Sir William has published sections dealing with land tenure. He published also

extracts on slavery from a code indebted to the old Malacca code and professing to be current in Perak, Pahang and Johor. It was known as the *Undang-Undang kĕrajaan* or *Undang-Undang Dua-bĕlas*. Its contents point to a Pahang source and a section referring to Perak appears to be an addition. Its provisions are brutal but many of its sections have more legal importance than one which enjoins: "If a slave assaults a free-man, there shall be retaliation in kind, after which the slave's hands shall be nailed down and the free-man be at liberty to enjoy the slave's wife, but only until retaliation shall have been effected!"

Laws of Johor.

A translation of a Johor code was printed in Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* 1855, though apparently the original text has been neither printed nor identified. It is based on the Malacca *Hukum Kanun* and on the maritime code ascribed to the time of Sultan Mahmud, but the provisions of the earlier codes have been expanded and refined. For example. The last section reads: "if a man fish at the bow of a vessel while at anchor with a hook and line, and the line be carried down towards the stern and be grasped by any one and the fisher mistake the resistance for a fish and pull and the person be hooked, such person shall become his property, even if it be the commander's concubine."

So much has been done by the *Commissie voor het adatrecht* in publishing the legal "codes" of Sumatra and other parts of the Malay Archipelago, that they would require a volume to describe. It is time that the codes of the Malay Peninsula, embodied in the manuscripts cited, were collected and printed with commentaries, while customary law still affects succession to land and other matters of practical importance. Some study has been devoted to the legal sayings that embody the matriarchal customs of Negri Sembilan but no *Tĕromba* or "code" of these Minangkabau settlers in Malaya has yet been printed, though they exist in manuscript. It was from one such code, now in my possession, that Mr. Wilkinson took most of the quotations for his paper on the '*adat pĕrpateh*' in "Law Part I." of "Papers on Malay Subjects".

XII.

MUNSHI 'ABDU'LLAH.

The greatest innovator in Malay letters, 'Abdu'llah bin 'Abdu'l-Kadir, came of stock and surroundings that had for centuries produced Malay writers. His great-grandfather was an Arab from Yaman, a teacher of Arabic and religion, who migrated to Nagore and married a Tamil woman. Of their sons, one settled in Amboina, two in Java, and the fourth, 'Abdu'llah's grandfather, went to Malacca and married a lady of his own mixed blood, who was head teacher in its Tamil settlement, Kampong Pali, where two hundred children, boys and girls, studied the Kuran, and, if they wished, learnt to read and write Malay. The sons of the marriage grew up linguists, conversant with Malay, Tamil and some Arabic. One of them, 'Abdu'l-Kadir, the father of 'Abdu'llah, combined trading and teaching, taught Malay to William Marsden the lexicographer, and then going inland married a wife at Sungai Baharu, whom he divorced as the climate of her village did not suit him. After that, he got a job with the Dutch harbour-master at Malacca and in 1785 married a Malacca-born Muslim, granddaughter of a Hindu from Kedah. They had four children, all of whom died in infancy, and then in 1796 'Abdu'llah. The English having taken over the Settlement, 'Abdu'l-Kadir traded again, between Malacca and Siak. Later he became captain of a government sailing vessel plying to Kedah and went on official errands to Lingga, Riau, Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan, Palembang and even Java. He collected Malay MSS. for the Batavian government and for three years was interpreter and Malay writer at Riau, till finally he retired to Malacca, where he and his wife both died in 1816. His career is interesting, because substantially it was what the career of his greater son was to be.

Having mastered the Kuran and Arabic, that son 'Abdu'llah devoted two and a half years to learning Tamil, then three or four years to studying Hindustani with sepoys in the British forces at Malacca, and finally some years to acquiring Malay. At that time there were only a few men in the port expert at writing Malay, four of them of foreign extraction and four Malays, while of the younger generation the only student of the language was 'Abdu'llah. As a child he earned pocket money by assisting school-fellows at their Arabic lessons; then he earned his keep and got lessons in Hindustani by writing Kurans for the sepoys; then he assisted his father in his business of writing letters and contracts. In 1811 Raffles, afterwards founder of Singapore, came to Malacca to prepare for the British expedition against Java. In addition to a Malay clerk of Tamil blood, whom he had brought from Penang, he employed 'Abdu'llah, his two uncles and a Tambi Ahmad bin Naina Marikan of Malacca to write letters to native rulers, copy and collect Malay manuscripts and write articles on Malay idioms and poetry. Of manuscripts, 'Abdu'llah tells us, Raffles got about 360 besides poems, verses and occasional pieces,

while others he borrowed and had copied. 'Abdu'llah was to give afterwards in his autobiography, the *Hikayat 'Abdu'llah*, a life-like portrait of his greatest patron, how, for example, he hated the smell of durians and how with eyes closed he would lie flat on his back on the table in his study after dinner, then leap down suddenly and start writing. On the kindness and grace of Mrs. Raffles the young clerk composed some halting verses. 'Abdu'llah wanted to follow Raffles to Java but his mother objected; so Raffles took his uncle Isma'il Lebai, who died at Batavia within a month. A Protestant clergyman, Mr. Milne, came to Malacca, and 'Abdu'llah became *munshi* to him and other missionaries, learning from them English and from their Chinese teacher some Cantonese. Later, when the Anglo-Chinese mission acquired a hand-press, he translated and printed the Ten Commandments, a Vocabulary in Malay and English, an arithmetic, a book of conversations with a washerman and a shoemaker and so on, and several school books. He also helped a German missionary, Mr. Thomsen, in a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew and of the Acts of the Apostles, but Mr. Thomsen obstinately refused to adopt Malay idioms and spellings. The Dutch returned to Malacca and four months after the founding of Singapore in 1819 'Abdu'llah removed there with the Rev. Mr. Thomsen and again met Raffles, becoming once more his writer and teacher and a writer of Malay letters and business documents for the many English and Chinese merchants newly arrived at the port. He packed in three chests six feet long the Malay MSS. which Raffles lost in the burning of the *Fame*. 'Abdu'llah, too, was later to lose all his belongings in a fire at Singapore, when he leapt out of his window from a bed of sickness and forgetting his fever ran out, noting every incident on scraps of Chinese paper to work them up into his *Sha'ir Singapura* (or *Kampong Gêlam*) *Têrbakar*. It was when Colonel Butterworth, a military dandy, was governor, but he was a hero to the Malays:—

*The Governor a man of merit and worth !
The wells were bone dry and of water a dearth
But he ordered the firemen the hose to undo
While hunting for water they ran to and fro.
With green umbrella came the Governor there ;
Rushing around he'd crane and he'd stare.
Perspiring he cared not a jot for the dirt,
Though the smoke of the burning was soiling his shirt.*

From time to time 'Abdu'llah would return to Malacca for a few months to help the missionaries at the *Anglo-Chinese College* study Malay and to set up Malay translations at their printing-press. For three years he stayed there assisting Newbold to compile his well-known book and he helped Begbie a little in his work on *The Malayan Peninsula*. He was in Malacca during the Naning war in 1831 and it was there that in 1835 in collaboration with a Tamil friend he translated the *Panchatanâderan* or Tamil version of the *Panchatantra* into Malay under the title of *Hikayat*

Galilah dan Daminah. Going again to Singapore he translated the rules for the Chamber of Commerce at the request of Mr. Boustead but once more returned to Malacca on account of the illness of a daughter. She died and to allay his grief he composed a tract *Dawa'i Kulub* or "Salve for hearts". Hearing of the arrival of American missionaries and curious to meet a people new to him he sailed again to Singapore and took up his accustomed work. In 1838 he visited the east coast of the Malay Peninsula taking letters from Singapore merchants to the ruler of Kelantan; his experiences he recorded in his *Kesah Pelayaran 'Abdu'llah*. On his return he settled down at Singapore, helped in a revision of the Gospel of St. John and edited the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*. In 1840 his wife died in Malacca and he removed permanently to Singapore, helping the missionary Keasbery in the preparation of a Malay hymn-book, a geography, a translation of "Little Henry and His Nurse" and of a *Kĕjadian Isa*, and in a revision of the *Kitab Injil*, in which he regrets he was not allowed a free hand. His *Autobiography*, the best record of Malayan events of his period, was finished in 1843 and lithographed in 1849: with its vivid sketches of Raffles and other English officials, its interesting picture of Malay life, its naive admiration for gas, steamships, photography and other inventions of the day, its account of his own itinerant career, it has been deservedly a popular book for generations of European students of Malay. Like it, his other well-known work, *The Voyage of 'Abdu'llah*, has been frequently printed and widely read for the light a skilled journalist and sententious critic throws on the turbulent life in the Malay States of the east coast in the years before British protection. In 1854 'Abdu'llah sailed on the pilgrimage to Mecca, with the intention of travelling on to see Constantinople. Indefatigable still, he left notes of his voyage as far as Jeddah, incomplete because a little later he died at Mecca; it is said, of plague. His notes were brought back by a friend and were published under the title *Kesah Pelayaran 'Abdu'llah ka-nĕgĕri Jĕddah*.

'Abdu'llah is the greatest master of an easy colloquial Malay style who has ever lived, taking as his model the conversational passages in the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, which he edited. His vocabulary is very large, making his works difficult for beginners. His style, easy as it is, is not as impeccable as that of the author of "The Malay Annals." Probably acquaintance with English made him too fond of abstract nouns, while his acquaintance with foreign grammar led him to employ many idioms not in accordance with the spirit of the Malay language. Nowhere in classical Malay would one find sentences like *sĕgala hal ahual mĕreka itu sakalian sĕntiasa bĕrsama-sama dĕngan aku*, whatever that may mean to a Malay ignorant of English, or like *tiada-lah kapada-nya timbangan dan kĕnangan atas ra'ayat-nya*, where the real Malay idiom would write something like *tiada-lah ia mĕngĕnangkan ra'ayat-nya atau mĕnimbangkan hal-nya*. Still these are specks in a sun. Only when one reflects on the amount of unintelligible translation from the English that appears in the vernacular press

and elsewhere to-day, can one realize the pains taken by a scholar with few and inferior dictionaries and grammars to help him, and appreciate the genuine greatness of his literary talent. His works, though criticised for Anglophile bias have been an inspiration to generations of Malays. Foreigner though he was, he led them back from an arid desert of euphuism and imitation of foreign models to a realism, that had started in the fifteenth century and is in accord with the genius of a race of extroverts.

XIII.

MALAY POETRY.

(a) *Rhythmical Verse.*

The poetry of Beowulf is in language abrupt and rudely phrased; its lines, rhythmical but not metrical, are padded with stock tags, which the reciter employed to keep the narrative marching when inspiration or memory flagged. More or less uniform in length, the lines of Old English poetry could rarely be scanned and appear to be based on accents that occur with fair regularity. Anglo-Saxon verse, therefore, was very similar to the rugged rhythmical verse that seems to have been the Malay's first essay in poetry, a form still chanted by the medicine-man in his incantations and preserved in the legal maxims, songs of origin and rhapsodist tales of the Minangkabaus, who in their highland Sumatran home were slow to become literate and late to adopt Islam and the Perso-Arabic script, so that even their version of the story of the Queen of Sheba takes the form of a rhythmical recital.

The earliest specimen of this rhythmical verse (now known by the Tamil name of *gurindam*) to which an approximate date can be assigned occurs in certain passages of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, a Sumatran work written between 1350 and 1500:—

*Ayohai dara Zulaikha tingkap !
Bangun apa-lah engkau !
Asal-mu orang terjunan pangiran !
Karna engkau penghulu gundek-ku,
Bergelar Tun Derma 'dikara.
Bangun apa-lah engkau !
Tidak-kah dengar bunyi
Gendërang perang di-Tukasan
Palu taboh-tabohan ?
Hari dinihari, bulan pun terang.*

Ho ! maid, Zulaikha of the window !
Awake thou ! Awake !
Child of those who cast their bodies
Into death fire for their chieftain !
Thou art guardian of my women,
Thou entitled Tun Derma 'dikara.
Awake thou ! Awake !
Dost thou not hear the thudding
Of the war-drums at Tukasan,
Beaten thudding thud on thud
At dawn of day in the light of the moon ?

One may compare this passage, which in rhapsodist style is repeated twice in the *Hikayat*, with any passage from the well-

known Minangkabau tale, *Chindur Mato*, that is still recited from start to finish in rhythmical verse—

*Hëndak kamano hang Barakat ?
Apo-kah titah Bundo Kandung ?
Atau-kah sampai ajal dinai ?
Sampai bilangan sa-hari-ko ?*

Whither, captain, do you hurry ?
What is Bonda Kandong's order ?
Has it come, my fated hour ?
Is my tale of days accomplished ?

Or take some more lines from the *Chindur Mato*—

*Taraju nan tida' banan,
Naracho nan tida' palingan,
Nan bërchupa', nan bërgantang.*

lines of which the Minangkabaus of Negri Sembilan use a variant to describe a full bench of judges, having full authority, swayed only by the weight of evidence and holding the scales of justice even. For allusiveness is the note of all rhythmical verse as also of the *pantun*.

Some even of these tribal sayings rise to poetry in their heightened way of description :—

*Hëndak mënchari pamah yang lebar,
Hëndak mënchari sungai yang mëlurut,
Mëminum ayer bungkul,
Bëralas tidor daun lerek,
Bërbantalkan banir durian.*

We would seek a spacious valley,
We would look for water courses,
Tho' we tap the palm for water,
Sleep with rustling leaves beneath us,
A tree buttress for our pillow.

In origin many must antedate Islam which came late to the highlands of Sumatra, but they have kept pace with the times as, for example, in a Negri Sembilan description of the microcosm on which Allah modelled this macrocosm; the world, a description almost identical in content and rhythm with a passage in a Selangor medicine-man's charm-book :—

*Allah belum bernama Allah,
Muhammad belum bernama Nabi ;
Bumi belum bernama bumi,
Bumi bernama pusat nêgëri ;
Langit belum bernama langit,
Langit bernama payong nêgëri ;
Bumi itu sa-gëdang talam,
Langit itu sa-gëdang payong.*

Ere Allah yet was known as Allah,
Or Muhammad as His prophet,
Ere earth had got the name of earth,
When earth was tiny as a navel;
Ere sky was designated sky,
When it was but a world's umbrella,
Earth no bigger than a salver,
Sky no larger than a sunshade.

Though the rhythm sometimes limps or fails, these incantations often rank with genuine imaginative poetry. There is the magnificent vaunting in a Malay medicine-man's charm for courage:—

Aku bësi ! Tulang aku tẽmbaga !
Aku bërnaama harimau Allah !
Of iron am I ! My bones of brass !
My name is the Tiger of God !

Or there is the address of a Kelantan tapper to the seven souls of the coconut palm :

As-salam alaikum
Putëri si-tokong beser !
Si-gẽdabah mayang !
Putëri tujoh
Dara dang mayang
Mari kẽchil ka-mari !
Mari sënik ka-mari !
Mari burong ka-mari !
Mari halus ka-mari !
Aku mẽmaut leher-mu !
Aku mẽnyanggul rambut-mu !
Aku mẽmbawa sadap gading
Akan mẽmbasoh muka-mu,
Sadap gading mẽranchong kamu,
Kacha gading mẽnadahkan-mu,
Kolam gading mẽnanti di-bawah-mu ;
Bẽrtẽpok bẽrkechar di-dalam kolam gading,
Kolam bërnaama Maharaja bërsalin.

Queens of shorn and dripping locks !
Tired your tresses with palm-blossom !
Seven maiden palm princesses !
Greetings be unto you !
Hither my little ones !
Hither my dainty ones !
Hither soft birdlings !
I bend back the necks of you !
Roll up the folds of the locks of you !
Behold an ivory blade for your cleansing,
An ivory blade to shorten your tresses,
An ivory cup to hold up unto you,
Ivory bath awaiting beneath you !
Clap hands and laugh in ivory bath,
Bath of princesses changing their garments.

This rhythmical verse reached its greatest height in lines of realism combined with an Elizabethan exuberance of imagination, lines like those just quoted or like those in many passages in Malay folk romances. To take examples at random. In the *Hikayat Maalim Dewa* there is a description of trousers of shot silk embroidered with glass plaques and of a coat of foreign muslin :—

*Seluar intan di-karang,
Karangan Hasan dengan Husain ;
Jikalau di-tiup angin selatan,
Mēnghabis tahun, bērkaleh musim.
Bukan-nya kain di-bawah angin,
Kain kēlambu Rasul Allah.*

Trousers beaded o'er with brilliants,
Patterns matching one the other
As Hasan matched his brother Husain :
Let the south wind blow upon them,
Season changes, the year is over.
The muslin was not from our countries ;
'Twas muslin used by Allah's Prophet
For the curtains of his bedstead.

Or, again, there are descriptions of a squall, and of the seven winds :—

*Pertama angin si-charek kafan,
Kedua angin tajam tēmilang,
Ketiga angin puting bēliong,
Kēmpat bēdūl bērjanggut,
Kēlima payong 'Ali,
Kēenam si-lautan tulang
Kētujoh si-hampar rēbah.*

Wind would tear a dead man's shroud,
Wind as sharp as edge of spade,
Wind as keen as tip of axe,
Wind that swoops like bearded shot,
Wind umbrella-like in form,
Wind that fills the sea with bones,
Wind that levels all before it.

Whether he is describing a storm or a kitchen, a pattern in silk, a port, or a girl firing a blunderbuss, the Malay rhapsodist has a keen eye for detail, which is, as it were, fused in the magnificence of his rhodomontade. The most famous of all this rhythmical verse is a description of early morning, where apart from the borrowed figure of "the curtain of the dawn" the effect is gained by an accumulation of familiar detail :—

*Tengah malam sudah tērlampau,
Dinihari belum lagi tampak,
Budak-budak dua kali jaga ;
Orang muda pulang bērtandang ;
Orang tua bērkaleh tidor ;
Embun jantan rintek-rintek ;*

*Bèrbunyi kuang jauh ka-tengah,
 Sèring-lanting riang di-rimba,
 Mèlengoh lembu di-padang,
 Sambut mēnguak kèrbau di-kandang,
 Bèrkokok mandong, mērak mēngigal,
 Fajar sadi' mēnyengseng naik ;
 Kichak-kichau bunyi murai,
 Taptibau mēlambong tinggi,
 Mēnguku balam di-ujong bēndul
 Tērdēngut puyoh panjang bunyi,
 Puntong sa-jēngkal tinggal sa-jari :
 Itu-lah 'alamat hari 'nak siang.*

Long had passed the hour of midnight :
 Not yet visible the daylight ;
 Twice ere now had waking infants
 Risen and sunk again in slumber ;
 Truant youths were wending homeward ;
 Wrapped in sleep were all the elders ;
 Far away were pheasants calling ;
 In forest depths the shrill cicada
 Chirped as heavy dew descended ;
 Lowed the oxen in the meadows,
 Buffaloes from byres responded ;
 Peacocks spread their tails at cock-crow,
 Up rolled the curtain of Aurora ;
 Magpie robins 'gan to chirrup,
 Now aloft were nightjars soaring,
 Pigeons cooed upon the threshold,
 Fitful came the quail's low murmur ;
 Foot-long brands had burned to inches—
 These the signs of day approaching.

But like our own Elizabethans the Malay villager was not content with his own " native wood-notes wild " and, just as we welcomed a Renaissance that came through Italy from Greece and Rome, so " up rolled the curtain of Aurora " and the Malay welcomed a Renaissance that came through India from Persia and Arabia.

Rhapsodist recitations left to Malay prose a legacy of balance and antithesis, like the antiphons of the Psalms, a device due not only to the need of chanting passages twice over for the ears of an audience liable to inattention but also to the relief afforded to a reciter, whose memory and inventiveness could not be at full stretch all the time.

(b) *The Sha'ir.*

While on analogy one may surmise that rhythmical verse was the earliest form of Malay poetry, the oldest form of which we have authentic record is a type of verse given the Arabic name of *sha'ir* on a tombstone found at Minye Tujoh in Acheh, between the rivers of Pasai and Jambu Ayer, rivers mentioned in the *Chronicles of Pasai*. The inscription is in an Indian alphabet having a strong

affinity with the alphabet found on inscriptions of the Sumatran king, Adityavarman of Malayu, and it records the death on *Friday* 14 *Dzu'l-hijjah* in 781 A.H., that is 1380 A.D., of a princess of the Muslim Faith, of a royal house that ruled Kedah and Pasai. The reading is in places uncertain as also is the connection of this tombstone with another found at the same spot recording in Arabic the death on *Friday* 14 *Dzu'l-hijjah* 791 A.H., that is 1389 A.D., of a "Queen Alalah (?), daughter of the late Sultan Malik az-Zahir, a former Khan, son of his father the Khan of Khans—may Allah cover him with His satisfaction." It would appear that the two inscriptions refer to the same person, and anyhow the *sha'ir* form of the Indo-Sumatran inscription is indubitable. I quote the transliteration and translation by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim:—

1. *Hijrat nabi mungstapa yang prasaddha*
2. *Tajoh ratus asta puloh savarssa*
3. *Hajji catur dan dasa vara sukra*
4. *Raja iman (varda) rahmatallah*
5. *Gutra bha(ru)bha sa(ng)mpu hak kadah pase ma*
6. *Tarukk tasih tanah samuha*
7. *Ilahi ya rabbi tuhan samuha*
8. *Taroh dalam svargga tuhan tatuha.*

Mungstapa stands for the Arabic *mustafa*; *prasadda* must be *prasiddha* 'deceased'; *varda* is uncertain and might be read *yarda*; *bha(ru)bha* or *bha(ru)bhasa* may stand for Broach in Gujerat, which was written by the Greeks Barygaza and by the Hindus Bharukaccha; *pase* might be read *rase* and the reading of the next line is very uncertain. These are Dr. Stutterheim's comments and he translates the two verses:—

1. After the Flight of the Prophet, the Chosen One,—she who departed
2. Seven hundred and eighty and one year,
3. Dzu'l-hijjah the fourteenth, Friday
4. (Was) a queen of the Faith, *varda* Mercy of Allah
5. (Of) the House Bharubha (?) which owns the possessions, Kedah and Pasai.
6. Having sprouts . . . all the world
7. My God, O my Lord, Master of all,
8. Place in heaven our supreme mistress.

I have ventured to differentiate *tuhan* from *rabbi* and alter Dr. Stutterheim's "Lord" to "Master" and "Mistress", and I have also changed his "has rights on" to "owns the possessions", and his "first" to "supreme". Line 6 must be corrupt for something like "all the trees, seas and lands". *Varda* must be some equivalent for *ilahi* "on her". These speculations, however, are irrelevant to our present concern, the verse form, which may be

compared with any *sha'ir* verse, as for example the beginning of the *Sha'ir Ken Tambuhan* :—

*Dengarkan tuan kesah bĕrmula,
Chĕritĕra-nya ratu di-Jĕnggala,
Asal-nya dari Bĕtara Kala,
Nĕgĕri-nya bĕsar tidak bĕrchĕla.*

And it is, in fact, down to this *sha'ir* from the Panji cycle that we come next after leaving those memorial verses of the fourteenth century. None of the MSS. of the *Sha'ir Ken Tambuhan* may be very old, but in spite of Arabic loan-words the poem has all the marks of the spacious days of the fifteenth century, Kawi words like *lalangun* "garden", Javanese forms like *ngambara* and *ngulurkan*, a copious vocabulary, and a knowledge of Hindu mythology with a classic style at times as polished and vigorous as the heroic couplet of Pope but oftener monotonous from trite rhymes.

*Sĕdia tĕrdiri di-padang saujana
Dĕngan marah-nya tĕrlalu bena,
Sikap-nya sapĕrti Sang Rajuna
Tatkala mĕmĕchahkan pĕrang Astina.*

* * * *

*Kĕdua-nya mĕnjĕlis tĕrlalu bena
Sapĕrti Sĕri-Kandi dĕngan Rajuna*

* * * *

*Asal kĕsoma titian dewata,
Kĕmbali-lah paras bagai di-pĕta ;
Paras yang mĕnjĕlis pulang-lah sĕdia,
Sapĕrti Bĕtara Kĕrma Wijaya.*

The classic style can give nothing better than the fancy and the vowels of *asal kĕsoma titian dewata* "sprung from a flower on which the gods of fairy-land alighted" on their visits to earth, though one may prefer the homelier nose-gays of the village *pantun*.

The gods in this Panji poem are still *dewata mulia raya* and there is no mention of Allah or His Prophet. There are several recensions but the gist of the plot is the same in all. The hero marries Ken Tambuhan, one of his mother's maids but really a princess. Enraged at this frustration of her plan to marry him to a princess of Banjar Kulun, his mother persuades him to go hunting and has Ken Tambuhan decoyed into the forest by a false summons from the hero to come to him. There she is murdered. On his way home the hero sees her body afloat on a raft, and stabs himself. His father impales the murderer and condemns the wicked queen to become keeper of his hounds. There some MSS. stop but in others the king prays and burns incense until Batara Kala restores the dead pair to life—

*Malam pun hampir akan siang,
Sĕgala dĕwa-dĕwa habis mĕlayang,
Baginda laksana mĕndam kĕpayang,
Bĕtara Kala pun datang bĕrbayang.*

The hero marries his other betrothed. He also goes in quest of the Coco-de-mer (*buah pauh Zanggi*), which is on an island where lives Kenchana Wati, formerly a fairy Blue Lotus, guarded by a Garuda, once her lover Sangyang Durga Nata. By the Garuda he is captured and imprisoned until his son grows up and rescues him, killing the Garuda by a magic arrow got from a *dewa*, whom the youth had released from tiger form. The most famous passage is near the beginning of the poem and describes the wooing of Ken Tambuhan by the hero when he grasps her shuttle and seizes her hand, and here again as in the bas-reliefs of Javanese sculpture and as in passages from the *Hikayat Pandawa Jaya* we get a note of joy and beauty never again recaptured in Malay literature.

The catalogues show other Malay poems from a Javanese source, a *Sha'ir Damar Bulan*, a *Sha'ir Undakan Agong Udaya*, *Sha'ir Jaran Tamasa*, a *Sha'ir Angreni* unintelligible to Malays, a *Sha'ir Panji Sumirang* spirited but far later in style than the poem on Ken Tambuhan.

Just as the Malay poet has used Javanese romance, so too he has adapted to his purpose the Indian romance of the transition.

The *Sha'ir Si-lindong Dalima* alias *Sēri Bēnian* or *Indra Laksana* contains several of the commonest episodes of the Indian *hikayat*. It opens like the folk-romance of Malim Deman and the *Kedah Annals* with a kingdom, here Bandan Pirus, destroyed by a Garuda. Its ruler Dewa Pri is killed but his daughter Seri Benian is put in an iron chest and his son Bang Sakara in a *bangsi* and both are saved. While Bang Sakara is building a boat for them to leave their devastated home, Seri Benian eats a pomegranate and so conceives, Dewa Laksana having transformed himself into the fruit. She bears a girl child, Si Dang Dalima, whom she puts in a chest; giving it to her brother, she begs him to take it on all his travels but not to open it. She dies and her brother sails to a kingdom whose king has died. He is chosen by that *deus ex machina* of Indian folk-lore, a sagacious elephant, to fill the vacant throne. He weds the seven daughters of the dead ruler and gives his chest to the youngest and dearest. Her elder sisters, against their consorts' order, open the box and find a lovely girl, whom they ill-treat, lest she win the king's heart. But one day when Bang Sakara is sailing to Tanjong Puri, the kitchen girl begs him to fetch her a black stone and a piece of rattan from Bandu island, predicting storm and contrary winds if he forgets. He does forget and is driven off his course till he fetches the stone and the rattan. Of the rattan the kitchen maid makes a swing, but her ill-treatment continues until one day Bang Sakara discovers she is his niece and hands over his six wives, her tormentors, to become her sluts and servitors, though she soon shows pity and forgives. With her magic stone and rattan she calls up her mother Seri Benian and her father Dewa Laksana. Dewa Laksana worsts the Garuda and restores Seri Benian to her father's kingdom. He gives his daughter in marriage to Raja Udara, son of Raja 'diwangsa, ruler of Tanjong Puri.

Not far removed in plot from the poem on Seri Benian is the long poem on *Bidasari* and it is equally full of Indian folklore. Another Garuda ravages Kambayat (whence Pasai and Malacca bought their tomb-stones) and drives its king and queen into the jungle, where the queen gives birth to a daughter. Unable to carry the child on their flight they leave her beside a river where she is found by a merchant of Indrapura. He gives the infant to his daughter, who names her Bidasari. Jealous of the girl's beauty, the queen of Indrapura so persecutes her for fear the king may marry her that her foster father builds her a lonely dwelling outside the town. There, however, the king comes hunting and weds her. Meanwhile the king of Kambayat had returned to his kingdom and begotten a son so like Bidasari that her identity is revealed. During the consequent festivities her brother rescues a princess Mandudari from an enchanted castle and marries her.

Other romantic *sha'ir* have more Muslim colouring, and are more suited to modern taste. There is the *Sha'ir 'Abdu'l-Muluk*. This Sultan of Barbary had married his cousin and foster-sister Siti Rahmat. Soon after his succession he visited Ban and married Rafiah, a daughter of its ruler. On his return he was attacked by Shahabu'd-din, Sultan of Hindustan, whose uncle had been imprisoned by the father of 'Abdu'l-Muluk and had died. 'Abdu'l-Muluk and Rahmat are captured and thrown into prison, Rahmat refusing to wed her captor. Rafiah had escaped into the jungle and in the house of a hermit bore a son. Leaving the infant there she dons male attire and under the name of Dura reaches Hindustan, where finding the people discontented she leads a rebellion, dethrones Shahabu'd-din and throws him into prison where he died. She frees her consort and Rahmat. 'Abdu'l-Muluk becomes king of Hindustan and her son 'Abdu'l-Ghani, summoned with the hermit to Hindustan, is chosen to succeed to the throne of Ban.

One can in fact mark the same evolution of sentiment in the many *sha'ir* of this romantic type as in the conventional *hikayat*. Occasionally a prose work like the *Hikayat Indraputera* or *Hikayat Pelandok Jinaka* is versified.

Except for the memorial verses of 1380, the earliest verse in *sha'ir* form of known date are the religious poems of Hamzah of Barus (p. 96 *supra*), the *Sha'ir Dagang*, *Sha'ir Si Burong Pingai*, *Sha'ir Pèrahu* and others with Arabic names descriptive of their mystic contents, poems that owe a debt to the erotic rhapsodies of Persian mystics and are so full of Arabic words as to be unintelligible to the ordinary Malay. At the same time, as his editor Dr. Doerenbos has noticed, Hamzah's poetry is full of tags from the *pantun*. In spite of obscurity these poems struck a new note in Malay poetry and unlike so much of it are sensuous and passionate.

Satukan hangat dan dingin,
Tinggalkan loba dan ingin,
Hanchor hendak seperti lilin,
Mangka-nya dapat kerja-mu lichen.

When heat and cold have become the same,
 With greed and desire each an idle name,
 And your self's like wax resolved in the flame,
 Then smooth in the end you'll find life's game.

*Hunuskan pĕdang, bakarkan sarong,
 Ithbatkan Allah, napikan patong,
 Laut tauhid yogia kau-harong,
 Di-sana-lah ĩngkau tĕmpat bĕrnaung.*

Burn the sheathe and draw the blade !
 Be idols abandoned and Allah obeyed !
 In the ocean of God you must plunge and wade,
 For there is your place of protecting shade.

There have been many verses written on religious and moral subjects since the time of Hamzah but none have had his fire and gusto.

Another class of *sha'ir* is the topical. Midway between this class and the romantic stands the famous *Sha'ir Silambari* called also *Sha'ir Sinyor Costa* or *Sinyor Gilang*. "A trifle but pretty", it has been termed, and it is alive and vivid and novel in style and topic, being in fact one of the few genuinely Malay works as opposed to translations and adaptations. One of the MSS. which makes the hero a merchant from Batavia was written by Mahmud Badaru'd-din, a Sultan of Palembang who in 1821 was banished to Ternate, but his MS. seems to differ from the version so often lithographed at Singapore and there appears insufficient reason to decide that he was the original author. The poem is in colloquial Malay, employing words like *bilang* for "tell" and it has one or two Batavian words like *chĕlana* "trousers" and *sore* "evening". It depicts an old-world harbour with a fort, Chinese, Javanese, Indian and Balinese quarters, a heroine from Pegu or Burma, a husband from Canton, a procuress from Bali, a lover from Portugal rowed by men from Bandan :—

*Sinhor turun dari kapal,
 Dĕngan fetur orang Portugal,
 Sama-sama dĕngan fiskal,—
 Aĕgĕn kĕras sangat sakal.*

The Portuguese lover sees the Burmese mistress and gets the old Balinese woman to "needle the way" for him. Her first attempt fails, so she rubs civet on the girl's handkerchief as a love charm and the Portuguese lover carries her off to his ship and defeats a fleet of Chinese boats sent to get her back. The vignettes are brilliant—

*Lalu turun milam balu,
 Buang lambai sambil lalu,
 Angkat tabek teleng ulu,
 Bagai mĕrak kirai bulu.*

The window from Bali came down ;
 As she passed, gave a wave to the town ;
 Saluting she tilted her crown,
 Like a peacock a-preening its down.

To the end of the XVIIIth century belongs a poem on the exploits of a Dutch General Speelman at Makassar. To the middle of the next century, when van Imhoff was Governor-General, belongs a poem in Batavian Malay entitled *Sha'ir Kompèni Wolanda bërperang dèngan China*. The XIXth century saw innumerable topical verses, among others a *Sha'ir Resident de Brouwe*, a *Sha'ir perang China di-Montrado*, a *Sha'ir Pangeran Sharif Hashim* on a war in Banjarmasin in 1862, and a poem on the Achinese War, while Engku Haji Ahmat of Penyengat wrote verses on a voyage by Engku Putri, sister of Raja Muda Ja'far, from Riau to Lingga in 1831. Versifiers in the Malay Peninsula were equally prolific. Munshi 'Abdu'llah wrote his doggerel on the fire at Singapore when he lost his possessions and jumped out of a sick bed to watch and record the efforts of Governor Butterworth and others to extinguish the flames. There are verses on the Russo-Turkish War of 1854, on the Perak War, on the Eruption of Krakatau, on Malay pearl-fishers in Australia. Some of these topical poems were composed by locally born Chinese. One Na Tian Pet of Bengkulen wrote a *Sha'ir* on Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johor. Many of these verses were circulated only in manuscript. It was, for example, only the accident of his friendship with me that led to the printing of any poems by Raja Haji Yahya of Chendriang, whom Sir Frank Swettenham had styled Perak's Poet Laureate.

Recent times have seen a great crop of short *sha'ir* erotic and didactic. Raja Hasan, a son of the author of the *Tuhfat al Nafis*, wrote a didactic poem *Sha'ir Unggas* or *Sha'ir Burong* in 1859. His sister, Raja Kalzum, wrote a *Sha'ir Saudagar Bodoh* on a rich but foolish merchant who failed under the test imposed by his wife but was saved by her. Another sister, Safiah, wrote a *Sha'ir Kumbang Mèngindëra*. In prose romances like the *Hikayat Koraish* love-verses are bandied between fishes, in the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* between peacocks. And though those verses are in *pantun* form, their setting may have suggested the many short poems like those on the Owl in love with the Moon, the Lory who dreamt he had plucked a *chèmpaka* blossom, the Shad who loved a climbing Perch, the Bee and the Jasmine, the Fly and the Mosquito, the lowly Sparrow and the lordly Hornbill and so on. Some of them may have been based on scandals in real life. In the verses on the Shad's love for the Climbing Perch H. C. Klinkert detected a Siak refusal of a Malacca proposal for a royal marriage and he considered that the *Sha'ir Bunga Ayer Mawar* was an imitation of it. But Professor van Ronkal has traced the Persian original of the *Sha'ir Unggas* and points out that Persians first sang of the nightingale's love for the rose. As late as 1905 there was printed at Singapore a new *Sha'ir Perchintaan* the story of Nurdin and Nurkiah, purporting to be from the Persian. Few of the short *sha'ir* have literary merit, being to European taste at any rate monotonous in theme and rhymes. The *Sha'ir Ikan Tërobok dan Puyu-Puyu*, the verses on the Shad and the Climbing Perch, are among the cleverer and less trite. Most of these *sha'ir* are sprink-

led with *pantun*. But the vogue of the *sha'ir* seems to be dying with the advance of European ideas and the coming of the cinema.

(c) The *Pantun*.

The origin of the word *pantun* is doubtful. It has been taken for a *krama*-form of the Javanese *pari* (from the Sanskrit *paribhasya* or Malay *pərbahasa*), as *intan* "diamond" is a *krama*-form of the Sanskrit *hira* and *jintan* "caraway-seed" of the Sanskrit *jira*: *pari*, it is said, is a synonym for *basa* meaning "phrase, comparison". It has been taken to be a *krama*-form of a Javanese word *parik* from a root *rik* or *rit* meaning "make, fashion". Dr. Brandstetter would derive it from an Indonesian root *tun*, that can be traced in old Javanese *tuntun* "thread", *atuntun* "in lines", Pampangan *tuntun* "regular", Tagalog *tonton* "to speak in a certain order." And this derivation is supported by the analogy of other Indonesian words that starting from roots meaning "row, line" come to mean "words arranged" in prose or in verse, just as in Sundanese *pantun* means "a long tale with some rhythmical passages and chanted to music" and in Malay "quatrains": *karangan*, the Malay word for "composition in prose or verse" means primarily "arrangement of flowers in order". It seems clear, therefore, that the use of the phrase *sa-pantun* for "like" is secondary and derivative, just as the Malay use of the Sanskrit *umpama* and the Arabic *'ibarat* as synonyms for *pantun* is recent and derivative.

In the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* the word *pantun* is used both of quatrains and of figurative sayings such as *rosak bawang di-timpa jambak* "the bulb is spoilt by the weight of its bloom", that is, a useful life is ruined by inordinate display, or *pagar makan padi* "the fence devours the crop", that is, the cost of production eats up the profits or the guardian betrays his trust. And like the Sundanese, Malays were fond of riddles depending solely on irrelevant sound suggestion for their point or "simile".

Ujong bëndul dalam sèmak

which means nothing except "the end of the threshold is in scrub" has for answer to its sound

Kërbau mandul banyak lèmak

which means "a barren buffalo-cow has plenty of fat". There is no relevancy but sound suggestion between

Sa-lilit Pulau Përcha,

Sa-lembang tanah Mèlayu

and its solution

Sa-lilit detar di-kèpala

Ikat pinggang dalam baju

or between

Lëmbing atas tangga,

Përisai atas busut

and

Këning atas mata,

Misai atas mulut.

Those who look for a meaning in the first half of every Malay quatrain would do well to bear in mind that the challenging couplet in these jungling riddles is generally nonsense.

Perhaps because they were translations, neither the Malay versions of the Hindu epics nor old recensions of the Panji tales nor the Malay texts of Muslim epics like Amir Hamza contain any *pantun*. The first appearance of these quatrains is in the *Sējarah Melayu* and in the *hikayat* or popular romance from India and inset in the poems of Ken Tambuhan. Their literary debut belongs, therefore, to the fifteenth century, though in popular song it must have been far older. It would seem that they were begotten by the jingling riddle of Indonesia, perhaps on the Indian *sēloka*, which had "four lines of eight syllables each, only four of them fixed in quantity, the others being at option long or short." Overbeck has quoted *sēloka* from the *Ramayana* (Book IX., canto 9 translated by Dutt) and from the *Sakuntala* (Acts IV. 2 and V., translated by A. W. Ryder) reminiscent in sentiment and wording of the *pantun*. Malay literature speaks of both *sēloka* and *pantun* generally in the same context but, it would appear, differentiating them. The difference would seem to be that the *sēloka* is the *sha'ir* verse of the XIVth century, namely one with all four lines rhyming, while in the *pantun* the first line rhymes with the third and the second with the fourth. Yet another difference is, that while the first two lines of the *pantun* are allusive, all four lines of the *sēloka* are clear and part of the same concept :—

*Anak dara dua sa-pasang,
Pakai baju pakai kerosang,
Sa-biji nanas, sa-biji pisang,
Belum tahu rēzēki musang.*

Two young maids of beauty fair
In gold so fine and silk so rare ;
They sit yet guileless, unaware
When fruit is ripe the civet's there.

In the *pantun* the relevancy of the first two lines of the quatrain to the last two is often as remote as it is in Chinese odes, and it is possible that in the cosmopolitan port of Malacca the Chinese too had a hand in moulding the Malay *pantun* to its present shape : certainly for many decades or even centuries the Straits-born Chinese have been ardent improvisers of these quatrains. In each stanza of a Chinese ode, "before coming to the real object of the poem, in one or two lines a peculiar natural phenomenon, a well-known event or occurrence is mentioned as an introduction, not unlike a clever arabesque, in order to prepare reflection, sensation and the state of mind for that which follows." To take examples translated in Mr. C. Cranmer Byng's "The Book of Odes" :—

Green is the upper robe,
Green with a yellow lining.
My sorrow none can probe,
Nor can I cease repining.

Green is the upper robe,
 The lower robe is yellow.
 My sorrow none can probe
 Nor any reason mellow.

Or again, take the last of three verses on slander all introduced by a sketch of blue-flies on the wing :—

The clumsy blue flies buzzing round
 Upon the hazels blunder.
 O cursed tongue that knows no bound
 And sets us two asunder.

Most Malay *pantun* contain in their first couplets this reference to some well-known event or some private experience of village life :—

*Pulau Pinang bandar-nya baharu,
 Kapitan Light mēnjadi raja ;
 Jangan di-kēnang zaman dahulu,
 Dudok mēngalir ayer mata.*

Betel-Nut Isle has a brand new town
 With Captain Light for a king.
 Sit not and sigh for days that are gone
 Lest the tears to your eyelids spring.

Or

*Tēritip di-tēpi kota,
 Mari di-kayoh sampan pēngail.
 Imam khatib lagi bērdosa,
 Bērtambah pula kita yang jahil.*

Let's paddle, dear, by yonder fort,
 Where barnacles cuddle the wall.
 May we not err of layman sort
 When priests and deacons fall.

There is a stock formula used, when one cannot guess the answer to a riddle, that may throw light on the common occurrence of place-names in the first couplet of a *pantun*. If one fails to solve a riddle, it is customary to say to the propounder, "I'll give you such and such a place or mountain, if you will enlighten me." The folk-tale of *Awang Sulong* is full of such quatrains as

*Pulau Pandan jauh ka-tengah
 Di-balek Pulau Angsa Dua.
 Hanchor-lah badan di-kandong tanah,
 Budi yang baik di-kēnang jua.*

Pandan Isle's beyond the wave,
 Hid by the Island of Two Geese.
 Our bones lie hidden in the grave
 But not the memory of good deeds.

Few, however, even of first couplets that have a meaning are as simple as these to unravel.

For the Malay cannot get away from his jingling riddles. Every girl knows that if her mother reels off the name of four fishes: *siakap sēnohong gulama ikan duri*, she is saying politely *bērchakap pun bohong, lama-lama mēnchuri* "If you start by lying, you'll end by stealing". In a tiff with her lover a girl remarks *pinggan ta'rētak, nasi ta' dingin* "if the plate were not cracked, the rice would not be cold", a remark that has nothing but its assonance to suggest her real retort: *Engkau ta' hēndak, kami ta' ingin* "You no likee me, I no likee you". And this popular leaning to limericks inspires in their singers quatrains with no connection between the two couplets but sound-suggestion.

*Ka-Tēlok sudah, ka-Siam sudah,
Ka-Mēkkah sahaja sahaya yang bēlum.
Bērpēlok sudah, bērchium sudah,
Bērnīkah sahaja sahaya yang bēlum.*

The sound allusion may be to some phrase that is not cited openly at all. Take a quatrain in the "Malay Annals," composed after the burning of a fort in Pahang:—

*Kota Pahang di-makan api
Antara Jati dēngan Bentan.
Bukan ku-larang kamu bērlaki,
Bukan bagitu pērjanjian.*

"A fort consumed by fire", a girl difficult of access consumed by desire—these to a Malay are close parallels. "Between Jati and Bentan" has no geographical foundation but at once suggests *antara hati dēngan janlong* "between heart and liver", a phrase symbolical of the very house of passion. So we reach a proper prelude to the last couplet and the quatrain implies

Ah! hot I see a fortress burning—
I'd hint not say your heart's afire:
'Tis not that I'd suppress your yearning
Forbid you, lady, wed your squire.

"Concentration and suggestion are the two essentials of Chinese poetry," Mr. Cranmer Byng writes. "A favourite form of their verse is the 'stop-short', a poem containing only four lines concerning which another critic has explained that only the words stop, while the sense goes on. But what a world of meaning is to be found between four lines." There is a verse given in Marsden's "Malay Grammar":—

*Kērēngga di-dalam buloh
Sērāhi bērsi ayer mawar
Sampai hasrat di-dalam tuboh
Tuan sa-orang jadi pēnawar.*

or, as Marsden translated it literally:

Large ants in the bambu-cane
A flasket filled with rose-water:
When the passion of love seizes my frame
From you alone I can expect the cure.

What insufferable nonsense, one thinks ! And yet it has a very real and rather pretty meaning for the Malay, and should be understood by any one who has felt the bite of the ant named.

Red ants in a bamboo—the passion
That tortures my frame is like you ;
But like flask of rose-water in fashion
Is the cure my dear flame can bestow.

The " Malay Annals " contain a verse on the fate of one Tun Jana Khatib who came, a rolling stone, as we should say, from Pasai to Singapore, and seeing its raja's wife look at him from a palace-window exercised his magic on an areca palm splitting it by his gaze, a *faux pas* (or coincidence) for which the raja had him executed. Dying thus at Singapore, he was according to one account buried in Langkawi island and his contemporaries concocted a quatrain :—

*Tēlor itek dari Singgora
Pandan tērlēlak di-langkahi.
Darah-nya itek di-Singapura,
Badan-nya tērhantar di-Langkawi.*

Pijnappel explained this, by saying that as Singgora was far off and the frond at a man's feet is near, the first couplet alludes to the distance between the scene of Tun Jana's death and the scene of his burial. His interpretation erred not in principle but in detail. Ducks' eggs (that are often given to hens to hatch) typify the friendless rolling stone and fragility ; fronds of screw-pine laid before one typify the white soft screw-pine mats found in Malay houses and which it is discourteous to tread with shod feet ; typifies, therefore, by extension, a fair woman who flings herself down before a lover but whose advances he ought to meet with the utmost tact. So the verse may be paraphrased :—

A rolling stone, afar he wandered,
Was broke for bold offence he gave ;
In Singapore his blood was squandered,
Remote Langkawi holds his grave.

Van Ophuijsen, criticizing Pijnappel's theory that there exists relation between the component couplets of a *pantun*, asked how the theory would explain a verse like

*Satu dua tiga enam,
Satu dan enam jadi tujuh.
Buah dēlima yang dī-tanam
Buah bērangan hanya tumbuh.*

Well, there is another quatrain of almost identical sentiment :—

*Satu tangan bilangan lima,
Dua tangan bilangan sa-puloh
Sahaya bērtanam biji dēlima,
Apa sēbab pēria tumbuh ?*

And in both these verses the singer is appealing to the inconceivable of the opposite in mathematics as a reason for wonder-

ment at the apparent exception to a law of nature in his nursery bed. "One, two, three, six, one plus six makes seven" is enough to convey to the Malay mind that a gardener counting his plants finds their tale complete but is astonished to discover a chestnut growing where he had planted a pomegranate, or, as one may render the second version,

I find one hand has fingers five,
I count up ten upon the two :
What is the matter, man alive,
Pomegranate planted and gourd grew !

But the conundrum of their first couplets waived, these quatrains illustrate another difficulty to be overcome. The Malay language of fruits and flowers and plants and birds has to be mastered. Parallels in the cultural history of other races will help a little. The holy basil, *sulasi* as it is spelt in Raffles' MS. of the *Hikayat Birma Shahdan* or *sēlaseh* as Malays now render it, was in India the symbol of happy wedlock, pervaded by the essence of Vishnu and Lakshmi and annually married to Krishna in every Hindu family ; so that not only the coincidence of its name may make it an invariable prelude to the mention of *kēkaseh* in the *pantun*. With this knowledge it becomes easy to understand such a verse as

*Kalau roboh kota Mēlaka—
Sayang sēlaseh di-dalam puan :
Kalau sunggoh bagai di-kata,
Rasa 'nak mati di-pangku tuan.*

Malacca fort it cannot fall !
My love, she could not lie.
As dies the basil in yonder tray,
In her arms would I die.

It is not impossible to detect the simile of "the sweet apple that reddens upon the topmost branch" in the verse

*Buah bēřēmbang, buah bēdara,
Masak sa-runtai dua runtai.
Bēřsubang di-sangha dara,
Bagai mumbang di-tēbok tupai.*

I took her for a goodly fruit,
Just ripening on the branch, I said :
Recked not the nut a squirrel bored
That she wore earrings not a maid.

Only before one can tackle the simile of the first couplet, one must know that a young coconut bored by a squirrel is a Malay euphemism for a maid deflowered and that earrings are a symbol of virginity. Often quite intelligible simile is blurred by expression in the terms of an unfamiliar botany. It is easy to understand that a pomegranate stands as a simile for the purple lips of the Eastern beauty and the bitter gourd as a symbol of disappointment, or that sour limes offered by a girl's parents to a deputation from a suitor mean that the errand has set their teeth on edge. But one must

know the plant before one can appreciate the coarse scorn in the offer of a bowl of *kēmahang* (or *kēlēmbahang*) to a gadding woman. One must be aware that *kēmboja* 'frangipani' is planted in Malay cemeteries, before mention of it in a first couplet can make one alert for allusion to death in the second. When it is known that betel-vine leaf and areca-nut are always taken together, that *sireh kuning* "ripe yellow betel-vine leaf" in the language of intrigue is a golden-skinned frail beauty ripe to fall, and that *pinang muda* "unripe areca-nut" symbolizes a go-between who does not await the ripening of the nut, which is indispensable at formal plightings of troth, only then can one interpret the quatrain

*Sireh kuning dari Pētani,
Pinang muda dari Mēlaka.
Puteh kuning anak Sērani,
Ini mēmbawa badan chēlaka.*

A golden morsel from Patani,
And that Malacca go-between.
A golden girl, a fair Nasrani,
'Tis she has racked me with this teen.

And many a verse will become easier to interpret, if one knows that *pinang muda di-bēlah dua* signifies the affinity of twin souls.

Or take another verse :—

*Buah mēngkudu ku-sangka kandis,
Kandis tērlētak dalam puan ;
Gula madu ku-sangka manis,
Manis lagi sēnyum-mu, tuan.*

"I thought the *Morinda tinctoria* was a *Garcinia nigrolineata* and that too served up on a tray." It requires an intimate knowledge of Malay fruits to recognize that the singer is comparing his old love to a distasteful plum and his new to a sweet berry, and that the quatrain means

For berry sweet a dainty offering
The sorry plum awhile I took.
Ah ! sweeter far than yester's honey
Is your sweet smile and your dear look.

Van Ophuijsen has pointed out that among the Mandailings of Sumatra lovers employ a language of leaves. "If a lad sends his lass leaves of the *sitarak*, *hadungdung*, *sitata*, *sitanggis*, *padom-padom*, and *pahu*, then she knows his love-letter means, 'Since our parting I cannot sleep but have been in tears'. *Sitarak* rhymes with *marsarak* 'divorce, part,' *hadungdung* with *dung* 'after', *sitata* with *tila* 'we', *sitanggis* with *tangis* 'weep', *padom-padom* with *madom* 'sleep', *pahu* with *au* 'I'." Also a Malay of Si-Boga will present his bride with a *bēlanak* "mullet" that she may have the luck to *bēranak* "have a child". The Bugis make similar bridal offerings of a shell-fish and a creeper to wish wealth and prosperity, and Javanese hucksters will wear a tuft of *casuarina*

(*chēm ira*) to attract customers, because the word *mara* means "approach". It has been suggested therefore that behind its frequent use of Malayan flora and its jingling assonance the *pantun* may conceal the forgotten code of a *tabu* language. Certainly no trace can be identified to-day. No Malay now sends *jati* "teak" to his mistress to denote that she has won his *hati* "heart" and no girl sends *padi* to her love to imply *jadi* "I'll give you a date". Moreover, whatever may have been the language of the original *pantun*, there have since been composed hundreds with no cryptic jargon of fish or flower in their first couplets. The theory of assonance alone is broad enough to cover not only the origin of a possible herbalist love-code but all those quatrains that have no other connection at all between the couplets except the compulsion of rhyme.

The *pantun* in its simplest form is a single quatrain complete in itself. And it looks as if many of those extant to-day may even antedate the use of the Arabic script. The *Hikayat Bërma Shahdan*, which bears all the marks of a XVth century product of Malacca, contains, for example, verses with lines and phrases still in common use and presumably trite even then :—

*Sëlaseh jangan-lah tinggi,
Jika tinggi, bërdaun jangan ;
Këkaseh tuan, jangan-lah përgi
Jikalau përgi, bërtaahun jangan.¹*

*Burong terbang mënarek rotan,
Lalu mënghinggap di-kayu jati.
Tujoh gunong tujoh lautan
Bëlum ku-dapat bëlum bërhtënti.¹*

Or take two specimens from the XVIIth century *Hikayat Koraish Mëngindëra* :—

*Aku pëngapa padi-ku ini ;
Jika di-lurut, pëchah batang-nya.
Aku pëngapa hati-ku ini ;
Jika di-turut, susah datang-nya.¹*

*Jika di-lurut, pëchah batang-nya,
Di-sambar ayam dëngan biji-nya.
Jika di-turut, susah datang-nya,
Gëmpar-lah 'alam dëngan isi-nya.¹*

The mystic poetry of Hamzah of Barus (d. circa 1630) is full of tags from *pantun* that were even then obviously part of every versifier's stock-in-trade : *sudah-lah nasib untong yang malang, anak piatu hina dan miskin, baik-baik di-rantau orang, habis bulan bërganti tahun, sudah-lah nasib di-rundong malang.*

Quatrains are bandied between boy and girl, between the parents of bride and the parents of groom at betrothal and weddings, between a dancer and her partner. Out of a big

¹Cf. *Pantun Melayu*, R. J. Wilkinson and R. O. Winstedt, Singapore 1923 : Nos. 585, 184, 30, 31.

repertory the singers choose quatrains associated by custom or, if they are clever, change and adapt old verses or invent new. Excellent examples of such contests in folk verse may be read in the *Hikayat Awang Sulong* or one may turn to the more elaborate and literary efforts of romances like the *Hikayat Indëra Mëngindëra* or the *Hikayat Koraish Mëngindëra*, where the second and fourth lines of one quatrain are used for the first and third of the next. The ballad celebrating Raja Haji's attack on Malacca in 1784 achieves these acrobatics in verse but I will take an example from an unpublished MS. of the *Hikayat Koraish Mëngindëra*.

*Ikan duri di-atas batu,
 Ikan sêpat di-padang sawjana :
 Putëri yang baik buat mënantu,
 Sifat-nya lëngkap tujuh laksana.*

*Ikan sêpat di-padang sawjana,
 Mati di-patok anak gëroda :
 Sifat-nya lëngkap tujuh laksana,
 Patut-lah dëngan paduka bonda.*

*Mati di-patok anak gëroda,
 Pandai mëlompat ka-dalam bërunda ;
 Patut-lah dëngan paduka bonda.
 Pandai mëngambil hati baginda.*

This may be paraphrased :—

A cat-fish lay upon a rock,
 A dainty perch upon the plain :
 A perfect daughter do not mock,
 A saint you may not get again.

A dainty perch upon the plain
 By young roc pecked from out the water :
 A saint you may not get again,
 For you, I reckon, a perfect daughter.

By young roc pecked from out the water,
 On this veranda leapt, so clever :
 For you, I reckon, a perfect daughter ;
 Your son her love will keep for ever.

The allusions to fish were suggested by the circumstances : a young princess had been playing with a gold-fish and had it taken away from her. A sleek fish like the perch suggests to the Malay poet a girl and its name *sêpat* prepares for *sifat* in the fourth line. A young roc suggests a highly placed prince. "Examples exist of such sets in which the opening couplets relate the legend of Hanuman or Panji Sumirang or Ken Tambuhan, while the concluding lines apply those legends (by sound suggestion and not by metaphor) to the purposes of the contest." A Perak royal lullaby gives in its first couplets pictures of the homes of royalty down the Perak river and the *sha'ir* in the *Misa Mëlayu* ends with a set of *pantun* in which the first couplets describe detail by detail the Perak palace while the second sing the praises of its master.

Were it not for the old-world indigenous riddle, one might have ascribed the *pantun* form to Malayo-Indian story-tellers borrowing the Persian *tarsi*—

*Ay falak-ra hawa-yi quadr-i-tu bar,
W'ay malak-ra thana-yi sadr-i-tu kar.*

for which Professor Browne sought a parallel in Morgan's "Macaronic Poetry",

*Quos anguis tristi diro cum vulnere stravit
Hos sanguis Christi miro tum munere lavit.*

But in the *pantun* Malay literature is almost for the first time original, owing no debt to foreign sources, and nowhere else does it reach so high a level.

*Nabi Muhammad bërchintakam Allah :
Di-mana-lah tuan masa itu ?*

Muhammad loved but God Almighty :
My mistress, mark you, was not born.

*Bukan mudah bërchèrai kaseh,
Sa-bagai wau mënanti angin.*

Hard the divorce of love, reluctant
Like a kite that waits a wind.

*Sa-lama bërchèrai muda bangsawan
Sa-bagai bakat di-tumpu harus.*

My princess love divorced from me,
I've been like drift in an eddy sea.

*Tikar emas bantal suasa ;
Mana sama bantal di-lëngan ?*

Of gold be the mat and golden the pillows
But the arms of my love are the pillow for me.

And its best the *pantun* does far more than juggle with verbal assonance, is indeed " simple, sensuous and passionate " and has the magic of inevitable phrase.

XIV.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS.

1. In the XIXth Century.

Modern Malay literature began with 'Abdu'llah bin 'Abdu'l-Kadir Munshi, the first writer to depart from the old tradition of supernatural romance and legendary history and to record contemporary events in a novel Autobiography and "Voyage to Kelantan". His new style was too artless and unadorned to appeal to later writers, while in places it suffered from bazaar idiom and foreign turns of expression, so that he has had no following except in a more liberal use of paragraphs and sections than was found in previous works. His extolling of everything English, too, at the expense of the old Malay rajas and their régime has excited prejudice and even resentment and there have been articles in the vernacular press castigating him for his exaggerated Anglophile attitude and accusing him of disloyalty to his own people.

'Abdu'llah had Arab and South Indian blood in him from his father's side. An English translator of his autobiography says of him in 1874 :—" In physiognomy he was a Tamilian of South Hindostan. He was tall, slightly bent forward, spare, energetic, bronze in complexion, oval-faced, high-nosed, and one eye squinted a little outwards. He dressed in the usual style of Malacca Klings or Tamils, having an Acheen *saluar* (trousers), checked *sarong* (kilt), printed *baju* (coat), a square small cap, and sandals. He had the vigour and pride of the Arab, the perseverance and subtlety of the Hindu—in language and national sympathy only was he Malay."

'Abdu'llah was the first Malay author to resent the notion prevailing among Malays that their language had no grammar of its own, and he dreamt of writing a Grammar and other works on Malay philology. But it was left for one of his sons, Muhammad Ibrahim Munshi (later a Dato' Dalam) at the Johor court to bring out in 1878 a pamphlet on Malay called *Pëmimpin Johor* (" Guide for Johor ").

The rest of the XIXth century produced several outstanding writers. Foremost among them was Raja Haji 'Ali bin Raja Haji Ahmad of Riau, a grandson of Raja Haji who died fighting the Dutch in 1784 at Telok Ketapang near Malacca. He was born on Pulau Penyengat, Riau, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca while quite young, studied there for some time, visited Egypt and then returned to his native island across Singapore harbour to live there all his life. He was fairly learned in Islamic lore and seems to have had a pretty good knowledge of Arabic. His best known work, the *Salasilah Raja-raja Melayu dan Bugis*, was written in 1865 and first printed in Singapore in 1911. In the text are interspersed long poems of third-rate quality, after the fashion of similar works in Arabic. A longer work from his pen is the *Tuhfat a'n-Nafis*

("The Rare Gift") a history of Riau and Johor, resembling his shorter history in its introduction, its method, and a tendency to model sentences on the Arabic pattern—though no poems are interspersed. In the field of philology he wrote several books, none of them widely known. The most ambitious is a fragment of what purports to be a Malay dictionary entitled the *Kitab Pēngtāhuan Bahasa* ("A Book of Linguistic Knowledge") written in 1858 but not printed until 1928. Although the subtitle describes it as "a Dictionary of the Malay language of Johor, Pahang, Riau, Lingga", it is an encyclopaedia of the author's general knowledge, opinions, and impressions, set forth under the words he professes to define. For instance, after defining *baju* as an article of dress he goes on to say that there are different patterns for different peoples, and to describe Malay national dress from ancient times, how it is worn, how he thinks it looks very smart, and how Malays were tending to dress in half-Malay, half-Chinese and half-European styles, to spoil their language by using the word *bilang* for *kata*, *kasi* for *bēri*, to ruin their customs by smoking big cigars, and walking side by side like Europeans, and so on *ad nauseam*. Over words of sexual import he becomes amusingly vulgar and even obscene. The portion completed goes only as far as half the letter *cha*, the sixth letter of the alphabet, and this fills 465 royal octavo pages, of which 32 are occupied by a dissertation on the principles of Arabic Grammar, explaining its terminology and trying to apply it to Malay. The words defined under each letter are insufficient in number and are arranged not alphabetically but on the curious principle of having the same first and last letters. The spelling is a strange mixture of modern system and his own, and he uses the Arabic diacritical vowel marks, inverted or altered in shape where necessary, to indicate pronunciation. With all its defects the book was perhaps the first Malay attempt at lexicography and deserves to be treasured if only as a curiosity.

Contemporary with Raja Haji 'Ali though junior to him were Dato' Dalam of Johor, Muhammad Ibrahim Munshi the son of 'Abdu'llah Munshi, Munshi Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali bin Ghulam Husain al-Hindi of Singapore, and Sayid Mahmud bin Sayid 'Abdu'l-Kadir al-Hindi (1865-1913), also of Singapore.

Muhammad Ibrahim had some English education at the mission school of the Rev. Mr. Keasberry in Singapore along with the sons of Temenggong Ibrahim, one of whom, Che' Wan Abu-Bakar, was to become Sultan of Johor. Of his writings the *Pēmimpin Johor* already referred to was published in 1877 at the wish of Sultan Abu-Bakar and is an introductory study of the Malay language. His aim seems to have been to systematise the principles of Malay grammar and to explain the technique of Malay composition, but like his father he was never able to carry out this aim. The only known edition, lithographed at Singapore in 1878 on the eve of his departure in the Sultan's party for Europe, was never reprinted; but it started the ball rolling in this field of study for other Malay writers.

In 1888 in Johor the *Pakatan Bēlajar-Mēngajar Pēngētahuan Bahasa* (or Society for learning and teaching linguistics) was founded and settled many Malay equivalents for English terms such as *śetia-usaha*, *pējabat*, *kērja raya*, that are still used throughout Malaya. The Society went to sleep, was revived once in 1904, and again in 1934 under a new interpretation of the initials of its name, "P. Bm. P. B." (*Pakatan Bahasa Mēlayu dan Pērsuratan Buku-buku 'diraja*) with a charter granted by His Highness the present Sultan wherefore the description "Royal" was added. Since 1934, it has brought out several works on the Malay language including a new dictionary. It cannot be claimed that all this has been the result of the *Pēmimpin Johor*; but it had its prelude in that pamphlet by Muhammad Ibrahim and in his father's unrealised dream.

Muhammad Ibrahim also wrote *Bēnek Pēngētahuan*, a child's Reader, published at the turn of the century and reprinted in 1905; and a *Hikayat Pēlayaran Muhammad Ibrahim Munshi*, being an account of his visit to Selangor and Perak as interpreter for Sir Andrew Clarke in the troublous days of 1874 when the Pangkor Treaty was signed. He gives a vivid description of Sultan 'Abdu'l-lah and some of his chiefs, and records interesting incidents at the interview.

In Munshi Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali we have a different type of writer. As his name and the word *al-Hindi* indicate, he was not a Malay. But he must have been brought up in such constant contact with Malay writers and Malay literature that he became perfectly at home in the classical literary style. His title to fame rests on a single work first published in 1875, the *Hikayat Gul Bakawali*, a love-story he translated and adapted from a Hindustani version of the Persian "Romance of the Rose". The adaptation was so natural and spontaneous, the *sha'ir* and *pantun* introduced were so charming and rich in poetic imagery, and the story itself was so like old classical romance, that the book at once caught the fancy of Malay readers and has now become a classic in its turn. Some of the verses have often been quoted and look like becoming proverbial.

Sayid Mahmud bin Sayid 'Abdu'l-Kadir (1865-1913) was also of Indian extraction. Born at Singapore in 1865, he was educated at Raffles Institution, and because of his brilliance at school he was taken into the Education Department in 1886 as a Malay Writer and Translator. Besides Hindustani, his mother-tongue, and Malay and English, he managed to acquire a working knowledge of French, Arabic, Persian and Tamil, and even tried to learn Chinese. During his term in the Education Department he was taken to Europe by Mr. Boustead (son of the founder of Boustead and Co.), lived for six months in London, one month in Liverpool, and three months in Paris. Later he acted as Government Munshi in Singapore, and afterwards joined the Police Department where, save for six months as Interpreter at the Supreme Court, he remained till his death in 1913. At one time he made an

extensive tour of Java and Sumatra. Outside official duties he was always actively engaged in teaching and writing, was deeply interested in all matters of education, and took a prominent part in everything connected with social and public welfare. Through his efforts a printing press known as "Alwi Ikhwan" was founded, and he became joint-editor with his uncle and father-in-law Munshi Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali of the newspaper called *Taman Pëngëtaahuan* or "Garden of Knowledge", which became popular throughout Malaysia during the brief years of its existence. Otherwise his works were all school text-books mostly translated or adapted from the English. Among these were the *'Ilmu Kējadian* (1887), a primer of every-day science in the form of questions and answers "so that children may easily learn them off by heart"; *Kējadian Sëlerah Anggota* (1891), a text-book on elementary physiology with an Appendix on First Aid; *Urip Waras* (1891), a primer on hygiene; *'Ilmu Pëladang* (1892), an elementary manual on agriculture; a *Kitab 'Ilmu Dunia*, a geography of the world, and a *Hikayat Tanah-tanah Bësar Mëlayu dan Pulau Përcha*, or historical geography of Malaya and Sumatra with a brief account of their social and economic conditions, and their political relations with the Portuguese, Dutch and English. He also wrote in 1898 an original work, a Jawi primer for children called *Pëmimpin Pëngëtaahuan* or "Guide to Knowledge" (zincographed in London 1900), which continued to be used in the schools till 1915. Readers for Standards II, and III. called *Pohon Pëlajaran* (The Tree of Learning) and *Jalan Këpandaian* (The Path to Proficiency) both in use till 1918 were also largely his work. Such books are hardly literature. But certain features in Sayid Mahmud's work make up for this. His style was strikingly clear and simple, direct and concise, and free from colloquialisms and the bastard idiom of bazaar speech. Although his subjects involved ideas new to the Malay language, his rendering of them was always idiomatic and free from the foreign phraseology that mars most Malay translations. It is these qualities which established Sayid Mahmud's reputation as a master of the Malay language although at times he may be pedantic and use scraps of Arabic phrases where they are not necessary. Unlike his uncle who helped him in many of his translations Sayid Mahmud never wrote fiction or romance. He was a scholar whose interest lay in language, history, and general knowledge. The work which has best preserved his name is the *Kamus Mahmudiyyah*, a Malay vocabulary published in 1894. Not because of any special merit but because it was the first completed effort in that line, it will remain unique in the history of Malay lexicography. Whenever Malays talk of writing a dictionary, the *Kamus Mahmudiyyah* never fails to be mentioned, discussed and criticised. It was reprinted at Kota Baharu, Kelantan in 1925.

To the same era belongs a mass of anonymous *sha'ir* of third-rate quality. They must have been written by amateur poetasters for book-selling and lithographing firms in Singapore to keep the book-trade alive. Typical are the *Sha'ir Surat al-Kiamat*,

describing the horrors of Judgment Day, the *Sha'ir Siti Zabidah*, an epic of the wars of one Sultan Zain al-'Abidin of Kembayat and his beautiful bride Siti Zabidah with the seven princesses of China, and the *Sha'ir Dandan Sétia*, a poem imitating the old Hindu romance. The date changes with every new reprint or edition. The *Sha'ir Siti Zabidah* was lithographed at least thirty years ago but the latest (and abbreviated) edition is dated 1924.

A popular prose work published anonymously before 1879 is a translation (500 pp.) of a part of the *Arabian Nights* under the Arabic title *Hikayat Alf Laila Wa Laila*, and the Malay equivalent *Hikayat Sa-Ribu Satu Malam*. It goes down to the tale of "Nuru'd-din 'Ali and his brother Shamsu'd-din"—less than a fifth of volume one in the four-volume Bulaq edition of the Arabic original. From the spelling of names, it is clear that the translation was made not from the Arabic, but from some other language, probably English: it is in good Malay with no trace of foreign idiom. Many stories out of the *Arabian Nights* had been known among Malays who read Arabic, and as they frequently repeated these to friends this version must have been very welcome and popular. But the work was never completed or even reprinted. A very clever translation of the first sixteen Nights direct from the Arabic was made by Haji 'Abdu'llah bin Haji Abu-Bakar, once Sir Richard Winstedt's munshi and formerly Head Visiting Teacher, Perak, and lithographed at Penang in 1907. A new translation, by Enche' Onn bin Jaafar of Johor from Burton's version has for nearly ten years been published serially in his illustrated weekly the *Lembaga Malaya* and later reprinted in book form. This effort shows more promise of completion.

Two large modern romances, the *Hikayat Bustamam* and the *Hikayat Ganja Mara* came into circulation through lithography during the latter half of last century, as also the *Hikayat Saif Dhu'l Yazan* lithographed in 1894. But unless there are modern editions with sections, paragraphs, chapters, and so on, there is little hope of reviving interest in such fairy tales amid the rush of detective stories and novels.

A long work, important historically but still in manuscript, is a *Hikayat Hikamat*. It contains a full account of the author's studies under the Rev. Mr. Keasberry from 1868 in Singapore, of his travels in Malaya and Sumatra, of the social and business life of Singapore, of contemporary events such as the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, and of his personal reflections as a Christian on the conditions of that time, much in the fashion of Munshi 'Abdu'llah's "Autobiography" to which it claims to be a sort of sequel. The author was a Batak "from the hills of Sumatra", placed by Governor Blundell from boyhood in the charge of Mr. Keasberry whose virtues he extols. But the work, because of its Christian outlook, has never found a publisher. The only copy known belongs to the Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim. A much abridged form of this book with a long *sha'ir* at the end also exists in a manuscript dated 1880.

Another work of Christian character is a curious fragment of 205-300 pages, containing such miscellanies as the story of Napoleon's Russian campaign, Sir Francis Drake's voyage round the world in 1577, part of *Robinson Crusoe*, a lengthy story on the virtue of patience, some Hindu fables, and some *sha'ir* briefly alluding to the Biblical story of Nimrod, Assyria and Babylon. There are references to the Gospels and a quotation from St. Peter. The work is zincographed in the same clear Jawi script as the *Hikayat Alf Laila wa Laila*. The language and style are good, suggesting that the work could only have been written or polished up by a Malay man of letters. The *sha'ir* show the same imperfections seen in 'Abdu'llah Munshi's verses and it is possible that this fragment is from one of the works over which he helped his many missionary friends and for which he earned from detractors the sobriquet of *Padëri*.

A *Hikayat Pëñërang Hati* ("The Enlightener of the Mind"), a translation of 200 of Aesop's Fables, was printed in 1896. It was by Alang Ahmad bin Muhammad Yunus who was a Malay Writer to the Resident of Perak and before he died in 1920 was made Dato' Maha Kurnia 'diraja of that state. It was reprinted in 1911, one of the few Malay books ever to reach a second edition. Imitating the plot of the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, the author put the fables into the mouths of two talking birds, a parrot and a parroquet to console a bride during the absence of her merchant husband. It was used throughout Malaya as a text-book for composition, the various fables being taken as subjects for short reproduction lessons, and in this way it revolutionised the old practice of teaching composition by means of disconnected extracts from long stories or books like the *Hikayat 'Abdu'llah*. From its time date the many short fables that have been a feature in modern school books. In spite of certain mannerisms in style it is one of the few outstanding Malay publications of the XIXth century.

There was also a book by the end of the century called *Pënduga 'Akal*, containing animal stories with conferences, discussions, complaints, court cases and a battle of wits similar to those found in *Reynard the Fox* or the *Pancha Tandëran*. It was in Jawi and printed in Europe, probably in Holland. And there was a *Hikayat Robinson Crusoe*, printed in peninsular Romanised Malay.

2. In the XXth Century.

The twentieth century saw a new spirit in Malay literature, a leaven taken from the awakening Arabic literature of Egypt and Islam. Malay journalism which had begun in 1876 with the *Jawi Përanakan* of Singapore under the editorship of one Munshi Muhammad Said grew in vigour, reproducing foreign news and publishing articles of general interest calling upon Malays to take their share in the activities of modern life. The *Chahaya Pulau Pinang* (started 1900), the *Taman Pëngëtahan* (1904), the *al-Imam* (1906), the *Utusan Mëlayu* (1908), the *Nuracha* (1911), the

Tunas Melayu (1913), and the *Lěmbaga Mělayu* (1914) were journalistic ventures destined some to survive only a few months, others for a few years, but all instinct with the urge of a new interest and ambition. A fresh current of ideas was slowly coming, and as it advanced a new type of writing began.

With the establishment of a Malay Training College for teachers at Malacca in 1900 a foundation-stone for Malay education was laid, and through the assiduity of Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G., many of the old works of romance and history were printed. This was the second phase of school-book production following that begun in the time of Sayid Mahmud. Yet among the alumni of this College, as of the Malay Training College opened at Matang, Perak, in 1913, practically none have come to be writers of any standing. The seeds, however, for a literary revival were sown in both colleges as they had been sown in the earlier Training College at Singapore (1878-1895), though these seeds have been very slow in growing. Not until after the opening of the Sultan Idris Training College at Tanjong Malim in 1922 to replace and combine the two older institutions, with its masters mostly drawn from among these alumni, did there begin to appear some sign of fruition. And these signs happened to coincide with wider activities among other writers, inaugurating a period of expansion which even to-day, after nearly twenty years, is still in its first stages. In the meantime there were some new writings produced immediately after the beginning of the century.

In 1906 Enche' 'Abdu'llah bin 'Abdu'l-Rahman of Muar, now Dato' Haji 'Abdu'llah head of the Religious Department in Johor, brought out his *Matahari Měmanchar* or "The Rising Sun", a history of the Japanese people translated from an Arabic work by Mustafa Kamil, the nationalist leader of Egypt, and it helped to stimulate among its readers a feeling of pride and hope for the renaissance of Oriental peoples, even the Malays. The translator followed it in 1913 by his *Pěrtutoran Mělayu*, in which he attempted to set down the form of Malay grammar on the lines of the Arabic system, much in the same way as early English grammars were modelled on the plan of Latin grammar. In 1924 he published another translation from the Arabic, *Islam dan Tamaddun* "Islam and Civilisation", the original being a modern work of the same name by the famous Egyptian scholar and thinker Muhammad Farid Wajdi. Although the language and style of the translation followed much of the pattern of the original and in places was pompous and involved, it was always clear; and for that reason the first and third books have earned a recognised place in Malay literature.

A novel type of work was the *Kitab Gěmala Hikmat* ("The Magic Bezoar Stone") published in 1907, a book of riddles written in allegorical prose and verse by Munshi Sulaiman bin Muhammad Nur (1870-1928), a teacher of Malay at the Malacca Training College. The aim, undoubtedly achieved, was to show the capacity of the Malay language for poetical and figurative expression. It

contains 153 riddles varying from verses of four lines to prose passages of two pages, some in dialogue form, others in descriptive style, many ordinary *sha'ir*, and not a few in rhymed prose; but all of them couched in sustained metaphor, displaying lively imagination and a high literary quality. The author's diction is singularly apt and happy. Many of the riddles are humorous and entertaining, while a few are in reflective vein. Munshi Sulaiman also tried his hand at a dictionary but never got beyond the word *adab* which he found inexhaustible! He was joint-author in 1906 with the Rev. W. G. Shellabear of the *Kitab Kiliran Budi* ("The Whetting of Understanding"), a collection of 1349 Malay proverbs with explanations in Malay. Above all he is regarded as a master of Malay verse. His old pupils say that he used often to write *sha'ir* on the blackboard on the spur of the moment, with remarkable spontaneity and ease: once he had started he would never stop to alter or erase until the board was covered. Many of his pieces are of a high order and some of them, mostly didactic, have become popular but his verses lack depth of feeling and true poetical insight, qualities rare in Malay poetry: they are good so far as rhythm, flight of fancy and artistry of expression are concerned, but that is all. There are many fragments of clever *sha'ir* by him that remain buried in the note-books of old pupils and in newspapers.

Munshi Sulaiman was born in Siak, Sumatra, about 1870. After some difference with his Sultan, his father a Siak chief came to Malacca in 1881 bringing young Sulaiman with him. The boy attended the Malay School, Bukit China, and later became a student at the Singapore Training College for Malay Teachers. Being studious he managed also to learn a bit of Arabic, and in the company of Munshi Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali and Sayid Mahmud picked up some knowledge of Persian and Hindustani. He always had the making of a mystic, and by degrees became steeped in Sufiism. Hence his flair for figurative language and allegory, and his habit of speaking in parables. He died in Johor Baharu in 1928 and was buried by the Sultan's order in the Mahmudiyyah royal cemetery. His last work published posthumously about 1930 was called the *Miftah Pengenalán* or "Key to Gnosis." It is a small book of *sha'ir*, half-mystical half-ethical in character, with eulogies of certain high personalities in Johor and allusions to incidents in his own life.

Folk-tales and folk-romances are not modern; but a word is due to the writer who first put them into literary shape at the instance of European scholars. That he had enough interest and enthusiasm to recast their *verbatim* colloquial form, far from showing a reactionary tendency is rather an indication of the trend of the period, which was to preserve a heritage likely to be lost if not committed to writing. Five of these folk romances were put into shape by Raja Haji Yahya bin Raja Muhammad 'Ali who died in 1927. He was born at Kampong Budiman in Lower Perak in 1870 when there was as yet no Malay school in the state. But besides Malay he acquired a smattering of Arabic. It was when he

held the post of Penghulu of Chenderiang in 1906 that he met Mr. (now Sir Richard) Winstedt and found an opening for his literary talent. Although he lived when a new literary taste was abroad, his writings mark him as one of the old school, almost a survivor from the pre-'Abdu'llah days. Of royal blood he is scrupulously courtly in his phrases, delights in verbose description, and is fond of the rambling style of old-world romance writers. But his language is a model of purity, such as any modern Malay would do well to imitate. Pawang Ana, the original reciter of the tales, was a Sumatran unable to read or write.

One of the folk romances, the *Hikayat Têrong Pipit*, was written down by a Panglima 'Ali Mudin bin Panglima Hasan of Kampong Batas Liku, Arau, Perlis. Being a Kedah folk-tale and the writer himself belonging to the same locality, the work retains much of the idiom and words peculiar to the northern dialect.

Two historical works, the *Hikayat Queen Victoria* (1904-05) and the *Hikayat Johor* (1908 ?) are both by Haji (now Dato' Haji) Muhammad Sa'id, Private Secretary to the Sultan of Johor. The latter is a chronicle of modern Johor from its founding by the late Sultan Abu-Bakar—in the main, a record of that ruler's reign and achievements, his travels to Europe and other countries, and the visits of prominent people to Johor. The author's other published works range from pamphlets of a few pages to a Malay Dictionary. But all these appeared only recently and most of them in connection with the Royal Society of Malay Literature, Johor.

There are two women poets of this period, one Sharifah Alawiyyah binti Sayid Teh al-Habshi, author of a *Sha'ir Nasihat Pêrèmpuan* ("Advice to the Fair Sex"); and the other, the anonymous author of a *sha'ir* called *Sêlîgi Tajam Bêrtimbal* ("The Two-Pointed Javelin") which appeared in 1917, criticising in a most incisive manner the ways of husbands and wives who could not get on together and giving directions for happy married life. Both wrote quite good verse though neither ever went to school. Another lady, Che' Wok Aminah (believed by many to be the author of the *Sêlîgi Tajam Bêrtimbal*) is also credited with having published some *sha'ir*.

In 1916 a *Sha'ir Raja Hantu Pëndaya, Dêngan sa-orang 'Alim Mamusia* ("The Great Tempter and the Pious Man"), one of the first poems to appear in print instead of lithographed form, was published in Singapore. The anonymous author is acquainted with the terms and phrases of Sufi ethical philosophy. The work contains seven stories inset within the frame of a major story, describing the unsuccessful attempt of the Devil to seduce a very pious religious teacher into evil ways. It is fairly good verse in respect of rhyme and rhythm and contains much wit and humour. Towards the end when referring to the press printing the work it borrows the English words "manager", "foreman", "pressman" "compositor", and "book-binder".

About 1918 new school-books began to be produced under the direction of Sir (then Mr.) Richard Winstedt, comprising readers and elementary text-books on geography, arithmetic, and school gardening, prepared by various writers native and European. A Hygiene Reader called *Jaya Waras* (1918) replaced the *Babu's-Sihat* (1910) which was a translation from the English original of Dr. Gilbert E. Brooke, Port Health Officer, Singapore, done by Megat Osman bin Megat Muhammad 'Ali, a Malay writer to the High Commissioner who later became the Dato' Megat Lela 'diraja of Kelantan. A most note-worthy book was an introduction to Malay history proper called the *Tawarikh Melayu* (1918) by Dr. Winstedt in collaboration with Daing 'Abdu'l-Hamid bin Tengku Haji Muhammad Salleh, the first scientific work on general Malay history ever produced in the Malay language. In spite of an artificial style, it was undoubtedly the book which, by popularising the Arabic word *tawarikh*, first opened the eyes of the average Malay to the meaning of history as distinct from legend. Before it, all Malay history and biography had been styled *hikayat* or "stories", and there had been no clear distinction in the Malay mind between fact and fiction. There was also a Malay Vocabulary, the *Lughat Melayu* (1920), with meanings given in Malay by Dr. Winstedt in collaboration with Enche' Ibrahim bin Dato' Muda (died 1926) of Linggi. This work of school-book production thus re-invigorated twenty years ago has been prosecuted on a more extensive scale by the Malay Translation Bureau, Tanjong Malim.

In journalism, which is also a manifestation of a people's literary development, the first decade showed a more consistent tendency to publish articles of local or general interest and excerpts from foreign papers to add to the readers' stock of knowledge. But later correspondence columns were more given to controversies on points of language and the correct way of writing *sha'ir*, on the religious questions of bank interest and *riba* (usury according to Muhammadan law) and on the doctrines of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian. Throughout the World War and for a couple of years after it one or other of these literary battles raged furiously. If the articles were collected in book form, they would be interesting, amusing and instructive. The papers which chiefly contained them were the *Utusan Melayu* and the *Lembaga Melayu*, both now defunct.

3. Post-War Developments.

After the Great War a spate of new publications began to flood the Malay book market, many of them stories and romances, either translated or adapted from the Arabic literature of modern Egypt and from European languages, or original fiction of pamphlet brevity based on the local life of the modern Malay. Original fiction depicting the unchanged life of the Malay village has not so far been attempted, except as short stories in the columns of magazines and newspapers. But it seems certain that these attempts at fiction are only the prelude of a ripper and larger crop.

There have also been some books of essays, quite a number of religious writings with a new outlook and interpretation; a few more efforts at Malay grammars and dictionaries, and some biographies of such world figures as Kamal Atatürk, Mussolini, Hitler, and Chiang Kai-Shek. Altogether, the quantity of new books has been unprecedented in any previous period of the same duration and has driven away the older classics from the Malay printing presses and bookshops that have multiplied in recent years. But the literary level attained is still of an amateurish character, while the standard of production reflects the low economic condition of the Malays both as producers and consumers. The books are on the whole poor work, in paper, in binding, in size, in contents and in actual value as literature; and they bring little material profit to writers and publishers or intellectual food to buyers and readers. Nevertheless, the number of productions and producers by ratio to the small Malay population of the Peninsula and their low literacy indicates real literary interest and activity.

It appears as if the "New Learning" fostered by the Education Department in the Malay Vernacular Schools during the last fifty years is beginning to show results. Quite a number of the younger school teachers especially those who have passed through the Vernacular College at Tanjong Malim are in the literary swim and trying their hands at story-writing. But the more outstanding among these new writers are not pupils of the Malay Vernacular School or College; they are those who have received their education and taste for literature from other quarters, either through the Arabic language acquired under modern conditions or through a knowledge of English acquired later and after their vernacular education. A purely Malay vernacular education does not seem to lead to literary ability or ambition. Even from the earliest times the literary developments of the Malay have always been linked with persons who had a knowledge of some foreign language and literature. Only contact with foreign literature and ability to appreciate it seem to be capable of giving a Malay the literary sense, the stimulus and the inspiration to write in his own language. Generally this has spoilt style, as more often than not thoughts are unconsciously cast in the mould of the foreign model. And this failing seems to be more pronounced in the Malay's literary developments today than ever it was in a less complex age.

(a) *Sayid Shaikh and his influence.*

The forerunner in this latest development was Sayid Shaikh bin Ahmad al-Hadi (1867-1934), an old Malayo-Arab gentleman of Penang who in 1922 brought out the first part of his Malay history of Islam, *al-Tarikh ul-Islami*. The only part published in book form covered 205 pages, and the whole was to have been completed in 15 or 20 parts. But finding that the work could not pay its way, he turned to love-stories and thrillers that held out a promise of financial success. In 1925-26 he published

his first novel, called *Hikayat Sētia 'Ashik kapada Ma'ashok-nya* (or *Hikayat Faridah Hanum*), an adaptation of a love-romance in a wealthy and educated Muslim family of modern Egypt. It was read from one end of the Peninsula to the other, and the author suddenly found himself famous. To many the story is as entrancing as the *Hikayat Gul Bakawali*, except that its setting is modern with "pure love before marriage" for its theme and depicting incredible restraint and moral strength on the part of both the lovers. Here and there the romantic element is enhanced by an exchange of letters and love-verses between the couple, and when they meet round the family table or in the garden there are discussions on the moral, social and religious outlook of liberal Islam. The work was printed in two parts of some 250 pages each and illustrated with realistic pictures from erotic picture post-cards! As the author was sixty and an acknowledged authority on the religious and legal lore of Islam, the old-school religious fraternity felt grossly scandalised. But his idea was business and the money it could bring him.

In September 1926 the author started a monthly journal called *al-Ikhwan* which for six years published stirring articles on the need of purifying Islam, on the progress of more advanced Muslim countries, on their staggering reforms and modernisation, and on the elasticity of Islam for adjustment to modern conditions. It also contained instalments of the editor's commentary on the shorter chapters of the Quran, of translations from the Arabic on the emancipation of women and the Feminist Movement in Egypt, and of further sections of his history of Islam. About 1927, encouraged by the success of the *Hikayat Sētia 'Ashik* and impatient at the slow progress of his books and journal in the press, he installed a press of his own, calling it the "Jelutong Press" from the suburb of Penang, where he lived; and from that time till his death in 1934 he showed phenomenal activity in writing and publishing. A continuous succession of novels and detective stories began to issue from his pen and those of his assistants: the novels always with some modern Islamic or Arabic background and purporting to be adapted from modern works of Arabic literature, while the detective stories were done from an Arabic version of a famous French series. In September 1928 he also started a tri-weekly newspaper, *Saudara*, which, besides general news columns and serial sections of his detective stories contained articles from him enforcing those which he wrote in the *al-Ikhwan*.

The novels he produced were published in a series called the *Angan-Angan Kēhidupan* ("The Aspirations of Life"), while immediately beneath that title are printed the English words "The Moral Trainer" perhaps in imitation of the title *Tahdzib ul-Akhlaq* used by Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan of India for similar publications in the latter half of the nineteenth century; both these Malay and English titles being suggestive of the author's ultimate aim. The books were issued to subscribers in monthly instalments of 100 or so pages, beginning from December 1927. By February 1931 six books were completed, namely the *Hikayat*

Taman Chinta Bêrahi or *Mahir Afandi dengan Iqbal Hanum* (1928) a work of over 600 crown 8vo pages, being another love-story of modern Egypt; the *Hikayat Anak Dara Ghassan* or *Hindun dengan Hammad* (1928-29), a tale of over 1000 pages narrating the love of an Arab Christian princess for an Arab Muhammadan prince in the time of the Prophet, being an adaptation from Jirji Zaidan's historical romance *Fatatu Ghassan*; the *Hikayat Chêrmin Kêhidupan* (1929) covering 604 pages, a Turkish tale stressing the importance of chastity upon youth; the *Hikayat Putêri Nur ul-'Ain* (1929), a short work of 200 pages ridiculing the practice of marrying a temporary husband to legalise re-marriage between former husbands and wives after three-fold divorces; the *Hikayat Pêmbêlaan Dalam Rahasia*, or *Kaseh Saudara kapada Saudara-nya* (1929-30), a work of 579 pages adapted from English by Sayid 'Alwi al-Hadi, a son of Sayid Shaikh, and edited by his father; the *Chêritêra Dhu 'l-Ruhain* or "The Owner of Two Lives" (1930-31), a tale of 540 pages, with a Turkish background adapted and expanded from the Arabic by Haji 'Abdu'l-Rahim Kajai, now on the editorial staff of the *Warta Malaya*, Singapore, but then sub-editor of *Saudara*. All these books were avidly read, but none quite reached the popularity of the *Hikayat Sêtia 'Ashik*, or *Faridah Hanum* which with the *Hikayat Iqbal Hanum* ran into a second edition. Then came the *Hikayat Hindun* and *Putêri Nur ul-'Ain*, the last much liked for its satirical humour and poetry. The remaining books do not hold readers so well as these four. The popularity of the "Hanum" tales can be gauged from the fact that since their publication many Malays have affected the names *Hanum* or *Hanim* for their girl babies! The underlying purpose of all these stories was to instil into readers the ideas of a new social order as well as a new outlook on the status of women, and to illustrate the accommodating nature of Islam towards the changed circumstances of the world.

The detective stories, all belong to a series known under the general name of *Chêrita Rokambul*. Seven of the stories were published in volume form before Sayid Shaikh's death, namely *Chêrita Rokambul dalam Jail dan di-Paris* (398 pages), *Chêrita Rokambul dalam Siberia* (400 pages), *Chêrita Rokambul dengan Putêri Russian yang 'Ashik* (498 pages), *Chêrita Rokambul dengan Korban Hindi* (502 pages), *Chêrita Rokambul dengan Malium Kaum Nor* (508 pages), *Chêrita Rokambul dengan Taman Pênglipor Lara* (296 pages), and *Chêrita Rokambul dengan Pêrbendaharaan Hindi* (509 pages). Many of the subsequent stories still remained in the columns of the *Saudara* on the author's death and have never been published in book form. All the stories were very popular and copies are no longer obtainable.

Side by side with these light tales and works of fiction there were published in book form the more serious works which Sayid Shaikh had continued to produce slowly in the pages of the *al-Ikhwân*. His *Tafsir Juz 'Ammâ* (1927) was a translation with commentary of the chapters in the last (thirtieth) Part of the Quran, from the works of his teacher the celebrated Shaikh

Muhammad 'Abduh of Egypt; *Tafsir al-Fatihah* (1928) was a similar translation and commentary from Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh of the first chapter of the Quran; *'Alam Përëmpuan* or "The Feminine World" (1930) was a translation of about half of the famous work *Tahrir ul-Mar'ah* ("The Emancipation of Women") by Kasim Amin Bey of Egypt; *Kitab Ugama Islam dan 'Akal* (1931) was his own composition; *Kitab Ugama Islam: (I'tiqad dan Ibadat)* (1931) was edited by him from an earlier translation by Raja Muhammad Sa'id bin Raja Muhammad Tahir of Riau; in *Hadih Këbangsaan* (1933) he reprinted four essays from the *al-Ikhwan* on True Praise, Honour, the Poverty of the Malays, and The Salvation of the Malays—the first two translations by him from Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh and the last two original articles by the present writer.

Sayid Shaikh was born in Kampong Ulu, Malacca, of a family of mixed Arab and Malay blood which had land and property there. He had never gone to a Malay school; but in his boyhood was a pupil of Raja Haji 'Ali at Riau, and later was sent to study in Arabia and Egypt. For a time he sat at the feet of that great theologian of modern Islam, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh of Egypt (died 1905) for whom and whose teacher, the panIslamist philosopher Sayid Jamalu'd-din al-Afghani (died 1897), he had very great admiration. Returning to Malaya towards the end of last century, he became a *shar'i* lawyer at the old religious Court of Johor where, being a *sayyid* and a learned man, he was much respected by the nobility. Among his elders and old friends throughout south Malaya he was generally known as Wan Anum. Afterwards, in collaboration with Shaikh Tahir Jalalu'd-din, a Sumatran Malay then fresh from study in Mecca and the al-Azhar of Cairo (and still a well-known religious scholar settled in Malaya), he became managing director and part-editor of the religious journal *al-Imam* (the Leader) started in Singapore in 1906. He also started the first Arabic School in Singapore which he called the "Madrasat ul-Iqbal. After many vicissitudes he returned to Malacca and established there in 1915-17 an Arabic School called the "Madrasat ul-Hadi." Later, he went to Penang and helped to found the "Madrasat ul-Mashhor" of which he was Head Master for some years. It was while in the employ of this school that an earlier idea was revived in him of writing a history of Islam in Malay which, as we have seen, led him to embark on his literary career. He knew only Arabic and Malay, was an eloquent speaker, and very broad-minded and independent in his religious views. His examination of the question of *riba* or usury in Muhammadan law, published by the Co-operative Department in 1933, is a symposium of learned opinions on the subject, in which he demonstrates that interests from banks, shares and co-operative societies are religiously permissible; it shows a degree of erudition rare among Muslim '*ulama* in Malaya.

But as with most Malay authors of his type his writing is full of Arabisms, marked less by the use of Arabic words than by Arabic style and construction. Nevertheless, despite the fact

that in places his sentences are ponderous, involved and well-nigh unintelligible to a Malay not knowing Arabic, he is on the whole clear, so that even ladies barely able to read Jawi can enjoy reading him. The verses he inserts here and there in his stories are generally of a high standard in rhythm and rhyme. Fiction he wrote mainly to make money, to finance the *al-Ikhwan* and the *Saudara*: his more serious books were nearest his heart. His later stories were mostly written in haste and hardly ever polished up, so that they were less successful than his earlier efforts. But there can be little doubt that at least half the books he produced will remain permanent contributions to Malay literature. The influence of his example in story writing has been great on younger writers. The idea of social and religious reforms with which he is obsessed and which runs through the books like a thread, though marring them as light literature, has been a force for good and a weapon for the progressive Malays as against the more conservative. No doubt he is under the spell of Egypt, a "foreign" land, and his characters no less than his style are foreign to Malay ideals. But so it has been throughout the history of Malay literature: the preponderance of foreign elements and borrowings all through the centuries is undeniable. Sayid Shaikh's tales at least point the way for new tales to be written on similar lines, or even on more native lines. He was the first Malay writer in the Peninsula to introduce the novel, and in consequence the rising generation are taking up story writing, while generally avoiding his Arabisms.

(b) *The Malay Translation Bureau.*

In 1924, two years after Sayid Shaikh began his brief writing, career, the Malay Translation Bureau, a Government organisation, was established at the Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, with the object of continuing the work revived a few years earlier of providing text-books for the Malay Vernacular Schools. This time the work was carried on under Mr. O. T. Dussek, then Principal of the College, who was the real originator of the Bureau and continued to be its active head until his retirement. The task which was taken up with feverish enthusiasm started with revising most of the Readers and text-books then in use and preparing new ones. The staff, at first consisting of only one man, was gradually enlarged, and by 1929 a new line of activity was added to the Bureau's programme—that of translating works of fiction, fairy tales and light literature to provide supplementary reading for the schools. This second line proved to be another incentive, apart from the works of Sayid Shaikh, to the efflorescence of new writing which during the last few years has burst out all over the Peninsula.

The school-books proper which the Bureau has produced or revised, numbering at present some 48 books and published in "The Malay School Series," include besides Readers a set of text-books on each of the following subjects: Malay grammar and composition (*Pelita Məngarang*, *Ilmu Bahasa Məlayu*, *Ilmu*

Mengarang Melayu, and *Daftar Ejaan Melayu*); Malayan History (*Sjjarah 'Alam Melayu*, in several parts); Malayan and World Geography ('*Ilmu 'Alam* and '*Ilmu Bumi* in a number of separate books); Arithmetic ('*Ilmu Hisab* in several parts) including a book on elementary geometry; Hygiene (*Kitab 'Ilmu Kēsihatan*, *Risalat Kēsihatan Kanak-kanak Kēchil*, *Kitab Pērtolongan Chēmas*, i.e. a book on First Aid, this last being a translation of the St. John's Ambulance Association's official text-book on the subject); Physical Training (*Kitab Latehan Tuboh*); Pedagogy and School Management (*Pēdoman Guru*); simple school gardening and Agriculture ('*Ilmu Tanam-Tanaman*, '*Ilmu Bērchuchok Tanam*); Crafts (*Rajah-Rajah Anyaman*, *Batek*, *Kitab Sirat-Mēnyirat*); Scouting and Girl-Guiding ('*Ilmu Pēngakap*, '*Ilmu Guide*, '*Ilmu Brownies*). Most of these books are translations or compilations from English sources, and many are written by outside experts for a small bonus paid by the Bureau which afterwards does the translating, editing, or polishing up and preparing them for the press. The books range from 150 pages or thereabout to over 300 pages, while many run into several parts of some 150 pages each. The contents of some are fragmentary notes, of others the finished studies of the meticulous bookman. But with few exceptions these books are printed in Rumi, which makes them unable to influence the Malay public at large who in the Peninsula prefer Arabic script and read it with more ease than the Romanized. Moreover, being text-books they are seldom read outside the schools even by the teachers.

The books in the light literature group which have been produced up to date number some forty titles and are published in "The Malay Home Library Series," as they are intended both for school children and for their elders. They include translations from well-known Western authors, stories for children from the 'Arabian Nights,' fairy tales from Grimm and Anderson, myths of old Greece and some well-known fables. Most of these are illustrated, and being intended to reach the general public they are nearly all printed in Jawi. Among the principal titles may be mentioned *Sang Maharaja Singa* (1929), a translation of an abridged version of J. H. Paterson's 'Man-Eaters of Tsavo'; *Hikayat Taman 'Ajaib* (1929), selections from Anderson's and Grimm's fairy tales; *Chērita-chērita Shakespeare* (1929-30), translation of four tragedies and four comedies from Lamb's 'Tales'; *Pēlayaran Gulliver* (1929) translation of the Lilliputian part of 'Gulliver's Travels'; *Sang Lomēri* (1930), a profusely illustrated version of 'Reynard the Fox' prepared by Mr. A. W. Hamilton and polished up at the Bureau; *Pulau Emas* (1930), a translation of R. L. Stevenson's "Treasure Island"; *Chēndēra Lela* (1931), an adaptation of "Cinderella"; *Chērita 'Ala'u'd-din* (1931), a rendering of 'Aladin and the Wonderful Lamp'; *Chērita Robin Hood* (1932) from a short version of the well-known English legend; *Pulau Karang* (1932) an abridged version of R. Ballantyne's "Coral Island"; *Sang Kuching Bērkasut* and other stories (1932), being further selections from European fairy tales

including "Puss in the Boots", "Sleeping Beauty" (*Tuan Puteri Tidor*), "The Swan Princess" (*Anak Raja Menjadi Undan*), and "The Ugly Duckling" (*Anak Itek Burok*); *Mengëlilingi Dunia 80 Hari* (1933), from Jules Verne; *Pengëlima Hërcules* (1933), translation of an English version of the "Twelve Labours of Hercules"; *Hantu Samaran* (1934), a translation of one of Edgar Wallace's thrillers, "The Ghost of Downhill"; *Ali Baba* (1934), a version of 'Ali Baba and the 40 Thieves'; *Përmata Kali* (1935), a translation of another thriller by Edgar Wallace, 'A Thief in the Night'; *Chërita Sexton Blake* (1936), a detective story from the famous Sexton Blake series; *Chërita-Chërita Grimm* (1936), selections of six further stories from Grimm's fairy tales by a European lady; *Hikayat Taman Përi* (1937), some more fairy tales from Grimm; *Chërita Alhambra* (1937), translations from W. Irving's 'Tales from Alhambra'; *Chërita-Chërita Sherlock Holmes* (1938), selections of 8 stories from the 'Adventures' and the 'Return' of Sherlock Holmes.

There are also other books in the series which are not fiction. These include *Lagu-Lagu Këronchong* (1933-34), a collection of sixty tunes recorded in musical "notes"; some plays, namely *Topeng Hitam* (1934), a short dramatisation of Dumas' "Black Mask"; *Macbeth* (1934), *Julius Caesar* (1934), both being versions of scenes from the plays of Shakespeare; and "*Faust*" (1935), a much mutilated version of part I of Goethe's drama. These were the result of Mr. Dussek's enthusiasm for the College stage, and fragmentary as they are will stand out as pioneer efforts in a kind of writing new to the Malays. Then there is Mr. Dussek's *Mëlawat ka-Eropah Tëngah* (1935), an illustrated descriptive record of his visit to Mid-Europe in 1933. Another book in this series is called *Pënyuloh Këtinggian* (1936), a collection of essays on man's duties and responsibilities in various walks of life, by the Dato' Perdana Menteri of Kelantan—a good example of Malay written in Arabic style. A number of other works have been completed but as yet have not been published. These include *Anak Raja dëngan Anak Papa*, translation of Mark Twain's 'The Prince and the Pauper'; *Raja Zenda*, a translation of an abridged version of Anthony Hope's 'The Prisoner of Zenda'; Captain Cook, *Goa Intan Raja Sulaiman*, an abridged translation of Rider Haggard's 'King Solomon's Mines'; stories for a further instalment of *Chërita-Chërita Sherlock Holmes*. Several others too are in preparation, such as *Puteri Tëratai*, a translation of Rider Haggard's 'Nada the Lily'; *Juragan Merah*, a translation of R. Sabatini's 'Captain Blood'; and *Chërita Meja Bulat*, from the English legends of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table.

None of the books already published in this Series are of pretentious size: those found likely to be too long are curtailed or printed in two parts to keep the price low so that Malays can buy. The books produced by the Bureau are very cheap compared with outside publications, and this competition was one of the causes which led Sayid Shaikh to leave off novel-writing after 1931.

The Bureau's story books, especially the earlier ones, were exceedingly popular, and most of them are out of print. The largest buyers were the Malay Schools buying with Government money, but the public too have had their due share, the books being always among those displayed for sale at the various bookshops. Of late there has been a slowing in the work of publishing as some of the books are not selling well. The Malay public also is beginning to criticise the kind of books produced as trivial and having no educational value. What they would have the Bureau produce are works which add to general knowledge: description of peoples of other countries, of travels and adventure; simple biographies of world heroes, ancient and modern, of explorers, discoverers, inventors, writers and thinkers; something of permanent value for the study of the Malay language, a comprehensive Malay Dictionary in Malay, treatises on Malay grammar, and so on.

But the Bureau's work is still in progress. So far, its modest objective has been to cater for the schools, and in so doing to try to achieve purity of language and style. Compared with the far wider aims and vaster productions of the *Balai Poestaka* the Dutch Government Bureau for Popular Literature in Batavia which sets itself the more ambitious task of helping to educate native society by providing it with good reading matter, the programme of the Translation Bureau is small indeed. No direct attempt is made to attend to the cultural needs of the Malay public at large. Nevertheless, the books already produced, in spite of their limited scope, are influencing the younger writers, at least in the form and style of composition and in the ambition to write better books themselves.

Some members of the Bureau have also had a few works of their own (or works done by them for outsiders) published independently of the Bureau. Ahmad Murad has published two small original works of fiction, the *Nasib Měntua* (1937) and *13 June* (1938), both being stories based on happenings in local life. Then there are the present writer's *Rahsia Ejaan Jawi* (1931) and *Umbi Kěmajuan* or *Sukatan Azali* (1932), the first a rather elaborate treatise on the evolution and principles of Jawi spelling, and the latter a discussion based on the Quran, of the perennial religious problem of Freewill and Predestination translated and expanded from Islamic writings in English and Arabic. Of both these works only Part I has seen the light as there have been financial and other obstacles in the way. A pamphlet entitled *Pěndapatan Bahath 'Ulama* (1934) translated by the present writer from extracts taken from various Arabic books of acknowledged standing, giving pronouncements by celebrated ancient and modern writers and leaders of thought in the Sunni School—such as the Imam ul-Haramain (died A.D. 1085), al-Ghazali (died A.D. 1111), al-Nasafi (died A.D. 1244), Ibn Taimiyyah (died A.D. 1328), Ibn al-Kayyim (died A.D. 1350), al-Taftazani (died A.D. 1388) and Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh (died A.D. 1905)—on the freedom of human will was also published. But as the translation was done at the instance of Shaikh Tahir Jalalu'd-din, a noted

'*alim* of the modern school, the book was banned by the religious authorities. Another pamphlet of 68 pages called *Ilmu Sharikat Bekerja Sama-sama* which recast for the Co-operative Department was published in 1934. Besides these there were various pamphlets translated by me for the Health Department of which one called *Penyakit Demam Kura (Malaria)* from a brochure by Dr. A. R. Wellington on Malaria and Mosquitoes was published in 1927 and reprinted in 1930 and 1931; and another called *Penyakit Puru di-Tanah Melayu* was published in 1926.

The present writer has also other works still in manuscript including three volumes of essays and studies entitled *Beneh Kemajuan* (1932), being articles on religious, social, educational, literary, and linguistic matters contributed by him to the Malay papers since 1917; *Tarikh Tanah Melayu yang Rengkas* (1928), a translation of the history portions of Dr. Winstedt's 'Malaya'; *Tarikh Orang-Orang Mashhor Islam* (1929), biographies of some ancient Muslim celebrities compiled from various English works on the History of Islam and Arabic literature; *Tunas Islam* (1922), discourses on aspects of religion in the light of modern adjustments in India, Arabia and Egypt; *Chermin Muslimin* (1920), articles on the various un-Islamic beliefs and practices and the need for reformation; *Jalan Persèkolahan* (1922-1929), a translation of more than half of J. H. Boardman's 'Practical School Method'; *Nahu Melayu* (1932-34), a treatise on Malay Grammar from which an abridged version, the *Pelita Bahasa Melayu*, is being prepared for the Translation Bureau; *Pedoman Fikiran* (1937) an unfinished translation and adaptation of Dr. Winstedt's 'Right Thinking and Right Living'; *Taman Budiman* (1931), a collection of fables and short fairy tales re-told for children.

(c) *The Asasiyyah Press, Kelantan.*

The above press started in 1929. It has produced over a dozen new Malay books, mostly translation or expanded versions from typical works in the modern Arabic literature of Egypt, and some of them quite long. Its first publication was entitled *Tut-Ankh-Amun* (Tutankhamen), describing in 320 pages the royal ceremonies and customs of ancient Egypt and the life of the Copts. This was followed by the *Chogan Setia* or "Emblem of Loyalty" (430 pages), a patriotic love story—centring round a prince and a princess of the Ottoman house who, loyal to king and country, fought for the progress of Turkey against the blunders and intrigues of Enver Pasha after the Great War, and thereby paved the way for the expression of the new spirit personified later by Mustapha Kamal. Then followed in 1930 the *Pahlawan Perakasehan dan Pèpèrangan* (135 pages), another love story of Turkey with episodes depicting her moral and cultural conditions, her administrative system under the old regime, her wars in Tripoli and the Balkans, the heroic defence of Gallipoli and the victory of Smyrna ending with the establishment of Angora as the new capital and the failure of European schemings upon Turkish integrity; *Selamat Tinggal Ayohai Timor!* (1931), the story of

how the Turks abolished the Caliphate, how Bolshevik Russia was working for the undoing of Eastern nations, and how the reforming movement represented by Kamal and his group forged its way among the people ; *Tarikh Përjalanan Mustapha Kamal Basha* (1931), a biography of Mustapha Kamal ; *Putëri Masir dëngan Pahlawan Raja Rum* (1932), a long historical novel of 551 pages, narrating the conquest of Egypt and Alexandria by the Muslim general 'Amru bin 'As in the early days of Islam and describing the conditions of life among the Arabs, the Copts and the Romans in those days ; *Pënyuloh Bahagia dan Sëjahtëra* (1933), a book in the nature of Smile's "Self-Help", giving general guidance as to the secrets of success in life (114 pages) ; *Kumpulan Kala* (1933) a story of crime and detection (212 pages) with English and French background, the leading criminals being a Chinese and an Indian—translated through an Arabic version ; *Bayang Hitam* (1933), another crime story depicting the rivalry between a noble-hearted thief and a despicable robber, with scenes laid in London (163 pages) ; *Tikaman Bahasa* (1934), a collection (373 pages) of Malay proverbs and pithy quotations that have become proverbial, with explanations in Malay ; *Zarina dan Rasputin* (1935), the story of the notorious Russian priest and his hold on the Czarina after the Great War and *Kërana Mahkota* (1937), another story, the only outstanding book among others published from this press after 1935.

The moving spirit behind this activity has been Enche' Ahmad 'Ismail, a Kelantan Malay who is manager and part-proprietor of the press. He is the writer or rather translator of most of the books already published, and where a book is written by another—like the *Tikaman Bahasa* which is by Enche' Muhammad 'Adnan, a veteran Malay scholar at one time Editor of the *Pëngasoh*, he writes the introduction to it. Ahmad 'Ismail also edits an illustrated weekly magazine, the *Al-Hikmah* (The Wisdom), which has been flourishing and growing in pages since its appearance in April 1934, each issue being well supplied with articles, comments on current events and serial stories. Three other novels from the Arabic printed serially in this magazine have been completed but not published in book form : the *Pundi-Pundi Biru* (1936) in Nos. 73-88 of *Al-Hikmah*, a love story in 24 chapters showing the advantages of independent livelihood—an example for young people ; *Këchëndërongan Përëmpuan* (1936-37) in Nos. 97-126 of the magazine, describing in 22 chapters the Suffragette Movement in Egypt and the tragedy between two lovers because of wrong upbringing ; *Kuat-Kuasa Përasaan* or *Rahasia Kaseh* (1938) in Nos. 192-219, a long love story with particular reference to the effect of home influence and training. Another moral novel the *Sahabat Yang Tidak Di-kënali* or *Përjuangan Këmuliaan dëngan Këhinaan*, is still in progress.

Enche' Ahmad 'Ismail was born on 3rd August 1899, attended the Government Malay School, Kota Bahru, in 1912-15 and left when only in Standard II, with the words "for laziness" recorded against his name. He then at his own wish joined a private

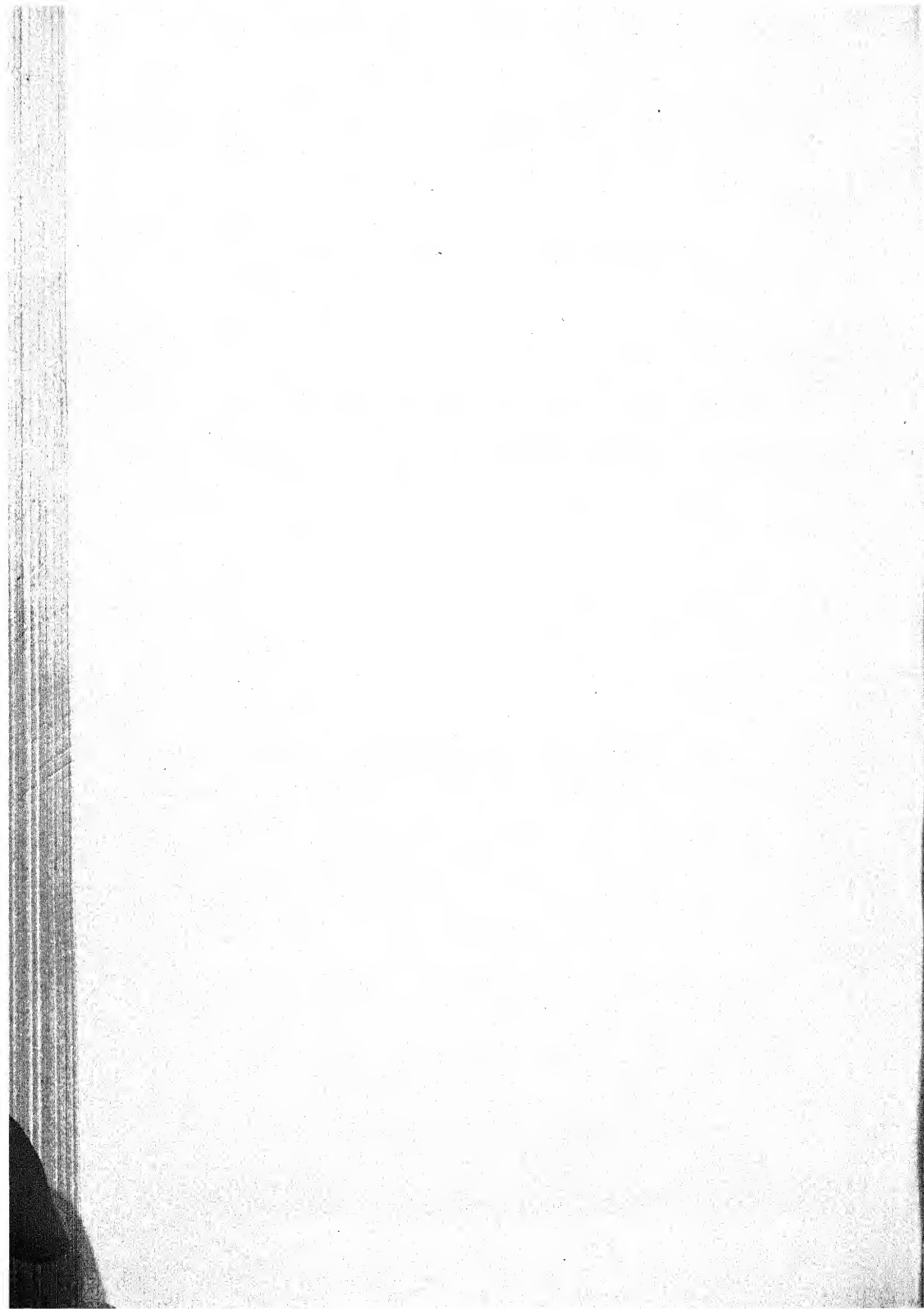
English school kept by a Ceylonese teacher and after 8 months left in Standard III. For Arabic he never attended any regular school, but picked up a working knowledge of the language by associating with friends versed in it : gradually he gained tolerable proficiency by constant reading and reference to Arabic-English and English-Arabic dictionaries and by diligent questionings of friends and teachers when he did not understand. In this way he managed to do rough translations from Arabic into Malay. In short what he knows of Arabic has been acquired mainly through self-study. The teacher who influenced him most was the famous Kelantanese religious scholar and ascetic, Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf Kenali (1870-1933), affectionately known as "To' Kenali," who had studied for over 20 years (A. H. 1305-1327) in Mecca and for a brief period in Egypt. Inspired by him Ahmad 'Ismail became a voracious reader of all new publications from Egypt. He edited a short-lived monthly journal the *Al-Hidayah* (The Guidance) in 1923-26. But failure in this made him turn his energy to the establishment of a printing press under his control—and later to book publication, translating and reproducing in Malay some of the latest Arabic works likely to be popular and of educative value to the Malays. His style is inclined to be stilted and infected by Arabic, but not at the expense of idiom and perspicuity. On the whole his books are a definite acquisition to modern Malay literature.

APPENDIX.

Outlines of the following Malay works:—

	Page
<i>Hikayat Paridawa Jawa</i>	165
<i>Hikayat Sang Boma (or Sang Samba)</i> ..	177
<i>Hikayat Chekel-Waneng-Pati</i>	180
<i>Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad</i>	193
<i>Hikayat Shah-i Mardan</i>	195
<i>Hikayat Amir Hamza (part)</i>	199
<i>Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah</i>	203
<i>Hikayat Saif Dhu'l Yazan</i>	209
<i>Hikayat Sama'un</i>	213
<i>Hikayat Raja Handak</i>	214
<i>Hikayat Bakhtiar</i>	215
<i>Hikayat Kalila dan Damina</i>	218
<i>Taj a's-Salatin</i>	228
<i>Bibliography</i>	235

(Outlines of other Malay works in English by Hans Overbeck and myself will be found in the Journals of the Straits (and Malayan) Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and in Dutch both in the Catalogues by Juynboll and van Ronkel of the Malay Manuscripts at Leiden and Batavia and in Dutch Journals).



APPENDIX

HIKAYAT PANDAWA JAYA.†

In his palace at Indrapesta Darmawangsa asks Batara Kesna to go to Duryodana and invite him to keep his promise and cede half his kingdom as a token of amity. Accompanied by Satiyaki, Kesna mounts his chariot and sets out. In the distance he sees Hastina-pura, dim as a woman decked with rice-powder and peering from behind a door. The palace roof glittered in the sun. The trees swayed in the wind like people bowing to Kesna. Beasts gave him cries of welcome. Bulbuls murmured. Fish swam to the surface to greet him, leaping as in a dance under the water-lilies and hiding under the lotus-blooms as under coloured sunshades. The gardens of Duryodana spread out like costly mats with rocks for cushions. Trees, flowers and birds panted as from yearning to see Arjuna. Nearing the city Kesna met and took into his chariot four holy men (*bagawan*)—Kuwara, Kanapi, Barusi and Berma (or in some MSS. Rama Parasu, Narada, Chantika and Chakarka or Janaka), who had been present when Duryodana had made his promise. Aware of Kesna's coming Duryodana and Dastarata sent Sangkuni to summon the kings subject to the Korawas. First to arrive were Aria Widura, Sang Sanjaya, Begawan Bisma, Sangyang Drona, Bagawan Kerpa, Maharaja Salia, Ambakarna, Jayadrata, Maharaja Bahgadata and Maharaja Rahma, and the 107 brothers of the king. Aria Dastarata orders the warriors to greet Kesna with respect and music. The women hurry to see him : some with hair dishevelled, others with disordered attire, one with half her face powdered, another with teeth half-blackened, another with eyes half darkened. Shopkeepers left their wares, exclaiming, "I don't care if my goods are stolen so long as I see Kesna." Wives left husbands and children, while some held up their breasts and cried, "I dedicate these as a gift to welcome Batara Kesna." Others brought their ivory dolls, saying, "There is your father, Batara Kesna." Some had limbs broken, others limbs bruised and sprained. Kesna goes to the palace of Dastarata who gives him a change of raiment and sets dainties before him but he refuses Duryodana's invitation to eat and drink. He goes to Aria Widura till Kunti calls him to her palace. He kisses her feet and she embraces him and is glad, thinking the Pandawas have come with him. He tells her he has left them at Wirata.

Duryodana summons his counsellors Ambakarna, Dursasana, and Sangkuni, who advise war. Ambakarna declares that Arjuna shall die by his hand or he by Arjuna's. The others say they should fight Bima. Uneasy Duryodana goes to his lovely wife Banuwati. The sky that night looked like white raiment flecked with blood. Banuwati went to the garden called solace of care to look at the moon along with her maids who sang and

†From Raffles MS. 2, Library, Royal Asiatic Society, London.

danced and whispered of love, saying their hearts were broken as glass on a stone because Arjuna had not come. Melancholy made Banuwati's music sound like the moans of a ravished girl. When the drum had struck two, she returned to sleep. The royal gardens surpassed those of Indra and astonished the moon by their beauty—About midnight there was a portent of the kingdom's coming down. All was still and the moon was hidden by clouds like a woman behind a door. The wind hardly stirred and birds were restless, flying here and there like two people fighting over a woman. The song of the *chuchor* bird was like the ring of a woman's bangles when she cries at the approach of a man. Bees murmured in their hives like a man caressing his wife behind the curtains. At daybreak cocks crowed and there came the sound of the Brahmans' bell in the honour of idols to which they offered incense and perfumed blossoms.

Next day Duryodana summoned his counsellors (among whom came (the blind) Dastarata led by Sanjaya) and bade Labiyyusah (or Lubiksah) call Kesna from the house of Aria Widura. The gods of Indra proclaimed his lineage, and Duryodana bowed before him with crossed arms, but refused to accept Dastarata's advice and yield up half his kingdom. With Karna he plots to kill Kesna, who warned by Satiyaki shows his divine power, putting forth 1,000 heads and 2,000 hands and feet, a weapon in every hand. His face was red as the sun, his mouth cavernous and from every hair hung a monster. Duryodana fled. Begawan Bisma, Sangyang Drona, and Begawan Rama pacify Batara Kesna by strewing perfumed flowers before him:—"Let not your proper rage destroy the world. If you kill Duryodana, what becomes of Bima's vow to slay him and of Derpadi's (Draupadi) vow to cleanse her hair in Dursasana's blood." Kesna's anger abates; he resumes his normal shape and goes to Kunti, who bids him tell her sons that they must take the kingdom by force. He mounts his war-chariot with Satiyaki and Aria Widura, while Karna accompanies the god, who advises him to support the Pandawas as they are his brothers. "But" says Karna, "I have sworn to fight Arjuna," and taking his leave he goes to Kunti whom he finds in tears, and tells her of the coming war. Kesna reaches Wirata and tells the Pandawas of his adventures at Hastinapura.

The next day the Pandawas march. First came Bima in an iron chariot, drawn by elephants. His banner was of black velvet and he muttered the *paksa-banyu*, whereat a storm of wind issued from his body. He played with his club Luwarudan (? = *lohita wadana*); if it struck the sea, the sea dried up; it made mountains fall and turned men to powder; hurled, it caused darkness. Like a mad elephant, heedless of foes, he shouted his war-cry, leapt vales and rivers, and killed any elephant, lion or tiger on his path. Then came Arjuna in a golden chariot, drawn by 14 horses, with Amapuknyawa for his driver; and his banner bore the white ape Kapiwara; his sunshade was green and he looked like a volcano that would burn the world. Then came Sakula (Nakula), and

Sadewa (Sahadewa); Desta Jamina, Sang Utara, Wirasangka; Sang Seta (or Sweta), and Dewi Śerikandi, wife of Arjuna; the giant Gatotkacha with his club Sang Sabuni and his two charioteers Wilda and Jilar. Then came Dērpadi in a chariot of ivory and gold, with an umbrella of peacock-feathers: she looked like an ivory image, her unbound hair like a cloud heavy with rain, waiting to be cleansed with Dursasana's blood. Her banner, Surawanara, was green and gold. Under a green umbrella, in a chariot of bejewelled gold came Dermawangsa, carrying the amulet (*pustaka*) *Kali mahausadha*, whose rays are like lightning and which changes into a *tomara* when the king fights. Then came Batara Kesna armed with the discus Radaksa in a flying chariot, with a white banner. Then followed Drupada (= Derpadi), Wangsapati, Abimanyu, Sang Rawan Kumara (son of Dermawangsa), Satiyaki, Aria Durbala, Patih Jaya, Patih Ratu, Demang Samilar Lembu and Baginda Andakan Gangga. The gods showered a rain of blossoms on them in token of victory, and a rainbow appeared. When they have reached a camping-ground, the Pandawas send for their mother, Kunti, who comes escorted by Widura, who then returns to Hastinapura. The king consults with Kesna as to who shall be their leader. Choice falls on Sweta, who receives raiment and is escorted with music round the camp. On his return Aria Widura tells Duryodana that the Pandawas are encamped at Kuruksetramandala. The Korawas encamp on a plain near Hastinapura and choose Bisma for their leader. Next day Bernasaketra (? = Brahmana Sagotra) consecrates (*memalis*) the camp of the Korawas and Irawan that of the Pandawas. The Pandawas' host faces the setting sun and has its back to the river Panchaka; the Korawas' host faces the rising sun and has its back to Hastinapura. Sweta arranges his army in the formation Brajatiksna lungit, "A very sharp weapon", with Arjuna, Bima and Serikandi, for its front point. Bisma arranges his elephants, horses and chariots like hills in a sea of warriors. So wide is the battle-field that part of the Korawa's host is on Mt. Imagiri. In front stand Bisma, Saliya and Drona—Arjuna asks Kesna if battle cannot be avoided, as the enemies are his kin and count among them the teachers, Bisma, Saliya and Drona. But Kesna is wroth and says for such talk it is too late. Then Dermawangsa goes to the enemy camp to pay respect to his three teachers. Bisma tells him that with Kesna on their side they must win. The war starts. Wirasangka is slain by Bisma, Utara by Salya, Wirayuda and Rekmarata (adopted son of Saliya) by Seta. Fleeing Salya meets Kertaruma, who takes him into his chariot and fights Seta. Bisma comes to fight the Pandawas, followed by Drona, Salya, the king of Manggada and Ruhadbala and Jayasena,—the last three were slain by Seta. Bisma's formation is broken, and of the Korawas he alone stands firm. Duryodana hastens to his aid but is put to flight by Bima. Bisma shoots his snake-like arrow Santakarni at Seta but it splinters on the chariot. Bisma mounts his chariot but leaps from it and flees as Seta smashes chariot, charioteer and horses with his club. Seeing Bisma's shameful flight the gods rain flowers on him and

tell him it is decreed he shall slay Seta. He drives his fiery arrow Brahmastra into Seta's breast and kills him. The Korawas shout for joy. Wangsapati and his grandson Bima make a furious attack and drive the Korawas to flight except only Bisma. At night Wangsapati searches for the bodies of his sons and laments to his wife that they have lost all three. Kesna and Dermawangsa tell him that grief is idle and some must die in war. The bodies of Seta, Utara and Wirasangka are burnt, their ashes put in golden urns and cast into the sea. Destajamina is chosen leader.

The Pandawas are drawn up in the Garoda formation (*Gardabijuwaa*), Arjuna the beak, Derpada the head, Bima the left wing, Jamina the right, Dermawangsa and the other Pandawas the back and Satiyaki the tail. Bisma adopts the same order; Salya the beak, Sangkuni the head, Bima the right wing and Drona the left, Duryodana and other Korawas the back and Dursasana the tail. Abimanyu and Arjuna slay many, Kesna keeping beside Arjuna to protect him. Arjuna is like Kala the destroyer. The Korawas flee; not even the offer of four nymphs of heaven could have stopped them. Bisma kills many of the Pandawas' warriors. Arjuna fights him but in vain, for Irawan his son by Dewi Retna Ulupi is killed by the giant Kala Sarenggi. Kesna threatens with his discus Bisma, who says "your weapon is as welcome to me as a handsome man to a woman, for it will lift me to heaven." Arjuna tells Kesna that Bima will only be killed by a woman (Serikandi). They go to Dermawangsa to get her to attack Bisma. She mounts Arjuna's chariot and shoots an arrow which only wounds Bisma. Arjuna shoots another arrow at the wounded spot and Bisma falls. Dermawangsa stands weaponless before his chariot to shield the fallen hero. Arjuna, Sikula and Sadewa do likewise, to honour him. Duryodana resolves to join the Pandawas to do honour to the dying Bisma, but stands weeping afar. When Dermawangsa invites him to approach, he replies that he is afraid of Bisma's club. Bima lays it down and Duryodana approaches the dying Bisma, who bids him make peace. Bisma is told by Dermawangsa that the most glorious death-bed for a warrior is one made of weapons. So he refused a costly mat brought by Duryodana; and Arjuna offers him a bed of arrows (*têrkêsan* ? = *tiksna*). He refuses water brought by Duryodana in a golden beaker; Arjuna drives his arrow, Tarsangtala, into the ground and causes water to gush forth. Duryodana hands over the leadership to Drona. Dermawangsa and his brothers drag Bisma's chariot under the shade of a banyan tree. At night there is rain of blood. Next day Drona adopts the formation of the mad elephant, Dewadanti. Karna is the right tusk, Jayadrata the left, Bahgadata the trunk, Duryodana the body and Dursasana and others the tail. The Pandawas adopt the same formation, with Bima for a tusk, Dermawangsa for body and Satiyaki for the tail. The heroic deeds of Ambakarna (= Karna), Bahgadata and Jayadrata cause the Pandawas to retire. Arjuna and Bima rush to drive back the Korawas. Drona fights Bima, and Jayadrata Arjuna. Bahgadata on his elephant charges between Arjuna and

Kesna while he pierces Arjuna's breast with his weapon Samoga. Arjuna dies but Kesna takes from his crown the flower Wijaya Kesoma, brushes his wound and revives him. Kesna tells him that the life of Bahgadanta is one with that of his elephant and its mahout. Arjuna strikes the chest of the elephant, whereat the mahout and his master die. That night the Korawas mourn his death, while the Pandawas feast.

At Duryodana's wish Drona undertakes to keep Arjuna and Bima apart at the edge of the battle-field. He orders Bulisara-wa to attack Arjuna, who is decoyed to the plain of Aruan. The ten brothers Patih Warsaiya, Banoman, Sanginudanta, Tēr-kaiya, Triakaiya, Trimunong, Tribanyu, Suta, Trigitu, Trisena are ordered to keep Bima busy on the same plain. Drona adopts the discus-formation, *chakrabyuwa* : with Drona, Bagawan Karepa for the spokes, Salya and Karna the rim, and Jayadrata the axle (سنت). Abimanyu promises Dermawangsa to break it, saying he knows how to enter but not how to come out. He adopts the Garuda formation ; with his instructor Sumitra he charges ahead and Drona orders Jayadrata to encircle him. This is done but Abimanyu kills Satisari, Tandupati and Suragitu, and also Laksamana Kumara. Seeing his son killed Duryodana orders Dayadrata to overpower Abimanyu, and the Korawas let a shower of arrows fall on him. " Whom do you love most, me or your father ? " Abimanyu asks Sumitra. " My love for my father is as a mountain ", he replies ; " my love for you as a paring of black finger-nail. " Abimanyu is angry but Sumitra explains that fallen a mountain will not rise, but pared at night a nail grows again next day. Sumitra is killed. Abimanyu takes vengeance on his foes but in pity Karna advises him to retire and, knowing he will not retreat armed, fires at the arrow he holds. Every part of his body is wounded. He looks like a bridegroom and the arrows in his body are like the unguents of a woman who has washed in betel-nut water. Wounded in the throat he is like a man wearing a collar. His wounds look like armlets (*kilat bahu*) and necklace (*sawit*). In the strife he looks like Batara Merpata, as the bridegroom of Dewi Ratih. The noise of the elephants and the horses sound as sweet to him as the murmurs of a man cozening a shy girl. He cries : " I am like a forbidden ivory hall (*balai*) : the owner present, no one may sit there, but when he is gone any man may sit there. " He was like a flower, fit for a necklace. Specked with blood his body looked like rice-paste mixed with honey. His lack of blood saved him from pain. An arrow pierced his tongue and he was speechless. He was like a *kanigara* bloom on a golden tray ; and he died on the field like moss in a beaker of gold, his blood as fragrant as spikenard, so that the bees hummed as if they were weeping. Duryodana came to cut off his head but Karna stayed him, saying he must kill him first. Then Karna kissed and embraced his son. Night fell. Dermawangsa sought his nephew's body and mourned for him. He told Subadra of the death of her son. She fainted and then asked the two wives of Abimanyu which of them will follow him

in death. Both wished it but Utari is eight months with child. The Pandawas prepare Sundari for suttee. Kesna, Bima and Arjuna return (from the plain of Aruan). Hearing of his son's death Arjuna faints and wants to die with him; which Kesna forbids. He reproaches Dermawangsa. Kesna falls at Dermawangsa's feet and asks him to relate the story. Dermawangsa replies, "Abimanyu entered the wheel and I could not help him, because he was enclosed by Jayadrata". Then Arjuna swore to burn himself unless he killed Jayadrata on the next day. Jayadrata asked for leave to go home but Duryodana said, "If your death is decreed, there too you will die." So he stayed.

Kesna advises Arjuna to invoke the gods. Ludra (a Javanese name for Siva) tells him he will kill Jayadrata with his arrow Pasupati. Kesna lends Arjuna his chariot with its invulnerable steeds Walikarpuspa and Sena, and its weapons.

At daybreak Sundari parts from Utari, who weeps and cries, "Go and take your pleasure with our lord, while I remain heart-broken. Who will bind up my dishevelled hair? When my attire is in disorder, who will arrange it? Tell him, sister, I will follow when my child is born—When I die, let me become the moon and be the owl, that is never heard save when the moon appears." Sundari jumps into the fire.

Next day the Korawas adopt the *Patemabiyuwa* formation, with Jayadrata in the middle encircled by elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers. Arjuna enters the fray like a burning volcano. He mounts his chariot Walikarpuspa; his horses are Sukanda and Sena, while Kesna is his charioteer. He slays Winda and Nuwinda. He stabs the earth with the arrow "layer-piercer" (*têrus pêtala*) and gets water for the soldiery. He shoots at Duryodana's chariot killing the steeds and the driver, while Duryodana's arrows are splintered and the mail-coat given him by Batara Indra is lost, so that he flees. Dermawangsa sends Satiyaki and Bima to help Arjuna. Satiyaki kills Sara, Danawasa and Jayadrana. Bulisrawa attacks Satiyaki; they smash each other's chariots and arrows, fight with clubs and then wrestle. When Bulisrawa was astride Satiyaki holding his hair and about to kill him, with his *chandrassa*, Arjuna, urged by Kesna, shoots him in the right hand. Bulisrawa reproaches Arjuna for not having given him warning, but Arjuna retorts, "you gave my son no warning." Satiyaki kills Bulisrawa with his weapon, Mangekabama, Bima kills Surantaka, Arjuna kills Kartasuta, Wirajaya and Kartaruma. The sun is in the west and Arjuna is angry because he has not yet met Jayadrata. Kesna hurls his discus at the sun and darkens it. The enemy rejoices thinking that night has come and left Arjuna's vow unfulfilled—Kesna shows Arjuna Jayadrata by the light of his discus and tells him that Sindupati, the father of Jayadrata, has been allowed by the gods to die, when his son's head touches the ground. Arjuna pierces his neck with the arrow Urudara and sends his severed head to Sindupati who is doing penance for the good of his son. The sun shines again. The Kor-

was blame Drona as the cause of Jayadrata's death. Drona gets angry and refused to fight Arjuna. Karna is invited to fight him. Bima slays Pati, Jayarata, Saraba, Sarata, Surakbaiya, Surantaka. The Korawas are repulsed and their forces fail. Krepa and Salya go to Duryodana who orders Karna to advance. Karna undertakes to fight Bima and Arjuna. Krepa remarks to Bangbang Sotama on this action and Karna would have fought him if his nephew Sotama had not intervened. The torches of the Pandawas grew dim. Arjuna wants to fight Karna but Kesna dissuades him, saying that Arjuna cannot fight at night and will be killed, and that only the invulnerable Gatotkacha can slay Karna at night. Gatotkacha attacks Karna, causing by prayer many arrows to issue from different parts of his body. He puts Karna and the Korawas to flight. Gatotkacha slays four giants, Lambana, Lambusa, Ayuda and Serenggi, sons of Datia Giri. Karna is like an elephant in the fight and Gatotkacha like a lion. Karna destroys his foe's chariot and horses. Gatotkacha rises into the air and is lost in the clouds, so that Karna shoots blindly and in anger. Gatotkacha cries "Karna" with a voice of thunder. Karna looks up and sees him and says, "I should have been killed, if you had not called". Gatotkacha descends. Karna shoots him with the Brahmastra, but his enemy enlarges himself like a giant. All Karna's arrows fail to harm him. He seizes his weapon Ganta Sudanta, a gift from the god Adunah (?) that Narada brought him. The sheathe fell at Purabaiya, as Narada bore it through the air. No other weapon could wound Gatotkacha. It wounded his breast; he fainted but leaping on to Karna's chariot is killed by his club. The Korawas rejoice.

Arjuna and Bima would avenge Gatotkacha but Kesna warns Arjuna, because it is still dark. Bima, Gatotkacha's father, fights madly: his mother, Dewi Arimbi, leaves Kunti and Derpadi and throws herself into the fire. At midnight warriors and elephants and horses sleep, dreaming of battle.

Next day the Pandawas attack, led by Wangsapati, Derpadi and Satiyaki. Satiyaka kills Chandra, Drona kills Aria Darbala. Wangsapati and his two grandsons are slain. Derpada is killed. Destajamina vows not to die till he has defeated Drona. The Pandawas encircle Drona but their weapons fall on him like rain on a rock. Kesna urges Arjuna to shoot Drona but he refuses to kill his teacher or even to spread the lie that Drona's son, Sotama, is dead so as to get Drona to withdraw. But Bima kills an elephant Sotama, and shouts, "I've killed Sotama." Drona swoons and the gods alarmed strew flowers on him. Destajamina cuts off the head of the unconscious Drona with his *chandra*sa. Duryodana and his warriors flee. The fastest runner is Sangkuni who thinks the enemy is at his heels and cries, "I'll die and never see my wife again. She's black and pockmarked but she has treated me well. And if I die, she's sure to find another husband." Sotama comes to avenge Drona, but Arjuna refuses to fight his teacher's son. Bima upbraids him for his tears and says he will himself slay Sotama. Satiyaki taunts Destajamina with having killed an

unconscious man and they would have come to blows, had not Bima and Sakula intervened. Bima alone stands against Sotama and Arjuna hurries to his aid with his arrow Barunastra which overcomes Sotama's weapons. Sotama shoots his arrow Tinjumaaya and Kesna advises Bima to alight from his chariot to avoid death. Sotama's arrow misses its mark and astonished he shoots a flaming arrow. Arjuna now takes his arrow Banyustra, which deprives Sotama's arrows of their force, whereat he goes to the mountains to do penance. The Korawas decide that only Karna and Salia can prevail against their foes. Then Duryodana reminds Karna that it was he advised the refusal to cede territory and promised to fight the Pandawas. Karna vows to kill Arjuna and Bima with his monster-producing arrow *Wijayachapa*. But Karna's followers sit uneasy at the feast because priests and portents foretell his doom: his city Wanggapura has been nearly destroyed by a storm and his bed-chamber has been lain in. His wives and concubines weep and want to kill themselves but Karna treats the portents with disdain. Returning to his palace he finds his wife Dewi Gunti with dishevelled hair and a *patrēm* with which to stab herself. She has dreamt of seeing Karna and his men lost at sea and unable to reach land. He comforts her.

At night, using Arjuna's arrow for a torch, Kesna and Dermawangsa, murmuring prayers follow him to the battle-field, which is a sea of blood, with corpses of elephants and horses like islands, the corpses of men like coral-reefs and shields floating like ships. Ghouls were making a horrible meal off the dead. Women from Hastina-pura were looking for husbands and brothers, removing the weapons that pierced them, and sprinkling rose-water and incense on their wounds. One man had tied up his wounds with the tuft from a lance and was using a broken javelin as a crutch: he begged for water and having none they gave him a quid of betel. Only in answer to Dermawangsa's prayers could they find Drona's body. They embrace its feet and crave forgiveness, dragging his chariot beside Bisma's. To Bisma they also pay honour. Dermawangsa asks about the guilt of a man who kills his teacher but Bisma says it is the fate of war and there is no question of guilt: he adds, that they will win the war and goes to heaven. The king bathes in the Panchaka river and the Pandawas clothe him in royal raiment. Next day the Korawas make Karna their leader. Dermawangsa seeks Bisma and offers him a flower (*bunga susun kēlāpa*) as a tribute to his teacher. Karna asks Salya, the ruler of Mandrakapura, to be his charioteer, as Arjuna has Kesna. Duryodana persuades Salya to consent. The Pandawas perform religious ablutions and the gods promise victory.

The next day the Pandawas advance. Kesna tells Arjuna how to fight the two great warriors Karna and Salya. Arjuna knows they will adopt the formation called Advance without Retreat (*dī mungan-mungan*), and advise the Pandawas to form a Half Moon (*ardachandra*). The Korawas form the Scorpion (*biyuwayuyu = byuhayuyu*). Karna brags to Salya that he will

hack the Pandawas to pieces like gourds and crush the pieces in his hands; while his arrow *Wijayachapa* will pursue them—Salia is not impressed and warns him. Ashamed and angry Karna dons his sun-like crown and mounts his chariot Jatisura. The Korawa army stretches to Imagiri.

The fight is renewed. The enemy yields before Karna. Dermawangsa in his chariot, with Patih Jaya and Rata beside him, drives back Karna. The Pandawas advance under Bima and Arjuna. Satiyaki slays Susena. The Korwas flee and Bima pursues Duryodana, taunting him. Duryodana halts but flees again. Dursasana attacks Bima with his arrow Barlastra, and Bima, though unwounded, falls in a sitting posture. Bima kills Dursasana's elephant with his club and gripping him by the hair forces him to the ground and kneels on his chest. Duryodana orders his men to shoot Bima, who uses Dursasana's body as a shield, whereupon Duryodana bids his men tear his brother out of Bima's hands. Seeing Bima in danger, Dermawangsa sends Arjuna, Sikula and Sadewa to his aid. Bima and Duryodana remain alone on the field. Bima bids him fetch gods and princes to see the fulfilment of his vow and tears out Dursasana's entrails with his nails called Panchakanaka. Dursasana dies from loss of blood and Bima washes himself in the blood and drenches his beard and moustache with it. He flings the body to Duryodana and roars to him to follow his brother in death. Arjuna takes Bima to Dermawangsa. Bima squeezes the blood out of his hair into a golden cup to send to Derpadi. The princes shelter from a fine rain under umbrellas and banners and elephants and eat refreshing fruit. Bima still raging puts the Korawas to flight, while Salya taunts Karna about his vaunting. Then the Pandawas flee. Karna slays Butat and destroys the chariots of Sikula and Sadewa. Serikandi flees, her hair waving on her bosom and taking the place of her scarf which streams in the wind. Satiyaki pants from running. Destajamina follows, ashamed. The Pandawas are alarmed that no one can withstand Karna. Dermawangsa stands irresolute in his golden chariot Kanakamaiya, and Arjuna tries to stay the flight. Bima shoots his dart Martatoya. Karna and Duryodana are hemmed in by the arrows of the Pandawas. Arjuna attacks Karna. Both the heroes are beautiful, like Indras, decked with glittering ornaments, wielding weapons like sparks of flame, so that from heaven Indra and Narada behold their arrows like swallows collecting stuff for their nests. Karna shoots his arrow Nilaprachanda, betokening Violent Wind, that drove the Pandawa ranks into the sea, where the fish were boiled and even Nantaboga, the great dragon, had to come to the surface. Their darts useless, Karna siezes *wijajachapa* that comes to hand at his wish. From it issue mountains, stones, snakes, goblins, giants, (some consisting only of a head, hand or trunk), and four sorts of arrows, the *saragangga* like the beak of a hornbill, the *trajubala* (= *narachaballa* Kawi) like a boar's tushes all these monsters join the fray—The Pandawas flee. Even the gods are perplexed. Arjuna siezes his *sisara sampata* but the

monsters pay no heed to the arrows. Crossing his arms on his chest Arjuna evokes his supernatural power and now appear Brahma's arrows, called Brahma Wisagni or Fire in Human Form. The monsters are destroyed but Arjuna has to pray the gods to extinguish the fire. Nilakanti (Siwa) asks what will become of heaven otherwise. The gods sprinkle flowers on Arjuna and douse the fire. Arjuna and Karna fight from their chariots, while steed bites steed. The ground bursts open and the sea is agitated. The dragon Naga Ardawalika, son of Sang Naga Siugina, would avenge his father slain by Arjuna. Karna seizes his *wijajachapa* and attacks Arjuna, but unseen by Karna Ardawalika twists Karna's arrow. "Aim high", says Salya "or you will not hit". Salya's cry was heard by Kesna, who, as the fatal arrow is discharged, leaps on Karna's chariot, so that only Arjuna's hair-knot is hit. Ardawalika tells Karna what he did, saying he himself wished to avenge his father and kill Arjuna. Karna bids him fight alone: he will not help him. The dragon flies into the air and spits poison at Arjuna, but he is warned by Kesna and kills the mountainous dragon. Arjuna shoots Karna's chariot to pieces. Both fight on foot. Seizing the *pasupati* Arjuna cries, "If you fear death, pay homage; for this will end you." Angry and praying Karna is slain. His throat was cut and his head rolled from his trunk, biting its lips. His eyes were like the full moon in shadows; his nails like ivory flowers, his hair like a dark cloud. Fine rain fell like tears of sorrow; thunder rolled like lamentation; the clouds appeared to follow the dead hero; there was a rainbow and the sun was dimmed, while lightning flickered. The Korawas were like wood before Arjuna's fire. Some fled to caves, woods and mountains, while others hid under the dead or begged for mercy. Many would have deserted had they not pitied Duryodana, who laments the loss of relatives and heroes. Sangkuni advises him to make Salya leader. But Salya says he is a mountaineer inexperienced in war and advises him to make peace with the Pandawas. Bangbang Sotama angrily exclaims that Salya only pretends to favour the Korawas; his counsel to shoot high caused Karna's death and he is the uncle of Sedawa and Sikula. Salya rebukes him for a brave talker and threatens to join the Pandawas. He draws his dagger and Sotama declares that only respect for Duryodana keeps him from fighting. Duryodana calms them. Sotama goes to the mountains to do penance. Salya agrees to accept the leadership but returns silent to his house and wives, regretting his promise. The Pandawas, on Kesna's advice, sent Sikula to Salya to say they cannot fight their uncle. Salya says he would have rather died but is compelled by his friendship for Duryodana. When he shoots his *chandrabrava*, Dermawangsa must attack him with his *pustaka* that changes into a *tomara*, for Ludra, who gives him might, cannot withstand that: "and" he adds, "it will take me to heaven."

Salya had a beautiful wife Satiyawati. The clouds forgot to descend when they saw her with hair unbound. Deer would not return to the forest but stood to gaze at her eyes. The blossoms

of the *angsoka* (193+) withered, whenever her robe fell down. The blossoms of the *pandan* fell, as if they would gaze at her calves, when her skirt was uplifted—She was sad at what her husband had said to Sikula. He tried to comfort her, saying "Smile at me with side-long glances. You have changed towards me, and I'd better be dead. Strew flowers on my corpse and set it afloat in a sea of honey so that the bees may mourn for one hated by men." She answered, "I have not changed. I have prayed the gods that you might come back unhurt and victorious. But now I want to die." And she would have stabbed herself had not Salya stopped and declared that his talk with Sikula was idle, only tact with a guest, and that even the gods could not kill him. He loosens her hair, so that the blossoms fall out, and looking into her eyes he smiles, declaring, "Even the nymphs of Indra's heaven cannot vie with you. If I were to die and be reborn seven times, yet would I never be parted from you—You are the flower; I am the bee. You are my soul. If I die, would you not follow me? Happy on earth together, we should be still happier in heaven." And he led her to bed and sang to her in a honey-sweet voice and caressed her; she slept pillowed on his arm, dreaming that they were bathing in the sea. Day broke. Salya put a cushion to replace his arm and with his dagger cut off the edge of his garment, not to disturb his wife by drawing it away from under her. He embraced and kissed her and chewed betel and put it in her box. He wrote sweet verses on an ivory doll, put it beside her, saying, "If mother asks, say father has gone to the war." All the way he murmured his wife's name. The Korawas are heartened that he is to lead them. Yogi's and Brahmans wish him victory. Donning crown and armour he mounts his chariot while Duryodana takes his place in the middle of the formation called Dewa Durga. The battle front of the Pandawas is broken till Bima with his nails and Arjuna with his *sampata* repels the Korawas. Only Salya stands firm. He and Arjuna shoot arrows each at the other. Salya is worsted and enraged seizes *chandrabirawa*, over which he mutters prayers that evoke all sorts of monsters. Kesna crosses his arms to counteract this magic and going to Dermawangsa tells him of Salya's advice to Sikula and threatens to withdraw if Dermawangsa will not fight Salya. Dermawangsa says that he will always follow Kesna's advice but hesitates to fight one who has been a father to him. Reluctantly he mounts his chariot *kanakamaiya*, which is driven by Matali (who was Indra's charioteer and is here wrongly introduced for Indrasena). Arjuna, Bima and other warriors go forward, followed by Jayarata, the *demang* Samilar Baginda and Andakan Gangga. Salya's monsters vanish. Only men are fighting. Salya evokes fresh monsters and afflicts the Pandawas with dysentery, fever and so on. Dermawangsa lets his *pustaka kali mahausaadha* or wonder-working arrow become a *tomara*, from whose point shoots a flame mountain-high that destroys the monsters. Seeing his hour approach, Salya shoots arrows that turn to rocks and serpents. He is like the midday sun obscured by clouds or a fire fed by pitch. Kesna tells Dermawangsa to shoot the *tomara*, which like a rainbow

drinking water pierces Salya's breast. He dies in his chariot. Bima and Arjuna fight on. Chased by Bima, Duryodana hides in a river. Bima pursues Sangkuni who begs for mercy, but Bima reproaches him for his boasting and asks him why he treated the Pandawas as serfs that remove ordure and feed pigs. He hews him in four pieces and casts his limbs to all points of the compass.

Satiyawati hears of her husband's death from Tubata, his charioteer who had hidden under the corpses and escaped. She swoons and then prepares to follow her husband—Accompanied by a maid Sugandi, she is driven by Tubata to the battle-field, till the chariot is smashed against the corpse of an elephant. Bidding Tubata return, she goes with Sugandi to find her husband. She sees dead elephants like mountains in a sea of blood. With a broken spear for a stick she walks among corpses. Footsore she rests against an elephant, her feet bathed in blood. The heaps of slain warriors look like islands, the elephants and horses like rocks, rising out of a sea ; the heads of the fallen encircle her like stones and the tufts of lances like coral. Arrows stick out of the ground like caltrops and banners are ragged as trees, while crows sit on their shafts and shields drift in the sea of blood like small vessels, to ground on the corpses of elephants. The corpses diffuse a smell of spikenard. Satiyawati feels as if she were walking with her husband. Several times she mistakes a fallen prince for him, till in pity the gods send lightning in whose light she distinguishes him. She faints but reviving rubs his eyes as if he slept, asking why he does not welcome her and why he has broken his promise to take her with him into battle. She smears betel on his wounds, and then stabs herself. Sugandi snatches the dagger and does likewise so that she may serve her mistress in heaven. Narada is sent by Batara Guru to awaken Salya that he may watch over his wife. The three enter heaven together.

Kesna leads the Pandawas to the river Mahadarda (*cf. namarada* "river") where Batara Gangga has hidden Duryodana. Taunted by Bima, Duryodana parts from the god and comes out of the river, threatening to give Bima to dogs to eat. Kesna says that none can fight him but Bima.

Narada informs Baladewa, who is doing penance, of the fight and he hastens to the river. Bima seems likely to lose because he has promised Baladewa not to strike Duryodana below the navel. The noise of their clubs was thunderous ; mountains were crushed and trees flung down ; the earth quivered like waves dashing on a rock, while flames appeared in the air. Kesna slaps his own thigh to remind Bima that only that part of Duryodana is vulnerable. Bima fells his adversary by a blow on the thigh. Duryodana begs Bima to make an end. But Bima says, "Now you shall see my power. I shall put you in chains and make you a scavenger. Your women shall tend my pigs, chicken and cats. I have a black cat of the *Sangga-buana* kind with white pads. If your women are negligent, I shall beat them." The Pandawas rejoice

but Baladewa is compassionate and angry at Bima's unknightly conduct. He is about to attack Bima with his usual weapons, a rice pounder Halu-Gura in his right hand and a plough in his left. But Kesna dissuades him, and gets Satiyaki to take him home.

Duryodana cannot die because the gods have promised that first he shall tread on the heads of the five Pandawas. Anxious Kesna wanders all night about the camp and at daybreak takes the Pandawas to hunt game, leaving Destajamina in charge of the women. Sotama hurries down from his penance in the mountains to Duryodana who entreats him to get the heads of the Pandawas for him to step on. Sotama enters the Pandawas' camp and kills all he meets, including Destajamina and Serikandi. Finally he kills Panchakumara, joint son of the five Pandawas and takes his head to Duryodana who steps on it and dies. Sotama returns to his cloister and tells Krepa. Returning from the chase the Pandawas find all the women in tears. Kunti and Derpadi blame Kesna for Panchakumara's death but the saintly Biyasa settles the dispute.*

The Pandawas follow Kesna to Sotama's cloister. Bima insults him but Sotama shoots fiery darts at the Pandawas and is attacked by Arjuna. Batara Guru sends Narada to Arjuna to extinguish the fire lest heaven be burnt and says Sotama shall not die by his hand. Narada says only Bima can kill Sotama and fulfil his vow by skinning him. Kesna tells Bima to seize him by the leg. He does so, flays him and throws him into the air. The Pandawas go to Hastinapura and choose Dermawangsa for their king.

HIKAYAT SANG BOMA (OR SANG SAMBA).†

In Javanese there are two versions of the story of Bhauma, son of Bhumi the Earth, one in old Javanese or *kawi*, and another in the new Javanese which came into use in the middle of the sixteenth century. It is the plot of the old Javanese version, the *Bhaumakavya*, that the Malay *Hikayat Sang Boma*, or *Hikayat Sang Samba*, has followed.

Brahma asks Bisnu, as the Malays term Vishnu, which of them is the senior. Bisnu replies that they must both hide and the one who first discovers the other shall be accounted senior. Brahma transforms himself and flees to the first heaven, followed by Bisnu in the shape of a golden peacock. When Brahma reaches the fifth heaven, Bisnu waxes angry and hurls his discus which takes the shape of a snake and lies at the entrance of heaven. Brahma descends to let Bisnu hide, but is alarmed to find Bisnu awaiting him. Bisnu hides and Brahma cannot find him and is ready to acknowledge him as the senior. Bisnu causes a light to

*The Kawi MS. ends here.

†From Raffles MS. No. 15, Library of Royal Asiatic Society, London.

emanate from himself. Brahma changes into a kite and follows the light. Bisnu changes himself into a huge boar and lies before a palace where he sees the goddess Pertewi. She flees but he lies with her and gives her a flower Wijaya Kesoma to give the child she shall bear. She bears a son of monstrous size, while from the afterbirth demons (*raksasa*) are born. The child is so ugly she throws him into the sea, but as he is Bisnu's son, Brahma rescues him and gives him the name of Boma. Brahma and Bisnu teach the child magic arts. Brahma says that he will become a great king feared by gods and men, and that when he dies, he shall revive as soon as he touches the earth, and none but Bisnu can kill him. Boma goes to the earth and seeks his mother who gives him the flower Wijaya Kesoma, which he sticks in his crown. He then goes to the sea, mounts a whale and returns to the shore, where he sits playing on a rock. Baruna, or Varuna the god of the sea, arrives accompanied by heavenly nymphs and mounted on Wilmana, whose wings are made of five metals. He tells Boma that he is Bisnu's brother and his uncle and gives him Wilmana. On Wilmana (12) Boma flies to Prajotaksena, where Daneswara is king. Boma defeats him takes his city and puts his *raksasa* minister, Aria Karia, under Mudra (the Mahodara of the *Kawi* version), who is his deputy at Prajotaksena.

Bisnu and Brahma walk on Mt. Tanunan, a corruption of the *kawi* Tapowana "or wood where men do penance". Bisnu plucks a *nagasari* flower and makes of it a man, Dermadewa: Brahma plucks one and makes a woman Dermadewi. The two gods return to heaven, leaving their two creatures united in wedlock.

Bisnu resolves to become incarnate in Kesna and makes Dermadewa promise to follow him. He enters the pregnant wife of Pasudewa, who bears (p. 16) two sons, Baladewa king of Madura, and Kesna, king of Daruwati Pati. Kesna has two wives, Rakmi and Jambuwati, the latter three months pregnant. Dermadewa now leaves his wife as she sleeps, putting on her pillow a letter written on a palm-leaf together with a quid of betel: he tells a parrot to inform her of his journey and enters the body of Jambuwati, who bears a son Samba Prawira Jaya. Dermadewi throws herself into the fire, so that she shall meet her husband again, and entering the body of Dewi Darsila, consort of Jantaka king of Mandura-nagara, is reborn as Januwati. For foster-mother she has a heavenly nymph, Puspawati. Boma sends Mudra and Aria Karia as envoys to ask for the hand of Januwati, but they behave roughly as *raksasas* do and their (24) request is refused. Boma kills Jantaka with his arrow Siamoga and carries off Januwati. Puspawati tells her that only the heavenly nymph, Nila Utama, can procure her a meeting with Dermadewa or, as he is now, Samba. She asks Boma to get her Nila Utama as a maid, whereupon Boma fights Indra and compels him to give up Nila Utama and Sakurba. Then he goes to destroy the (47) ascetics on the mountains Jingabiru and Arkasa. Those who escape seek help from the holy ascetics, Gunadewa and Angkari (who in *kawi* is Anggira). They go to Batara Guru, whom they find with Marami, Charakesti, Narada

and the lesser gods. Batara Guru sends the two suppliants with Narada to seek the help of Kesna. Kesna sends against Boma an army under Samba, Suranata and Surama. Samba comes to the cell of Angkari—On the way he sees the high mountains Imagiri and Rajawana and the place where Arjuna doing penance was troubled by king Chakawacha—perhaps, as van Tuuk suggests, the Nivata-kavachas, whom Arjuna destroyed. Suranata slays one of Boma's captains, Aria Pakitu, Surama slays another Si-amoga, Samba defeats Wira Angkasa. Samba passes on to the hermitage of Katambara and later stays in a village near the mountain Perjuta, where live the heavenly nymphs, Tunjong Sari, Tunjong Biru and Tunjong Maya. By Guru's advice they had gone there to avoid trouble with Kamajaya, who had pursued them with his love. Samba and his followers captured them, Samba making love to Tunjong Sari, Suranata to Tunjong Biru and Surama to Tunjong Maya. Samba puts to flight Pralemba who molested the ascetics on mount Jinggabiru. Next he visited the hermitage of the holy Wisadewa, where he left Tunjong Sari, and went off with Gunadewa to mount Tanunan, where, sent by Januwati, Nila Utama met him and accompanied him after his beloved. Having donned the *antakesoma* coat, he flies with Nila Utama to Boma's palace. Tunjong Sari is sad and is comforted by Wisadewa. Surama and Darga come with an army to aid Samba. They report that the hermits and wise men (*pandita*) advise him not to stay long in Boma's palace. Nila Suri Dewi, a female *raksasa*, hearing voices hurries armed to the spot. In spite of Nila Utama's warning, Samba and his followers are surrounded by the Raksasas. Samba slays Mudra, but Nila Suri Dewi carries off Januwati and hides her on the golden mountain.

Narada descends, tells Samba of Januwati's plight and advises him to go to his father. Samba takes leave of Wisadewa and goes with Tunjong Sari to Duarawati; where he is welcomed by his father and his uncle, Baladewa. Narada again descends and goes to Kesna for help against Nila Suri. Samba burns the city of Prajotaksana (or Traju Trisna) and finds Januwati. Nila Suri flees to Indra's heaven to report to Boma. Samba goes to Mt. Menggada (Magadha) near the territory of Jarasanda whose son Nawanda had been killed in a great battle against Arjuna. Jarasanda attacks Samba whom Wisapati finds lying wounded in the lap of Januwati and heals him. Samba, with his captains Santaka (Sentiaka) and Nasta Jamana (or Drestajumina) again attacks Jarasanda and takes one of his sons prisoner. Leaving Wisapati, Samba goes to Duarawati, where he meets the three wives of Kesna, Satiabama, (Bat. MS. Sapiama), Rukmi (Bat. MS. Pamian) and his own mother Jambuwati.

Derma, grandfather of Gatotkacha, fearful of an attack by Boma, joins Samba. His grandson, along with his father Bima, does penance on Mt. Kandarana: he goes to his elder brother Pasudewa (Bat. MS. Basu Dewa) and asks him to accompany him to Kesna. Kesna accompanies him to the forest Rangdu, taking Samba: each takes his consort. Dermawangsa and

Arjuna hear of it and Subadra wants to go too, in order to see Januwati. Kesna awaits an attack from Boma.

Engaged in a war in Indra's heaven, Boma is told of events by Nila Suri. He writes to Kesna, demanding that Samba and Januwati be sent to him in chains: otherwise he will turn Duara-wati into a sea of blood (*sagara gētah*; Bat. MS. *laut darah*). Receiving a refusal, he sends Kirana and Mudra to abduct them. After putting their people to sleep by a charm (*pustaka sēsirip*) they creep into their bed-chamber and bind them. They are brought before Boma, who has oil poured on a pyre to burn Samba. Suddenly Hanuman, who is doing penance on Mt. Darasēna, comes with a host of apes to free Samba. He kills Boma, and Samba and Arjuna fall. After the fight Guru sends Narada and Indra with the water of life (*utama jiwa*) to revive the heroes. Samba follows his father.

There are two copies of the tale of Boma in London, one at Cambridge, two at Leiden and five at Batavia. To produce an adequate text of this early Malay Hindu tale they ought to be collated. The Raffles MS. No. 15 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society was copied for Raffles at Batavia (Krokot), but occasionally the older spelling, *mat* for *mati*, *suar* for *suara* and is for *isi*, is preserved. Javanese forms, like *kakang*, are rare. There are a few forms, like *bērkamparan* instead of *bērkaparan* and *batun* instead of *bantuan*. The tale like the story of Sri Rama, purports to have been recited, here by a *kiai dalang*.

HIKAYAT CHEKEL-WANENG-PATI.

After doing penance for three months on Mt. Mulia Kesna, Batara Naya Kesuma begot, by his consort Dewi Nila Utama, daughter of Batara Kesna Indra, twins, a son Dewa Indra Kama-jaya and a daughter Dewi Nila Kenchana. Thunder, a gentle breeze, a rainbow, the crowing of cocks, and an eclipse of the moon heralded their birth on the fourteenth of the month. The girl was brought up by her uncle, Batara Indra. When she meets her own brother, they fall in love. Their father foresees that they will descend to earth.

Now there were four kingdoms in Java created by Maha Bisnu (Vishnu). Over Wanasaba ruled the celibate princess Ni Rara Suchi, who lived a hermit on Mt. Puchangan. Her brother Lembu Amiluhur, alias Sang Prabu Dewa Kesoma, ruled Kuripan. Another brother, Lembu Amarapadu, ruled Daha. Another, Lembu Pengarang, ruled Gagelang. The youngest, a sister, Kinara Gila Prenggiwangsa, was the wife (*pērmaisuri*) of the ruler of Singgasari.

One day the ruler of Kuripan saw a doe suckling its dam, which he had just shot, and yearning for a child took his consort to the island Nusa Sari to pray to Sang Yang Sukma for offspring. His brother the ruler of Daha visits it on the same quest. Naya Kusuma changing his son into a blue lotus and his daughter

into a white, sets the blossoms before the rulers of Kuripan and Daha. The Paduka Mahadewi of Kuripan bears a son Raden Karta Buana or Raden Brajanata, and, amid storm, thunder and lightning, the Permaisuri of Kuripan bears Radin Inu Kartapati, alias Undakan Rawisrangga, who is an incarnation of Dewa Indra Kamajaya. Seven times he is carried in procession round the city and astrologers foretell that he shall rule all Java but that in his twelfth year a disaster will separate him from his parents. At the time of his birth the four who had served him in heaven, Sang Rukma Jaya, Sang Rukma Chahaya, Sang Raksa Indra and Sang Rukma Indra, all descendants of Indra, become incarnate in the wives of the *pateh*, *dëmang*, *tëmënggong* and *rangga* of Kuripan and are born into the world and called Jurudeh, Punta, Kertala and Prasanta: the *raksa* also gets a son Turas. Prasanta is hideous, because of the curse of Indra, whose permission to become man, as Rukma Chahaya he had not obtained: he pretends it is because his mother had eaten the meat of an owl. The Permaisuri of Kuripan bears another son Charang Tinangluh alias Lampong Karas, and a beautiful daughter.

The queen of Daha bears a daughter Kenchana Ratna *alias* Radin Galuh Chandra Kirana and Lasmi-ning-puri: she is the incarnation of Dewi Nila Kenchana. Her three servitor nymphs become incarnate in the wives of three Kuripan chiefs and are born into the world and named Ken Bayan, Ken Sanggit and Ken Pasangon. Daha's queen bears a son, Raden Gunong Sari or Raden Parbata Sari. The Paduka Mahadewi of Daha bears two daughters Raden Galuh Ajeng and Raden Tami Uwe. The prince of Gagelang gets a daughter Raden Galuh Kumuda and a son Raden Mantri Sirikan or Singa Mantri. The ruler of Singasari gets a daughter Uda-ning-Kung.

Radin Inu learns horsemanship, the arts of war and of music. Of his followers' Prasanta has a voice like a cracked drum and cannot sing, and is always the one to get his pate broken in adventures. Radin Inu goes to Daha and is betrothed to Chandra Kirana, who is as lovely as the nymphs Supraba and Tilottama. (p. 21). But Batara Kala resolves to turn their joy into sorrow and uses Ratu Socha Windu, a mighty ruler in the East, to whom are subject the princes of Bangawan, Nusantara, Madanda and Tumasik. Socha Windu dreams Raden Inu will one day rule all Java and sends Ranga Lawé and Si Penambang to kidnap him. Standing on one leg Ranga Lawé makes himself shrink and closing the nine openings of his body causes the world of sense to disappear and flies to Kuripan with Si Penambang clinging to his girdle. They fly off with Radin Inu as he sleeps. (p. 35). Jurudeh, Punta and Kertala pursue in vain and, afraid to return, become hermits on Mt. Sela Mangling, one sitting on the tops of canary-grass (*lalang*), one in water, one under a rock. (p. 39). Radin Inu refuses to marry the daughter of Socha Windu, and kicks and spits till Socha Windu attacks him with spear, creese and sword but in vain. He is bound to a stake, assailed with weapons and charged by horses and elephants; though all his assailants are

reluctant, after three days he appears lifeless and is cast into the river, whence Prasanta and Turas rescue him (p. 43). Radin Inu now changes his name to Chekel Wanengpati and goes a handsome but wasted vagabond to Daha where he is unknown. There he learns that a Raksasa has carried off Chandra Kirana to his cave on Sela Mangling and though her father offers her in marriage to her rescuer, no one has recovered her. Chekel Wanengpati kills the demon, who is thus released from Batara Guru's curse and becomes Batara Siwa (Shiva) ; he offers to become his releaser's servant and spitting in his mouth gives him supernatural power. Prasanta (whose name is now Ranggajiwa) stands terrified with eyes shut and yells when his master slaps his back, thinking the Raksasa is about to kill him. But when they find Turas (now Si-Butatil) in his hiding-place, Prasanta brags that it was he who killed the demon. As they approach Daha, the king and all the court hurry to meet the rescued princess. At the approach of women Si-Butatil arranges his clothes and sticks a flower behind his ear so that it bleeds. Her rescuer will not do obeisance (*sĕmbah*) to the princess, will eat only from her plate, sleep only on her bed, and have his hair cut only in the hall Indra Buana, which no one but princes can enter on pain of death. Ken Bayan goes to prince Gunong Sari who is sitting playing the *gamĕlan* under a tree, and he gives her scissors and his attendants Tatik and Kemang to direct the hair-cutting. His women prepare unguents, which they think will not be needed by one about to be stricken by the gods. Before he can touch Chekel, Kemang falls in a faint and on recovery declares he had felt a blinding fire (p. 74). Chekel laughs and suggests that Kemang's left arm is too short, and it is measured, while Chekel's followers chaff him for his simplicity. Before his second attempt Kemang says, "By your leave, Chekel" and is unharmed. Si-Butatil causes laughter by wondering if he too shall have a hair-cut there. All are amazed at Chekel's beauty. He is attired for sleep in gorgeous raiment with earrings, armlets and anklets: more he refuses, as he is a jungle dweller. The women prick their fingers over their embroidery and cut their hands from excitement over his charm.

The king of Kuripan, fearful of losing another son, curses Charang Tinangluh (p. 79) saying that he will become ugly and leprous if he goes in search of Inu. And this happens, when with his sister Angling Karas and his servant Si-Tuli he sets out. Batara Kala bids them go to Mt. Arga Sela. There they find Gunong Agong who can give no news of Inu and climbing higher they reach a lovely pool with water-lilies and lotus-blooms, its sand as white as cotton, and two rocks one like a carpet, one like an elephant. For 16 months they neither eat nor drink nor sleep, until Batara Indra spits into Charang's mouth and gives him the power of gods and *indras*. Indra changes the rock into an elephant for Charang, and a tree into a weapon with which he shall conquer all the kingdoms of the world, till he finds his brother whereat he shall regain his beauty and his elephant shall return to rock and his weapon again become a tree. Returning they meet

Tagak Wesi in the form of the spectre Wewe, and Wesi Jaya green and clad in river-weed. Having found the Radin Mantri Enum, their penance is now done. Charang with his sister conquers Pamotan and kills its ruler whose women commit suttee, all except the ruler's daughter Anta Resmi, whom Angling Karas promises to put on the throne of Pamotan. Charang Wanengpati now calls himself Klana Prabu Jaya; Gunong Agong becomes Rangka Mangunyuda; Tagakwesi, Tumenggong Midaksa; Wesijaya, Demang Suradilaga; Si Tuli, Bekel Suramatangga; and Angling Karas, the green Gem Ratna Wilis. Klana Prabu Jaya slays the older brother of Pamotan's king, namely the king of Pambuhan in a duel; and the women again commit suttee except only the king's daughter, Nawang Resmi. Then he conquers Pandan Salas (p. 103) and captures its ruler's daughter, Chandra Ningrum. He is sad because he has not yet found Inu.

The ruler of Manggada tells his captains Singabarung, Gajah binurang and Roning layang that he will go in force to ask for Chandra Kirana, as Inu has vanished, and seize her if he is refused (p. 118). He sends two arrogant noblemen to Daha with a letter wrapt in yellow cloth. In this dilemma, the ruler of Daha asks the advice of his sister Ratu Mas of Panggong Wetan, who counsels him not to offend the ruler of Manggada and vainly tries to persuade Chandra Kirana. It is decided to ask for three months postponement. The frantic impatience of the ruler of Manggada amuses his retainers. From his lodge at Karang Kasatrian he behaves as if Daha belonged to him and enrages Gunong Sari, who one day receives Chekel Wanengpati and tells him of the impending marriage. Chekel is furious but smiles and they arrange to wait and abduct the bride during the wedding procession. The princess of Panggong Wetan advises the ruler of Daha to arrange a hunt to divert Chandra Kirana but she sends for Chekel and makes him promise not to leave Daha or to take him with her. He arranges to accompany her on the hunt. His men kill a tiger but the men from Manggada are cowards and their master a ludicrous boor. Batara Kala, angry with the ruler of Daha for breaking his word to Chekel throws his ring to the earth where it becomes a hind with golden antlers. Chandra Kirana wants it captured alive. Her father promises her hand to its captor. The prince of Manggada wounds himself and tears his clothes in the hunt but fails. Chekel catches it, after praying to Batara Shiva. People marvel and ask, 'Has Kamajaya descended from heaven?' Chandra Kirana goes to Penglipor Lara to bathe. Chekel leaps the fence and enters, followed by his servants. He writes verses on a leaf, which Chandra Kirana picks up, reads and throws away in anger. A learned man, Klana Brahmana, whose strategy has subdued Cheruni, Pasuruan, Kabotan and Wirasaba and who has married princesses of those countries, comes to the court, (p. 156) propounding two riddles: offering to acknowledge, himself and his four wives and 2,000 followers, the suzerainty of Daha, if its ruler can solve them, while should he fail the king must surrender the princess Chandra

Kirana. Relying on the boasts of the prince of Manggada, the king takes up the challenge. The first riddle is : " what is a small plant with large fruit ? The second : " what is the ivory casket that contains a gold casket, that contains a pearl casket, wherein is a jewel beyond price ? " The prince of Manggada is aghast with open mouth, like a hen about to lay an egg. Parbata Sari advises the king to ask for 7 days' grace and promise his daughter to the solver of the riddles ; and he asks Chekel to come and solve them. The prince of Manggada and the Brahmana sneer at the boor, who however gives the correct answers : (1) the water-melon, (*su-mangga*) (2) the ivory box is prince Parbata Sari of Daha ; the golden and pearl caskets are Raden Galoh Ajeng and Radin Galuh Uwé, and the priceless gem, Chandra Kirana : daughters are under their brother's protection and a king without a son is like an elephant without tusks (p. 164). The Brahman defeated flees with one servant to Socha Windu. Chekel offers his prizes to Chandra Kirana, who plies his servants with drink in a vain effort to discover who they are.

Meanwhile Klana Prabu Jaya, sad at failure to find Inu, conquers Wirabhumí (p. 175). Its king takes leave of his wife, promises to await her at the gate of heaven, and is killed. His son Singa Priambada and his daughter Anglong Mandira are well treated ; and his *tēmenggong*, Gajah Sinangling, is made regent under the title of Aria.

Again the ruler of Daha breaks his promise to Chekel and in anger his son Gunong Sari prepares to attack the prince of Manggada ; to provoke a quarrel he dresses Si-Butatil in clothes that could only be worn by that prince. Suddenly news comes that Klana Prabu Jaya is attacking Daha. Fear makes the people as quiet as the leather puppets of the shadow-play when the lights of the theatre have been extinguished. The prince of Manggada boasts he will cut the invader to pieces but demands that Chekel shall leave the kingdom. Thinking the king of Daha to be privy to this demand Chekel prepares to go and is only detained by a challenge from Parbati Sari to throw dice. Chekel plays for 24 hours and loses all his property including his two servants. He sends them to Chandra Kirana to raise money on his creese but she refuses to take it and sends him gifts. He now agrees to stay. First the prince of Manggada engages Kalana Prabu Jaya and flees beaten, while Chekel notes how the enemy has adopted tactics used once by his brother Charang Tirangluh. For the fourth time the ruler of Daha now promises Chekel his daughter if he can defeat the enemy and he gives him the title of Adipati Tambak Baya. Chekel and Gunong Sari are friends like Arjuna and Sam-ba. He takes leave of Chandra Kirana, who gives him trousers of pattern named after Arjuna as a hermit, raiment called Intoxicated with love (*bérangli kēsaraan*) anoints his shoulders and gives him Inu's shield, dagger and horse, which recognizes him and whinnies. He bids farewell to the king and goes hand in hand with Gunong Sari to the city gate. In Midaksa, Suradilaga and Mangunyuda Adipati recognizes his three erstwhile companions

Kartala, Punta and Jurudeh but they fail to recognize him, and when he waves his creese at them, the current of air makes them swoon. When Prabu Jaya wants to attack Adipati, his elephant will not face the sparks from his blows : his weapons grow hot and his strength and voice fail, but in his ugly foe he too fails to detect his brother. Adipati fells his brother and then recognizes him. When he takes Charang Tinangluh on his lap, his brother's beauty is restored. Gentle rain falls ; the sun is darkened ; and there are rainbow and thunder. Adipati faints at his deed. Going his rounds on earth, Batara Kala (p. 217) sees the two princes lying unconscious and spirits Chandra Kirana and her servant Si Abang into the forest before they recover. The wailing over her loss is like that of the sea breaking on the shore, and Adipati is inconsolable.

Stunned by the (supposed) death of Adipati and the disappearance of his sister, Parbata Sari gets his father's leave to go hunting, and having travelled for a day tells his followers he is going in search of his sister. Names are changed. Parbata Sari becomes Mesa Ulun Sira Panji Pandai Rupa ; his head servant, Demang Raganata ; Tatik, Charang Sari ; Kemang, Charang Kembang and Wijil Charang Soka. They fare to the sea and reach Tuban, whose ruler is just dead, and build a fleet (p. 226). His father sends his Temenggong after Parbati Sari, who leaves at his mountain lodge a letter telling of his purpose. Mesa Ulun sails north conquering, kills the ruler of Tanjong Pura in a sea-fight and coaxes his daughter Ratnawati.

Chandra Kirana (p. 228) wanders in the forest with torn garb and weary feet hoping beasts will devour her if she cannot find Adipati. She changes her name to Ken Sela Brangti and her servant's to Ken Bramanta. They are found by the prince of Lasem asleep under a tree and Ken Sela Brangti is adopted by him.

Mesa Ulun leaves Tanjong Pura, conquers Bangka the Long and reaches Tuban, whence he and his wife in a carriage go to the sea and sail for Lasem (p. 231). The king of Lasem wants to marry him to Ken Sela Brangti but the two discover they are brother and sister. He tells her Adipati's body was not found and she is overwhelmed.

Meanwhile having recovered in Wirabumi (p. 243), Adipati determines to go and seek Chandra Kirana. He changes his name to Mesa Kagungan Sira Panji Pulang Asmara—Kalana Prabu Jaya is called Mesa Yuda Asmara Kusuma Indra, and Singa Priambada becomes Jaya Asmara Suta Semi. So, too, the servants. Ranga Mangunyuda becomes Ranga Narawangsa ; Suradilaga, Parta Wirajaya ; Midaksa, Panta Wirajaya ; Astujiwa, Ragajiwa ; Si Tulus, Bagus Chili, Si-Butatil pretends to be hurt that he does not get a new name too. On the seventh day of the month Sira Panji and his brother set out for Gagelang. Ratna Wilis accompanying them in a carriage. First they conquer Gunong Kendang whose king foreknowing his end from the flight

of a bird tells his wife he will await her at the gate of heaven and dies in battle. The ruler of Gagelang sends envoys who report Sira Panji comes as a friend. Crowds await him and the women fall in love with him. He meets the king and is housed in the palace Karang Kawangsan but the moonlight keeps him awake thinking of Chandra Kirana. Daily he meets the king. Names are changed again. Sira Panji becomes Temenggong Aria Wangsa; Mesa Yuda, Aria Prabangsa; and the prince of Wirabumi, Aria Suta Semi.

The king of Mt. Bantara and his relative the prince of Putrasena determine to avenge the death of the king of Gunong Kendang with the help of a warrior Kalana Banjar, and to conquer Gagelang and Singasari. Mesa Ulun with wife and sister leaves Lasem for Gagelang (p. 276) where his likeness to Aria Wangsa is noted at once. At court Aria Wangsa recognizes him as Gunong Sari, and Mesa sees the likeness of Aria Wangsa to Adipati, asks if he knows such a man and can tell where Kalana Prabu Jaya is. The *pateh*, who takes him to his lodge Karang Singapadu, tells how Aria Wangsa had another name when he arrived. Mesa Ulun imparts his suspicions to his sister Sela Brangti but she is incredulous—His servants inform Aria Wangsa of a rumour that Gunong Sari had found his sister at Lasem, and say there are now two carriages at Karang Singapadu. From joy Aria Wangsa feels like a plant refreshed by rain: he takes every precaution to conceal his identity, even grooming his horse Si-Rangga-Ranggi indoors. Next day the king gives Mesa Ulun the new name of Demang Urawan. Demang Urawan asks Aria Wangsa (who is so like Adipati) for the loan of his servants, Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil, who he sees are like Adipati's servants. Sela Brangti, concealed behind a curtain, questions them in their cups, but Si-Butatil will not drink and removes his comrade as he is about to blab: going back to Aria Wangsa, Si-Butatil amuses all by blaming himself for the dumbness of Ragajiwa, who retorts in a drunken fashion. Aria Wangsa goes as a guest to Demang Urawan, and while they sing and play, Sela Brangti and her maids come out in the moonlight and climb a stone wall to get a glimpse of the men. She sees Aria Wangsa clearly by the lamplight and recognizes him as Adipati and looking up he beholds his beloved: He retires to his sleepless couch.

The prince of Gagelang wants to marry Aria Wangsa to Ken Sela Brangti. Demang Urawan awaits Aria Wangsa under a banyan tree and tries in vain to stab him. At night he steals past a sleeping guard and by means of a charm enters the room of Aria Wangsa, only to start back amazed at the beauty of Ratna Wilis who lies near. The lovers Aria Wangsa and Sela Brangti, Demang Urawan and Ratna Wilis meet again by accident at a bathing party at Pengepor Lara. When Sela Brangti runs away, Aria Wangsa is heartbroken at seeing her go like the moon behind a mountain-top.

Batara Kala appears to Inu of Koripan in a dream and tells him he will soon be united with Chandra Kirana. He sees a

vision (p. 305) of a beautiful youth with three locks of hair, called Ki Desti Pengarang, a dweller at Alas-Alasan, (or *di-desa Gagelang* Raff.) who declared that if his father wished he would fetch his mother and unite them. The same night the ruler of Gagelang dreams that an old woman comes and tells him that so long as a youth Ki Desti Pengarang lives many will fall sick and die. There is a search for the youth. Aria Wangsa's men find him in a big house under a cotton tree. He refuses to accompany them and says their master must come to him. When one of the men stabs him, the blood spurts to heaven and the youth and his house vanish, going to Nini Muni at Alas Setran. The searchers wander in the forest, afraid to go home.

Sleepless from love Aria Wangsa goes to the grave-yard (*pasetraan*) kicking in the dark against Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil, who though terrified of ghosts follow him. He concentrates on calling up Shiva and all sorts of spirits appear, (p. 311) some only heads, some only feet, some have blazing eyes or stick out tongues and lick his feet. Batara Shiva appears and asks what he wants. Aria Wangsa (=Inu) asks to find Ki Desti Pengarang. The youth's grandmother, Nini Muni, appears and offers to send her grandson to Sela Brangti in return for 178 bamboo plates of food, 170 chickens roasted whole and 173 dishes of cakes (—100 *anchar* of raw meat only in Raff. MS. 23). Batara Shiva provides them. Muni then demands to become human and though he knows it will bring down a curse Aria Wangsa prays for this. She becomes a beautiful girl and by magic erects a pavilion. He kisses her (p. 314) but when her robe falls and reveals her gleaming form, she reminds him he has not yet wedded Chandra Kirana and offers to call her grandson and send him to tap Sela Brangti's head thrice and cause her an illness which he only can cure. He takes leave and finds his servants skulking in a dry well for fear of ghosts. Batara Guru's hermits cannot cure Sela Brangti. The famous medicine-man, Ki Desti Pengarang, refuses help and recommends Aria Wangsa, who attends her, till finding he is Adipati alias Chekel she throws herself into his arms and he makes her his. She asks him to arrange a marriage between her brother Demang Urawan and Ratna Wilis. He consents but first goes hunting. The marriage takes place. Aria Wangsa seduces Anglong Mandira, princess of Wirabhum, and Chandraningrum, a princess of Jagaraga.

The prince of Singasari sends to Gagelang for help against the kings of Putrasena and Gunong Bantara (p. 356) who are killed in battle. In the fight Aria Wangsa's robe is lifted and Demang Urawan recognizes him to be Inu Kartapati from a blaze on his thigh. Aria Wangsa refuses the hand of Ratna Kumuda, daughter of the king of Singasari, and she is married to Aria Prabangsa. Rangga Narawangsa is praised by Aria Wangsa for killing Banyas Santika (p. 376) a son of the mantri Aria Jambalika, for an intrigue with one of Sela Brangti's maids.

A fierce long-haired, black-bearded Kalana Guling Patirat, (p. 387) vulnerable only on the hip, comes from Palembang and

ravages Java, conquering even Mataram. Gagelang and Singasari are afraid but Aria Wangsa undertakes their defence and sends Wirajaya to discover where the attack will fall. The prince of Gagelang is doubtful of the prowess of Aria Wangsa, who therefore brushes past the head of a *patih* in the form of a bird and then resumes his own shape. Aria Prabangsa, too, takes the form of the princess of Gagelang and makes the *patih* escort him to the Kalana as a token of submission. Kalana, fired with love, is induced to tell of the spot where he is vulnerable. Thereupon Aria Prabangsa takes the form of a fighting-cock and flies up into a banyan tree : then he takes his own shape, breaks the Kalana's creese and vanishes. Meantime, having taken the form of the Kalana, Aria Wangsa carries off the ten princesses of the Kalana's harem to Gagelang. In the ensuing battle he kills the Kalana and presents his head on a golden plate, covered with a yellow cloth, to the king of Gagelang. Aria Wangsa is given the title of Pangeran Adipati and the hand of the king's daughter, Raden Galuh. Her jealousy towards her spouse's favourite wife, Sela Brangti, leads her to plot with Pandu Rasmi, sister of Banyak Santika, who (as related) had been killed for an intrigue with one of Sela Brangti's maids (p. 429). A portrait of Banyak Santika is put under Sela Brangti's pillow and a rumour started that he was not her maid's lover but hers. Sleepless Sela Brangti dozes just as her consort returns and finds the portrait. He strikes her and spits at her, calls Demang Urawan and challenges him to a duel, but Demang Urawan refuses and demands an enquiry. Aria Wangsa orders Ragajiwa (p. 436) to take Sela Brangti to the grave-yard (*pasetraan*), where she enters the spirit world, weak and swaying like a betel-palm : realizing Pandu Rasmi's plot, she would like to be devoured by the screeching demons (*buta*) but the princess of the spirit-world appears and promises her good treatment. There falls darkness with thunder and lightning. Batara Kala visits Pangeran Adipati, who lies in a swoon, and rebukes him. None of the princesses will tend him, nor is a cure sent by the king of Gagelang of avail. Finally he revives to hear, that Demang Urawan and his women have gone to Lasem which is put in his charge. In the spirit world Sela Brangti bears a son Mesa Tandraman (p. 444) Raden Galuh bears a son, Raden Chitra Anglong Baya. Hearing of the divorce and of his brothers' sickness Aria Prabangsa hurries with Suta Semi from Singasari to Gagelang. Then turning into an eagle he flies to Mt. Arga Sela, where he concentrates and invokes Mt. Indrakila where the hermit Chandrama Sakti dwells. Foreknowing his errand the hermit says that Inu of Kuripan can be cured only by Batara Kala. Aria Prabangsa must go to a square pond at the foot of the mountain, pluck from it one lotus-leaf to sit on and another to cover his body, don a penitent's cap, and without sleep or food let himself be carried for six months in the ebb and flow of the South seas ; when Batara Kala appears, he must not reply to his questions. After six months Batara Kala appears, makes a circle in the water and in it creates a glistening island of diamond. Aria Prabangsa pays no heed. After seven days Batara Kala asks him

thrice what he wants. He is dumb. Then the god promises to accomplish his desire and says, "O Charang Tinangluh, your brother's cure is the scented *gandapura* flower that grows not on earth and can be found only by your brother's son." Concentrating his thoughts on Gagelang, Aria Prabangsa returns there and tells Pangeran Adipati.

Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil are ordered to fetch Sela Brangti from the *pasetraan*, but in terror of spirits arrange to spend the night elsewhere and pretend they cannot find her. They roam in a wood together and are hurt by all sorts of beasts, until accidentally they reach the *pasetraan* and meeting the demons hop frog-like over the ground till they can take refuge in a dry well. There Mesa Tandraman finds them and takes them to his mother. She lets them take her son to his father Pangeran Adipati, who gives him his creese and his horse Si-Rangga-Ranggi for the quest of the flower and bids Chitra Anglong Baya accompany him. First he visits his mother who resents his going with her rival's son but the queen of the spirit world tells him the flower grows in heaven and teaches him to fly. Alighting on the island Tambini Mesa Tandraman with his creese Si Kalamisani kills a *buta*, (p.466) who thus freed from a curse becomes Shiva and tells him the flower is blood from the bosom of the nymph Sukarba. Flying again they reach heaven, which the hero enters on foot. He finds seven nymphs, the fairest of them Sukarba, to whom Shiva warned him he must not yield till she has promised him the flower. They pass seven days in love, and yet another seven. She tells her lover that perhaps she will bear a child. When her father Indra hears this, he is furious but Batara Kala persuades him to allow the marriage. Sukarba pricks her bosom and puts the flower in a turquoise casket which none but her lover can open. Bidding her farewell, he asks that her child, if a boy, may be named Mesa Kusuma. At the palace of his mistress, the princess of Nusa Tambini, he finds his brother Chitra Anglong Baya and they set out for Java. But while they bathe on Mt. Lawu, Chitra Anglong Baya steals his brother's creese, stabs him and steals the casket. The horse Si-Rangga-Ranggi stays beside his master and licks his blood. But by the help of Batara Kala Mesa Tandraman revives and goes to the *pasetraan* where his mother (p. 476) has dreamt he is in trouble. Meanwhile his brother has presented the casket to their father but as no one can open it, his father is sure he is not the finder of it, spits at him and sends Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil for Mesa Tandraman who refuses to go. The princess of the spirit-world tells him unless he goes to Daha all Java will be conquered by Socha Windu. As dry rubbish is carried by the wind, so on the word of the spirit princess Sela Brangti is transported to Daha, where after loving greeting her father gets angry at hearing of her marriage to a Gagelang nobleman. The prince of Manggada, backed by a warrior Krangyang Narapaksa is again asking for the hand of Chandra Kirana. Meanwhile with his brother and Aria Suta Semi, Pengeran Adipati has mounted an elephant and gone to his son Mesa Tandraman, got the casket

opened and been cured. Father and son set out for Wirabumi. But in the night the father slips away, with Ragajiwa and Si-Butatil, for Daha. Aria Prabangsa decides to take the ladies to Wirabumi and then to follow his brother in disguise. In the heavenly garden, Banjaran Sari, on the fifteenth day of the month amid a hurricane of rain, thunder and lightning, Sukarba bears a son, whom Indra names Mesa Indra Kusuma Yuda.

In Daha the prince of Manggada still demands Chandra Kirana and says he is not afraid of her husband. Nothing will move Chandra Kirana and as she is offering incense and praying for her husband's arrival a voice addresses her and pretending to be the god Larasmara her husband, invisible and dubbed now Bra Wisamarta, hears her talk of suicide if he does not come. Pangeran Adipati then takes his own shape and they are reconciled.

Demang Urawan goes from Lasem to Daha (p. 503) but angry at the presence of the prince of Manggada retires. Disguised as players Aria Prabangsa, Aria Suta Semi and Mesa Tandraman get access to the Daha court. They change their names. Aria Prabangsa becomes Surana; Aria Suta Semi, Surata; Mesa Tandraman, Suta Nagara; Narawangsa, Narachita; Wirajaya, Suragëmpita; Wirayuda, Astukuas-a; Baguschili, Chilimolek. They enact the stabbing of Aria Wangsa by Demang Urawan and all that happened afterwards, so that Chandra Kirana recognises Suta Nagara for her son. One day Ratu Mas of Panggong Wetan, a supporter of the prince of Manggada, hears Chandra Kirana addressed in loving terms by a male voice and tells his friend who in anger sets Banyak Parada to kill the would-be abductor, but his emissary is manhandled by the servants of Pangeran Adipati: Manggada's great warrior, Krangyang Narapaksa is then given the task, but Pangeran Adipati awaits him. Hearing of it, the prince of Daha asks for volunteers to kill the *maling aguna* (p. 510) Surana the strolling player volunteers! Meanwhile prince Kartabuana has come from Kuripan in search of his brothers and detects in Surana a strong likeness to Charang Tinangluh. Surana alias Charang Tinangluh is reported killed in his fight with the *maling* but he goes to Kartabuana and prepares to fight the prince of Menggada. Then the *maling*, who is really Radin Inu, is wrongly taken to be dead (p. 505) Charang Tinangluh surrounds and kills the prince of Menggada. The prince of Sucha Windu prepares to attack Daha to abduct its princess. He orders his captain Ranga Lawe the Green to carry out his plan, while the ruler of Tumasik orders his *pënggawa* Ranga Lawe the white to accompany him. The attacker's allies are the rulers of Madanda, Tumasik, Nusantara and Sanggora, of Blambangan, Blitar, Tetegat and Pakambangan. Terrified the king of Daha hands over government to Inu under the name of Ratu Anum Kesoma Yuda. Mesa Tandraman takes charge of Wirabumi under the name of Raden Aria Mangku Nagara. The prince of Wirabumi governs Mataram with the title of Senapati. Punta becomes Adipati Kunitir;

Kertala, Adipati Manggada ; Prasanta, Adipati Kandang, and Si-Butatil becomes Adipati Juminah. The other princes become *bagawan*: Gunong Sari, Prabu Anum Daha ; Radin Chitra Anglong Baya, Prabu Anum of Gagelang ; Charang Tinangluh, Prabu Anum of Singasari. Tatik becomes *adipati* of Sukawati, Kemang of Sukawana, Si-Tuli of Tanjong Pura.

Socha Windu's two foremost warriors reach Daha, flying through the air, and by their spells carry off Chandra Kirana in her sleep. Adipati Kumitir gives the alarm and swoons. Half-clad Charang Tinangluh flies after the abductors, fights them and turning into an eagle Jentapu flies back to Daha, with the princess. The two abductors follow and there is a fight, in which they raise a hurricane till Aria Mangku Nagara creates thunder and lightning to quell it. Then the abductors create darkness with thousands of shapes like their own to confuse their enemies, but Mangku Nagara creates light. The abductors create a sea and drive into it but are pursued by the three princes of Daha in the shape of dragons. Finally the abductors hide in the forest in the shape of cats, lizards and black dogs but they are taken and killed (p. 561). Adipati Kumitir goes as a spy to the invader's camp. The next day Daha attacks Socha Windu as his army is crossing the river Luhur and puts it to flight. Socha Windu deploys his forces in the form of a hand ; Daha in that of a ravening crocodile. Captured Socha Windu is tied to a stake and stoned to death. Aria Mangku Nagara goes to take over the enemy's kingdom where all submit but 400 grey breads who get drunk and vow to follow their lord in death ; and he marries the beautiful princess Ratna Kumala. All the allies of Socha Windu submit and deliver princesses in token thereof.

Richly clad the princes set out with music for the South Sea, plucking flowers and fruits, visiting the ruins and gardens of ancient towns, bathing and snaring birds. By the sea they build kiosks and Ratna Kumala and her companions dance and sing by the light of the full moon. Ratu Anum (Inu) and his brother Prabu Singasari (Charang Tinangluh) invoke Shiva and Indra respectively to turn them into amiable giants so that they can dam the sea, while Raden Aria (Inu's son) invoking Sukarba and the princess of the *pasetraan* becomes a dragon and sucks up the water between the dams, so that the princesses can collect shells. The builders of the kiosk unearth treasures and old weapons. "Perhaps this is the site of a battle between the Dutch and the English", (p. 624). Stung by a marine animal Si-Butatil causes laughter by reeling like a drunken Dutchman. Raden Karta Buana and Raden Singa Mantri marry the two Daha princesses, Raden Galuh Ajeng and Radin Galuh Uwé. All the princes and their consorts are drawn by oxen in processional cars. The ex-king of Kuripan arranges a mock combat with *puar* sticks, against the *bagawans* of Daha and Singasari, while Prasanta and Si-Butatil guard 200 buffaloes ready to loose into the crowd when the combat grows too fast and furious.—When the buffaloes are loose, Prasanta and Si-Butatil take to the sea, where unable to

swim Si-Butatil clings to his mate and is terrified of sharks; when he climbs ashore, the buffaloes attack him. Radin Aria Mangku Nagara is now installed as ruler of the kingdom of Socha Windu with the title Prabu Anum Kusumaningrat. Suddenly before the kiosk appears the celestial garden Banjaran Sari with Sukarba and other nymphs, who want to see how mortals live. Prasanta and Si-Butatil are dragged, drunk, out of a corner and made to show them a play, depicting the episodes in the life of Inu, Chandra Kirana and their children. Next day all the princes perform a dance in two troops, as later do the princesses. Inu dances alone in the character of Chandra Kirana and she alone, representing him. (p. 633-4). The celestial garden returns to heaven.

In Keling dwelt a mighty prince Anyakra Buanawati, descendant of Pandu. He had a brother Anyakra Kusuma Wijaya, two sons Pangeran Sukma Wijaya and Pangeran Sura Wijaya, and two daughters, Dewi Kusuma Puri and Ratnawati. Now to avenge herself on Mesa Tandraman who had taken another bride and forgotten her, the nymph Sukarba appeared to Pangeran Sukma Wijaya in a dream and said she was Ratna Kumala, wife of Ratu Socha Windu. The prince pines and one or more of the forty most lovely women of Keling are offered to the prince of Kuripan in return for his daughter-in-law. The offer is refused. A great Keling fleet under Jayalengkara, prince of Manchapadanam, set out and calls at Pulau Percha, where the princes of Aceh, Deli, Batu Bara, Rokan, Siak, Bengkulu, Indragiri, Jambi and Palembang submit, and surrender princesses. Pajajaran submits. The ruler of Kling with the rulers of Golconda Nagapadanam, Tanjaur, Gujerat and Bengal all come, flying through the air, the Tamil ruler and his family in a hill-like golden palace (*maligai panchapura*). The *adipati* of Banyu Mas informs Kuripan that the Tamil king has reached Pajajaran and his golden palace has become a town, Martapura, complete with moats and castles. After an exchange of envoys and letters, the war starts. Inu sends Prabu Mataram and Adipati Kumitir to Jagaraga, where is the Adipati of Banyu Mas. "The devils of Mataram" attack the Kling army at night and cause disorder and heavy losses. In the battle Si-Butatil is captured but rescued by Prabu Singasari. Adipati Kumitir refuses to fight Raja Durgamala who is a girl. The brother of the Kling princes vows to abduct Ratna Kumala but Inu has put her and the other women in the jewelled box Astagina and entrusted it to Prabu Socha Windu and Prabu Singasari, who carry it to the sea, where they turn into dragons and lie motionless like islands. After a long search the Kling princes trace them and attack in the form of Raksasas. But Prabu Singasari creates darkness wherein he and his comrade escape to heaven to be pursued by the Klings in the shape of griffins. He then flies to Inu, who by a magic arrow raises a storm that scatters the griffins and takes charge of the turquoise box. Batara Kala gets the gods to send Mesa Indra Dewa Kusuma, son of Mesa Tandraman by Sukarba, to the help

of his father and grandfather. He goes with 36 gods, and erects a magic palace and greets his grandfather. By a *mantra* Anyakra Buanawati puts the Javanese princes at Jagaraga to sleep, locks them in a magic hall, flies back with them to the Kling army and sets them as prisoners in the magic circle of Laksamana that none may cross. There is panic in Jagaraga till Mesa Indra Dewa Kusuma arrives and meets his grandfather. Inu welcomes him and hands over the turquoise box to Prabu Socha Windu to open so that the ladies may meet Sukarba's son. The princes of Singasari Daha and Mataram fail to release the captive Javanese because they are men and none but gods can cross the Laksamana line. Spurred by Inu, Mesa Indra Dewa Kusuma along with Batara Indra Dewa Sokma releases them.

Prabu Singasari begets a son Kertanagara and a daughter Sekar Taji and the Permaisuri of Daha bears a son Raden Parbata Nagara and a daughter Raden Galoh Kenchana Sari.

The battle begins with magic weapons, sudden darkness and prisoners put within the Laksamana circle. Prabu Daha finds that in fighting Durga Narmala he is fighting a woman and takes her captive. The Kling king flies through the air to invoke the aid of his *guru* Sukmanasa. While he is away, Inu and three Prabu take the shape of the Kling princes and abduct their wives. But on the fourteenth day Dewa Sukmanasa arrives with a host of gods and rescues the Kling prisoners. The battle is renewed. Shiva descends, rebukes the gods for helping the Kling invader and arranges settlement by intermarriages. All go to Kuripan, where there are dancing and plays and feasting and marriage processions seven times round the town. The two daughters of Prabu Daha and Prabu Singasari marry the sons of the Kling king, and his two daughters marry the sons of the two Javanese princess. The Kling ruler goes home to be welcomed by his *patih* Singa Pertala.

Shiva sends 200 flying cars to take the Javanese princes to heaven to visit Dewi Sukarba. Indra welcomes them, and they stay a month.

Then Bayan is married to Jurudeh, Ken Sanggit to Punta and Ken Pasangon to Kertala. Ken Sela Brangti takes compassion on her defeated rival, the princess of Gagelang. All the princes go home but come yearly to pay tribute to the court of Kuripan.

Note.—The pages given in brackets are those of Raffles MS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

HIKAYAT AHMAD MUHAMMAD.

The tale is also called the story of Serengga Bayu. The ruler of Yunan had a vizier Muhibb-al-Muluk, who bought a Persian child and named him Ratna Kasehan, found him a wife and gave him a trading-ship. While he has gone to Babel to trade, the vizier dies. He removes to Kenda Kiri and his wife bears two sons Ahmad and Muhammad, who will not go to a teacher of religion

till their father has bought them a beautiful bird. A merchant's son sees the bird and tries in vain to buy it. An astrologer tells him that whoever shall eat the bird's head will become a great ruler and whoever eats its liver a great minister. Having tried in vain to start an intrigue with the children's mother by means of a masseuse go-between, the young man gets from the astrologer the charm called the "arrow of gnosis" (*panah ma'rifat*) to which the lady succumbs. She gives him the bird and he gets it roasted. While he is dallying with his mistress, her sons return from school, and the cook gives them the bird with their rice: Ahmad eats the head and Muhammad the liver. Filled with grief the merchant's son visits the astrologer who tells him that the wonderful bird will resume its shape in the belly of one who has eaten it. He persuades his mistress to let him have her children killed, but their nurse overhears and tells them and they flee. An elephant chooses Ahmad to fill the vacant throne of Baghdad. He also marries the prime minister's daughter Siti Baghdad. Meanwhile Muhammad wakes, sees the tracks of the elephant and a cloth his brother has trailed. He comes to the garden of a fairy god-mother (*ninek kĕbayan*) and hearing from her that an elephant has chosen a boy to be ruler of Baghdad, guesses who it is, fears that his brother has forgotten him, gives his name as Serengga Bayu and begs the old woman to adopt him. She is delighted. He goes to the town and works for hire but he dreams that an old man tells him to pat his cheek if he wants 1,000 *dinar*. This he does and with the money buys eight slaves, clothes and provisions and gives a feast. Siti Baghdad's sister, Siti Sa'adad, becomes enamoured because of the posies Ninek Kĕbayan takes her, arranged by Serengga Bayu. She sends her maids Dang Lela Seganda and Dang Lela Mengerna to Ninek Kĕbayan's house, where Serengga Bayu gives them a ring and a message for their mistress. (p. 39.) She tells him her palace has seven fences and at each the guards must be paid 1000 *dinar* by any one who would enter. He pats his cheek and gets the money and enters. Many good pantuns (with a reference to Laksamana, Paduka Tuan, Singgora, Feringgi are bandied) and Siti Sa'adad gives him wine whereat he vomits up the liver of the magic bird. She washes it and swallows it. They sit in dalliance, while the hero remarks it is like the saying *لَقَسْمَانِ كَرَعَتْكَ مَوْعُكُوهُ بُو*. He returns home to find he can no

longer raise gold by tapping his cheeks and is in grief till wandering he meets two genies quarrelling over the possession of a magic arrow that returns to the bowman, a magic bag filled with any food its owner desires and a magic flying skin. He proposes that he should shoot the arrow and whichever genie gets it, shall have the magic articles. But while they chase after it, he recalls the arrow, mounts the skin and flies home to Ninek Kĕbayan. On the skin he flies to Siti Sa'adad and arranges to fly with her to the island Biram Dewa. They bathe and sport and flirt but when Serengga Bayu falls asleep, she mounts his flying skin and flies home. In grief he wanders till he overhears two egrets arguing over a divorce. The female wants her mate to fly with her for their

divorce to a tree planted by Batara Kala. Rub its bark on the feet and one can walk on water; take a twig of it and strike thrice on the ground and it will become a caparisoned steed, that will revert to a twig if struck again on the ground. Serengga Bayu uses this bark and these twigs and walks on the sea to a ship belonging to a Raja Daud and Raja Tidun, envoys from Khorasan taking to Baghdad a sword that will cut without a swordsman. After seeing his magic arrow they show Serangga Bayu the sword whereupon he leaps overboard, goes ashore, creates a magic steed from the twigs and returns to Ninek Kēbayan. Then having again acquired dinars by patting his cheeks, he enters the heroine's palace once more—He is detected and attacked but drives off his aggressors by his magic arrow that creates bees and wasps. Siti Saadah's father, the Ferdana Mantri, reports to Sultan Ahmad Shah. Serengga Bayu frightens the Sultan's warriors by flying above their heads and shooting at them, but when the Sultan arrives, he uses the twigs and mounts his magic steed only to dismount and relate his adventures to—his own brother. Sultan Ahmad celebrates his brother's marriage with Siti Sa'adad and makes him his prime minister. They then send envoys Merdu Wangsa and Merdu Raja to Yunan to fetch their parents.

This outline is from a version of the tale lithographed in Singapore in 1889 (29 Rabi u'l-akhir, 1307 A.H.).

HIKAYAT SHAHI MARDAN.

Raja Bikrama Ditia Jaya, ruler of Dar al-Hastana had a son Shah-i Mardan, who studied under a Brahman of Dar al-Kiam, versed in the language of birds. Having escorted his teacher home on the completion of his studies, Shah-i Mardan got lost on his return and came to the bower, where Kemala Ratna Dewi daughter of the ruler of Dar al-Marjum had been carried from her garth Surakerama by a Raksasa. When he is too faint-hearted to rescue her, she wipes his face with the charm *ulu-rana* and changes him into a parroquet. He flies to Dar al-Kiam and alights on the bower of Siti Dewi, the king's daughter, who cherishes him, by day a parroquet, by night a prince. Her father seeing her love-lorn state threatens his viziers with death unless they discover her lover within forty days. A duenna betrays the secret. When the king would kill the parroquet, the Brahmana changes him into Shah-i Mardan. He weds Siti Dewi and leaves her to travel, after bidding her name their unborn child Panji Lelana if a boy, Ratna Dewi if a girl.

Under the name of Indrajaya he reaches a hill where an ascetic sage Salam a'd-din tells him prayer is done to four letters All(a)h and with the help of patience and good works will merge the visible in the invisible. Forty days later he encounters Lukman who having prescience of his coming sent his son Jin Katub to welcome him. Lukman asks, "What must we expel when we recite the prayer by which we enter a consecrated state (*takbirat u'l-ihram*).” Indrajaya answers, "The mutable (*ghairu'llah*)

that has no part in the being (*wujud*), attributes (*sifat*) and works (*a'fal*) of God. He adds that we recite the creed (*fatihah*) because in Arabic the word is spelt with five letters symbolical of the hours of prayer. Canonical prayer (*salat*) was received from God, while private prayer (*sembahyang*) was the basis of the Prophet's work. Like Muhammad morning prayer is first and original and so involves two genuflexions. As God is revealed in being, knowledge (*'ilmu*), inward vision (*suhud*) and light (*nur*), there are in midday prayer four flexions. *Suhud* is the knowledge of God we receive in our real hearts that lie in our anatomical hearts (*rumah-nya hati ma'navi itu hati sanubari*). As man is made of fire, wind, water and earth, there are also four flexions in afternoon prayer. In sunset prayer there are three flexions because absolute unity (*ahadiyat*), unity of self stripped of attributes (*wahdat*), relative unity or unity in plurality (*wahidiyat*) have their degrees (*mertabat*) in Allah, Muhammad and Adam. In night (*'isha*) prayer are four flexions because sperm has four ingredients (*wadi, madi, mani, manikam*) and prayer has no origin save creation by Allah. We stand in prayer erect like flame, bow like the swaying wind, kneel like water and sit steadfast as earth. Fire is our flesh, wind our breath, water our bones, earth our body. On fire is writ *alif*, on wind *lam awal*, on water *lam akhir*, on earth *ha* and all stand for *bismillah*. Of paths there are four: *shari'at* the sacred law of Islam, *tarikah* the path of deeds, *hakikat* the path of truth, and *ma'rifat* or gnosis. The seat (*astana*) of the first is the tongue, of the second the mind (*budi*), of the fourth spirit (*ruh*). Severally they are created of water, air, earth and light, the four elements of which man is made. And whosoever knows himself knows his Lord. Canonical law has for its life the evil—prompting soul (*nafsu ammarah*), the mystic path has the soul that struggles with its passions (*nafsu lawwamah*), the path of truth the soul of the Sufi (*nafsu sufiah*) and gnosis the soul that has vanquished passion (*nafsu mutma'innah*).

Seven days later Indrajaya comes to an empty mosque by the sea-shore. A thousand horseman who have died in holy war and dwell beneath the throne of Allah descend there daily to pray. In life they surrendered (*taslim*) themselves to God, were ever watchful (*murakabah*) to think only of the power of the reality of God and with the eye of the heart contemplated (*musahadah*) Him. Their leader asks how many things are obligatory, that is, enjoined by God (*përlu*) and by the Prophet (*sunnat*), before prayer. Indrajaya recites the eight things: cleansing from ritual impurity (*hadash akbar* and *asgar*) covering the pudenda with a clean cloth, knowing the hour of prayer, facing Mecca, cleansing from unlawful defilement, standing erect, knowledge of the obligatory. The body (*diri*) of prayer is the ejaculation that God is great (*takbiratu'l-ihram*), the head is intent (*niat*), the life of it the Kuran, the hands of it preparation (*tahiat*) and its feet peace (*salam*). The water of life is in the head, in the head brains, in brains the breath (*nafas* or ? *nafs* self), in *nafs* the soul, in soul intelligence (*budi*), in intelligence consciousness (*sir*), in consciousness absolute

essence (*jauhar*), in essence light (*nur*), in light the inmost consciousness (*sir*) of God, and in that what cannot be said. When the horsemen have ascended back to heaven Indrajaya prays until an angel comes, interrogates him on religion and tells him that at need he can command four genies, Yakiba, Yanuh, Yaidaka and Yautad. Forty days later he comes to a castle, richly furnished but empty. Inside it is a great shell. He invokes Yautad and his host to lift it, whereupon are discovered a prince and his consort, who have taken refuge from two rocs (*garuda*) that have torn out the livers and eyes of their subjects and wasted the land. Under another shell is their daughter Chandra Sari Gumilang Chahaya. Indrajaya invokes the four genies who having called down the rocs by beating the rice-mortars kill them. By prayer Indrajaya restores the prince's subjects. Then he marries Chandra Sari. She asks what there was before earth and heaven. He answers: the throne (*kursi*) or soles of the feet, the great lord and judge (*kadi rabbi'u'l-jalil*) or heel, the throne (*'arsh*) or top of the foot, the munificence of God (*karamat Allah*) or knee, the *lĕbai* or end of the waist, the *shaikh* or back-bone, the bridge over hell (*siratu'l-mustakim*) or marrow of the back-bone, the sea or belly, the ribs or world of divine guidance (*'alam taufik*), the chest or *r. b. t* of Allah. His bride expresses satisfaction at these analogies between that microcosm, her body, and that macrocosm, the universe.

Indrajaya travels on and is seized by a roc, a relative of the rocs he had killed, and is given to a young roc to devour. But the young roc will not devour this servant of Allah and persuades its father to carry Indrajaya to Mt. Dar al-Kiam, whose ruler Indra 'Alam has a dumb daughter Julusy al-'ashikin wooed by 39 princes. These suitors are imprisoned for failing to make her speak. Then come Indrajaya and the Brahman. Throwing his voice into her curtain Indrajaya asks a riddle. A prince and three companions met four girls who flirted with them, one loosening her locks, another showing her bosom, another her teeth, another her fingers. He suggests the girls were saying in riddles, the first that her house confronted a flowering tree, the second that her house faced a golden coconut-palm, the third that her house faced a betel-palm, the fourth that her house faced a henna tree. The princess speaks and corrects him: the first meant that her house faced a betel-palm, the second that hers faced a golden coconut-palm, the third that hers faced a pomegranate tree, and the fourth that hers faced a henna-tree. Speaking out of a candle the hero puts another riddle. A man was impaled; one friend released him, another carried him and a third medicined him. Again the princess corrects his solution and explains that God impaled him, his father released him, his mother bore him and his friends medicined him. Throwing his voice into a betel-box, Indrajaya puts another riddle. There were five friends, a smith, a carver, a weaver, a goldsmith, a hermit who took it in turns to watch. To pass the time the smith made a knife, the carver used it to make an image, the weaver clothed the image, the goldsmith made ornaments for it and the hermit prayed and got it life. The

princess answers that the smith was its father, the carver its mother, the weaver its relative, the goldsmith its friend and the hermit God. She then solves riddles on the relation of earth, air, water and fire to *shari'at*, *tarikah*, *hakikat* and *ma'rifat*, and explains how before man and woman were created they existed as Lover (*'ashik*) and Beloved (*mashuk*) (p. 60). They marry and the groom teaches his bride the esoteric import of prayer, the necessary preparations for it, and the creation of the universe from the radiance (*nur*) of Muhammad, which perspired under the gaze of Allah: from the sweat of his head were created the angels, from the sweat of his face the throne, the pen, the stars, the sun and the moon; from the sweat of his breast the prophets and saints; from the sweat of his ears Jews, Christians and fire-worshippers. He explains the seven stages (*la ta'ayyun*) in the progress from the intelligible to the phenomenal world.

Indrajaya, his bride, his Brahman teacher and four servants set out for his father's kingdom. On the road they are waylaid by the 39 rejected suitors, whom they subdue by magic. The princess wants fruit and Indrajaya shoots a monkey, puts his life-spirit (*nyawa*) into it and makes it climb and fetch the fruit. While Indrajaya's body is empty of its spirit, the Brahman enters it, tries to seduce the princess and pretends to be Indrajaya. But princess Julusy al-'ashikin reveals the story to the vizier of Dar al-Hastana, who cherishes the monkey, whose body is inhabited by Indrajaya and tells the Brahman that the princess wants a ram fight and will yield to him if his ram wins. The princess' ram falls dead. She vows she will kill herself if it is not revived. The Brahman transfer his spirit into the ram and while the body of Indrajaya is thus emptied of its spirit, its owner transfers his spirit back into it.

Indrajaya under his old name of Shah-i Mardan succeeds his father who abdicates from the throne of Dar al-Hastana. By his magic he brings Dar-al-Kiam "like a flying ship" with his first bride Siti Dewi to Dar al-Hastana. Next he sends for his bride Chandra Sari and her father Raja Maulana Kandi whom he had rescued from the rocs.

Meanwhile his first love Kamala Ratna Dewi has born Shah-i Mardan a son and been carried by an eagle and a parrot back to the palace of her father ruler of Dar al-Marjum. The son, now seven years old, is called Radin Panji Lelana, and with a servant Surapenggi sets out to go to his father. He meets the three wives of his father who are in flight because Shah-i Mardan has been defeated and imprisoned by Radin Wira Lelana and the 39 suitors. The boy fights and worsts his father's enemies by magic. By magic too he brings his mother and her father and their kingdom to Dar al-Hastana. Radin Wira Lelana gives him his sister Indra Chahaya in marriage. Raja Nusantara demands Indra Chahaya but is resisted by her husband and brother. Radin Panji Lelana changes his name to Maharaja Dilela, flies to Hindustan, his enemy's country, and makes love to his 1999 fiancées. Return-

ing he fires magic arrows and worsts his enemy. Then he introduces his 1999 mistresses (whom he has transported as jasmine blooms in a casket) to his wife.

N.B.—The (romanised) text, printed at Weltevreden in 1916, is full of Batavian words and neologisms. The above is a summary of its contents.

HIKAYAT AMIR HAMZA.

The romance begins with the tale of Khawajeh Alqash, vizier of Kobad Shahriar, king of Medain. He told a friend Bekhti Jamal that within forty days evil would befall him and advised seclusion. On the last day but one Alqash took his friend for a walk; Bekhti Jamal found treasure and to get it for himself Alqash murdered him. The dead man had a nine-year old son Buzurjmihir with the gift of divination. Learning this and fearful of discovery Alqash ordained his murder, but foretelling that the executioner's happiness depends on his release the child escapes. The king threatens Alqash with death if he cannot interpret a royal dream. Alqash discovers Buzurjmihir is alive but the child will not go to the king except astride the vizier belted and saddled. He interprets the dream, tells of the vizier's crime and gets him killed. He prophesies the coming from Arabia of a foe shortly to be born and is sent to Mecca to kill all pregnant women. While he is there shirking this mission, Hamza is born to 'Abdumuttalib and Amr to one of his servants, Omayya al-Damri. As a child Hamza kills unconquered wrestlers, slays the monks guarding a temple and pulls up a date-palm, roots and all. Hamza is an apt pupil but Amr a dunce, who sells his teacher's shoes to buy sweets and steals a widow's eggs. The boys release a jujube-tree, whose fruit they have pilfered, and so throw their comrades into a pool where they drown. Hamza gets the bow of Izak and becomes a mighty archer, and on Mt. Abu-Qobays learns the use of weapons from Gabriel. A powerful horseman he finds in Solomon's palace the untamed steed of Izak along with Izak's boots, saddle and sword, the tunic of Ismail and the helmet of Hud. Hamza and Amr save the annual Meccan tribute to Nushirwan from a robber Mokbil Halebi, Amr filching the jewelled hilt of his dagger in the fight. They deliver the goods to Nushirwan's agent, Monzir Shah of Yemen, but fight his hosts when he demands money, beat him and convert him. Hamza wins his daughter, Hamai Taif, who refuses to wed any man who cannot throw her, but Hamza gives her to Tawq Tariq, a suitor who had been defeated by her beauty. Hamza defeats a rival warrior Amr ibn Ma'di Karib and his 44 brothers, who enter his service. Amr abuses Hurmuz Kheran, who had been sent to bring Hamza to Nushirwan, calls him an ass, knocks out two of his teeth, and serves the "ass" thistles to eat. When Buzurjmihir sends his son with the present of a banner to invite Hamza, he goes taking the shortest road though it is infested by the monster Shir Bebr. Hamza kills the monster and sends its pelt to Nushirwan. He is received by Nushirwan, who praises his horse. Qarun Diw-bend

claims that his horse is better and offers him as a prize if Hamza wins a contest with him. Hamza wins and presents the horse to Nushirwan. At meal-time Hamza has the place of honour and Amr tries to filch a gold cup. Hamza has to receive Gustehem, the hero with the golden quiver, but quarrels with his son Qobad and knocks him senseless, and when Gustehem tries to hug him to death, he puts two fingers against one of his ribs and breaks them. Behram and Khaqan, prisoners of Gustehem, are brought before Nushirwan, whereupon Khaqan complains that Gustehem had captured him unfairly and asks to be unbound that he may show his strength. When this is done, Gustehem and his sons skulk behind the throne till Hamza comes to their aid and wins the ensuing battle by his war-cry. Gustehem's sons kill the fettered Khakan but, as Amr has accepted a great sum of money from Gustehem to save their lives, Hamza has to spare them. Gustehem invites Hamza to hunt and sets 4000 men behind a hill to waylay him. But Hamza's war-cry fetches Amr and they put Gustehem and his sons to flight. The fugitives join 'Alqama from Khaybar, but Hamza meets and defeats 'Alqama, and Gustehem falls at his feet and craves pardon. Princess Mihrnigar throws a box of perfume at Hamza. With Mokbil he climbs into her palace and they swear eternal love; but they are surprised by Qarun who shouts "Thieves!" They escape but Nushirwan hears of it and sends his sons Hurmuz and Erdeheh Shir to sieze Hamza, who puts their armies to flight while Amr ibn Ma'di Karib captures the two princes. Three days later their captor returns them by Hamza's order and is given presents by Nushirwan; but drink was forced on him and he misbehaved, and, though Nushirwan forgave, his minister Bekhtek sent an army against him, which he defeated.

Nushirwan gets a letter from Shehpal of Serendib :—" King Sa'dan was hunting, followed a stag and got lost. He asked a shepherd's daughter for water and twice she dragged her water-jar away: when he threatened her with death, she vowed it was because great draughts would kill a starved man. He married her. Soon he died and I inherited his throne. His wife bore a son Lendehur and on the same day I got a son, Chepul. Even when he was five Lendehur refused to walk and as his weight nearly killed his nurses, they took him to the river resolved to kill him but he flung one round his head into the stream and drowned her. I sent warriors on elephants to slay him but he pulled off the trunk of one and killed the others. So my vizier tried coaxing with sweet-meats and brought him to the palace where he demanded to sit on the throne. We gave him drugged rice but he made my vizier and Chepul eat of it. All swooned but Lendehur, the last to succumb, was also the last to recover. So I sent him bound to the island Lekhut in charge of Urenk and Kurenk. For 20 years he lay chained until the Prophet Shish visited the sister of his two princely warders and bade her release and marry him. Of his fetters he got a huge club made and he has attacked my city and taken it, laying low its forts with his club. And now I am driven out. If he is not conquered, he will subdue your highness, also."

Gustehem and then Hamza are sent to deal with Lendehur, Hamza being promised the hand of princess Mihrnigar, if he succeeds. Gustehem has destroyed all the boats on the shore and frightened away the fishermen, but Amr finds their headman and gets new boats built. Amr ibn Ma'di Karib persuades Hamza to call at an uninhabited island where old men with thin legs drop from the trees and cling about their necks for three days till Amr gives his "old man" intoxicating wine, releases himself and stabs the "old men" on the backs of his comrades. They reach Serendib and, climb Adam's peak and visit Solomon's treasury. In spite of tigers and rhinos Amr insists on spending the night there to get some present. He dreams that Adam, Ibrahim, Ismail and Sulaiman come seated on four thrones. Adam gives him a magic vessel from which he can always get food; Ibrahim gives him fleetness of foot; Ismail a bag, entering which he can change into any shape and speak any language; Solomon, precious stones. Next day when Hamza seeks him, Amr takes the form of a greybeard and laughs when he is not recognized. They reach Serendib and are resisted by Pur the harbour-master, who is beaten and accepts Islam. Hamza pretends to Lendehur he understands gems, takes his crown to look at and runs away with it. They fight for a day, after which Lendehur invites Hamza to his palace. Next day Gustehem fights him. For seventeen days there are duels, till on the eighteenth Hamza shouts his war-cry, vanquishes and enchains Lendehur. Gustehem gets a singing-girl to poison Hamza, who lies ill 40 days. Lendehur, now a convert, and the Arabs drive Gustehem to Medain where he reports the death of Hamza: hearing of his recovery, he flees to Zubin in Turkestan. Hamza restores Shehpal to his throne. Thinking Hamza was dead, Nushirwan had promised Mihrnigar to an old suitor, Olad Merzeban. Amr is sent to spy on Olad. Amr asks Olad if he would like to see a wooden robot. Lendehur pretends to be the robot and at Amr's cry "Seize him" does so and Olad is made captive. When Hamza reaches Medain, Bekhtek reminds him that the price of Mihrnigar is Lendehur's head. Lendehur offers it. Hamza is silent. When Nushirwan orders decapitation, Hamza bids Amr seize Bekhtek, who gets a sound beating. Bekhtek tells Nushirwan to kill an old woman and say Mihrnigar is dead. This is done. All mourn except Lendehur who cannot weep. Amr bids him clap stones on his head but they fall off and every one laughs. Hamza rebukes Amr for his levity. Amr goes out meets a maid going to Mihrnigar's grave, kills her and dons her clothes. He stuns the guardians of the tomb and removes the coffin which contains a strange corpse! In fury Hamza siezes Bekhtek, who protests it was only a ruse to test Hamza's love, and is let go. Bekhtek advises Nushirwan to say that three princes refuse tribute and that Mihrnigar will be given to their vanquisher: Hamza will volunteer and the princes must be told to kill him. This is done. Qarun is sent as his guide with a poison to be handed to Hamza in a thirsty tract. When it is offered him, Hamza feels his hand tremble, as before when he drank poison, and does not take it. Amr comes with water he

has got from a greybeard, who had got it by striking the ground and had told him Qarun would poison Hamza. Qarun denies it and pretends to drink the poison but drops it on the ground. Amr dips a cloth in it and gives two drops to a slave who falls dead. Qarun craves mercy. They reach Greece where rules 'Adis with two nephews Yestefanos and Testefanos. Qarun carries a letter from Hamza and pretends he has been wronged by him. 'Adis would kill the 100 Arabs who escort Qarun but is stopped by one of his nephews. Hamza swears to kill Qarun and Gustehem unarmed. Amr brings a letter to 'Adis and starts a quarrel. Next day there is war. Hamza defeats the two nephews who embrace Islam. 'Adis desists from fighting but by Qarun's advice digs seven pits. Behind the last pit Qarun challenges Hamza, whose horse falls in the seventh. The horse climbs out and Hamza's shield protects him from the stones hurled at him. Amr arrives and finds Hamza digging a tunnel towards 'Adis' palace, which they reach. They bind 'Adis. The Arabs invest the town. A herdsman shows where Qarun is. Hamza throws away his weapons, snatches Qarun's sword and hews him and his horse into four pieces. Hamza arranges the wedding of the herdsman and the daughter of a village chief and gives him riches. 'Adis will not embrace Islam and is killed. Hamza goes to Rum and sends 'Amr with a letter to the emperor. There is a row. After a war the emperor and his seven nephews become Muslims. Mokbil is sent to Medain with money. Hamza goes to Egypt where the 'Aziz receives him warmly but when all are mazed with wine the palace is surrounded and Hamza carried off to the island Haleb. Bakhtek counsels execution but Buzurjmihr declares that God has given Hamza 195 years and half a day to live. Mokbil hears of it and sails to the island where he opens a shop. The prince of the island is betrothed to Zuhrah-Banu, daughter of the 'Aziz. Ibrahim appears to her and bids her marry Mokbil and release Hamza. They bribe the watch and free the prisoners. They go to Egypt where Zuhrah-Banu kills her father and Hamza introduces Islam. The brother of the 'Aziz, Nasir Shah, has a daughter whom he wants to marry to Hamza but he refuses. They have what looks like being a case of artificial fertilisation. Gustehem and Zubin with a great host meet Nushirwan and Zubin asks for Mihringar's hand, which Nushirwan is afraid to refuse. Amr elopes with the daughter of Bekhtek, Amr ibn Ma'di Karib with the daughter of Gustehem—to the disgust of the fathers. Hamza advances against Nushirwan. Amr goes an envoy to see that he cannot escape. Esquineyos sent with a letter spends the night at the castle of Lohrast, son of Fekhr Pur, who promises him help. Bekhtek urges Zubin to stab the envoy from behind but Buzurjmihr signals him. Lohrast saves the envoy from the onslaught of Zubin's army, embraces Islam and goes to Hamza. Battle starts. Unarmed Hamza snatches Gustehem's sword and slays him and his sons. They fight for days. Zubin wounds Hamza in the back; Hamza orders his horse to take him to Mecca and swoons; Amr follows his tracks and finds him. He sends Mokbil on Hamza's horse

back to the fray. The Persians exclaim that Hamza is dead but the Arabs win. After seven days Hamza came to his senses and wanted food. There was no food in the beleaguered town but taking a bow Mihrnigar went disguised as a thief to the enemy's camp and stole food. She made a noise and the enemy thought it was Amr. Amr was there, took her on his shoulders, cried his name and dared the enemy to follow him. Amr returns to the hostile camp for food for his namesake, son of Ma'di Karib, and going often he drugs Nushirwan, Bekhtek and Zubin and carries them to Hamza. Hamza gives the last two to Amr who threatens to crucify them if they cannot pay ransom. They pay and he gives Zubin 200 and Bekhtek 300 stripes and shaves off half their beards and moustaches.

On Kaf were two cities, Shehristan Zerin under Azra' prince of good fairies (*pēri*) and another under 'Ifrit, prince of the bad fairies (*dēw*), who drove Azra' from his kingdom. His vizier Salasil reminds him that his son Ra'd Shatir once was changed with Hamza, so that Hamza has tasted fairy milk and Ra'd Shatir human milk. They ask of Hamza who defeats their enemies.†

HIKAYAT MUHAMMAD HANAFIAH.

In the beginning was created the light (*nur*) of Muhammad and for 1000s of years it prostrated itself in prayer to Allah. Then God created the Prophets, the souls (*ruh*) of the Prophets and of the Saints, and of the gnostics. And God bade Jibra'il fetch the heart of the earth to make the mould (*lěmbaga*) of the Prophet, and the mould persisted from generation to generation till it came to Amir 'Abdullah. Now there was a Syrian lady Fatimah versed in the Old Testament and she knew that a man of the family of Hashim, who had a light on his forehead, would beget the last of the Prophets. So she set out for Mecca and Amir 'Abdullah rode past her tent with the light upon his forehead and she asked him to be her husband. Then 'Abdullah went to ask the permission of his father but on the way he stayed with his wife Aminah and begot the Prophet and the light vanished from his forehead. And when he returned, Fatimah wept and rolled on the ground. Six months later 'Abdullah died. When the Prophet was about to be born, Aminah heard a voice saying, "Let no one enter thy house. For it shall be filled with houris from heaven." And Muhammad was born. And all idols were broken and in Persia

†This summary of 23 of the 91 tales gives some idea of the text. The whole romance has been outlined in Dutch by Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel in his *De Roman van Amir Hamza*, Leiden 1895. A Malay copyist invented an appendix on the death of Amr bin Ommaya. The Prophet promised that he should not die except by his own consent and with the Angel of Death revealing himself. The Angel came as a youth. Amr fled and came to a grave, which he was told was for him. He fled and came to another and found the Angel of Death there. He fled and came to a grave also designed for him. He said so small a grave could not hold him. The grave diggers asked him to lie in it. This he did, fell asleep and died.

was quenched fire that for 1000s of years had never been quenched and the water of اسارت (alias اسارت) dried up and the dome of Nasruan's palace collapsed and prince Kisri (alias Kisrai) fell to the ground. Genies and devils tried to climb into heaven because earth was straitened for them, but angels prevented them. And a white cloud covered the newly born infant and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and tended him. His nurse was an Abyssinian, امي (or ام يمن). The Prophet would feed only at her right breast which never before had given milk. And when she took him to her home, the thin camel she mounted became fat and the barren soil of her home waxed fertile. One day Muhammad was seized by two men clad in white who cut open his belly and removed heart (*hati*) and stomach and took a clot of blood for Satan and replaced his organs: and they weighed him against 1000 men and he was heavier than they. So Halimah returned the child (27) to his grandfather Khoja 'Abdu'l-Mutta-lib. 'Abdu'l-Mutallib felt himself dying (28-9) and gathered together his children and asked who would take charge of Muhammad and all of them offered but he delivered him to Abu-Talib. When Muhammad was eight years old, 'Atika (عاتكة) went to Abu-Talib and said they must find him a wife. Now a rich widow Khadijah dreamt the moon fell into her lap and عجرب (alias لجرب) interpreted it as meaning that the Prophet would marry her. 'Atika asked Khadijah to give him work with her caravan so that he might earn money to marry. Khadijah orders Mishrah, the leader of the caravan, to dress him in fine raiment and mount him on her own camel. The caravan makes greater profits than ever before in Syria. There was a Jewish festival there, when the presence of Muhammad put out all the candles and the Jews sought to kill him, but Mishrah hid him. Sent ahead to announce the arrival of the caravan Muhammad slept and was led astray by Iblis but put again on the right way by Jibra'il. God ordered Isra'il, the angel that holds the veins of the earth, to contract them so that Muhammad did three days' journey in a moment and returned to the caravan with a letter from Khadijah, so that (28) all were amazed at the miracle of his speed. But Khadijah paid not his hire until 'Atika came, when she declared she wished to marry him. Her father, Khuwailid, refused consent till she made him drunk and had his coat smeared with saffron (*kumkuma*) and spikenard, a sign that an Arab is giving away his child. Abubakar gave the Prophet cloths and scents for his bride. And she poured gold and silver and jewels on a carpet 600 *gaz* long and gave them to Muhammad, keeping for herself only the clothes she wore—*hamba* كلبج nama-nya. And the onlookers said "she is selling قنا". And the four archangels assisted at the marriage. They had 3 sons who died and 4 daughters. Muhammad was always praying on Mt. Judi (Ararat in

Armenia), till God send Jibra'il to him and bade Jibra'il fetch a carpet from heaven. And he spread it over seven hills and set a throne for Muhammad in the midst of it, and gave him for a caliph's crown the words "There is no God but God." And Muhammad founded Islam. Then Khadijah was about to die and asked where she would find him on the Day of Judgment. And Muhammad replied, "At the place where souls are weighed, or on the razor bridge or at the parting of the ways to heaven and hell." Then Jibra'il brought a box of raiment from heaven that the Prophet's daughter, Fatimah, might wed with 'Ali. And Allah opened the door of heaven and shut the gate of hell and bade the houris adorn all the bowers of heaven and he sent a wind laden with camphor and musk; and God took the place of the Prophet and Jibra'il the place of 'Ali and the marriage was made in heaven. One story says that 'Ali worked to earn three *dērham* for the wedding, gave them to beggars, met a man who sold him a camel for 16 *dinar* and another who bought the camel for 20,000 *dinar*: and the Prophet told him that beggars and seller and buyer were the archangels and the camel was the camel of the Prophet Salih. And Fatimah asked for her dowry all the women who had sinned against their husbands and Jibra'il brought a red cloth inscribed with their names, which she desired to have buried with her. One day Jibra'il in the form of an old man gave 'Ali the horse (*kuda sēmbērani*) called Duldul and the sword Dzu'l-Fakar inscribed "Ali tiger of God." And his wife bore two sons Hasan and Husain. When Husain was born, an angel with a maimed wing came down and was healed by touching the infant. But Jibra'il was sad and told the Prophet that that angel would not descend again till Husain lay dead on the battle-field. There were seven prophets who ascended to heaven, Adam, Idris, Noh (in his ark), Ibrahim (in the fire of Nimrod), Musa (on Sinai), Isa, and Muhammad who alone reached the throne of God. Some denied that his body ascended: one day Jibra'il had come to him and said, "The seven layers of the sky and of the earth and the empyrean and the Throne are as a mustard-seed. Teach this to all. Whosoever learns this saying Allah will guard him all his life and on the day of judgment." When Khatijah and Abu-Talib had died, Abu-Jahal and others persecuted the Prophet. In sorrow he went to 'Aktika's house and slept there, while she took a sword and guarded him till God bade the angel of sleep put her to slumber. Earth and sky argued which was the greater and sky wept because though sky could boast of sun, moon and stars they were only made of one drop of the light of Muhammad, while earth could boast of the imprint of the feet of the Prophet. Then by God's command Jibra'il woke Muhammad and bade him walk to the Baita'l-Muqaddas; for God would lift him to the Sufi plane (*Sufi erti-nya makam yang maha tinggi*). And Jibra'il and Mik'ail took him to the well Zamzam and cut open his belly and removed his liver and washed it in the well and replaced it and filled his breast with faith and knowledge (*'ilmu*) and set him on Borak and took him up to the Throne, where Allah bade him not remove his shoes, and brought him to the *qaba qausaini*, giving him

the four *maqam*, *mardud*, *mahmud*, *mus'ad* (محمود موسعد), and showing him heaven and hell and the razor-bridge so that he should not fear them. The Prophet married Chuchud daughter of Damaah and 'A'isha and Khasiah daughter of Omar and others, ten in all. And Alu-Jahal and his enemies and Iblis disguised as an elder plotted to kill him. But 'Ali lay in the Prophet's bed while he fled to Medinah. Only Sērakah (سراقه) pursued him but earth held his horse's legs. One Hayat al-Kabri would play with Hasan and Husain at Medinah, and one day they played with Jibra'il who had taken his shape. Another day Jibra'il rocked them because 'Ali was tired from fighting and Fatimah was praying. Another day he brought from heaven a green coat for Hasan and a red for Husain and foretold that the one would be poisoned and the other slain at Kerbela and he gave the Prophet two clods of earth which would turn one green, one red when their deaths were imminent. Hearing that from his family would come their murderer, Mu'awiah (معيه) swore never to go with women but to cure an illness went with an old Habshi woman (امورن) who bore a son Yazid. One day the Prophet asked Jibra'il which of them was the older, and Jibra'il replied that he was the oldest of the angels but the Prophet showed him the light upon his forehead and asked if that existed when Jibra'il was created and Jibra'il said it did. Then the Prophet died—the account is shorter but similar to that of his death in the *Hikayat Nabi Allah Wafat*. Next Fatimah died (p. 134) and then Abubakar. Omar became Caliph. And Ali conquered Raja Kisri, son of Nushirwan the Just, and captured his son Harman and his daughters Shahrbanur and فويس. Harman refused to embrace Islam and was executed. But 'Ali saved the daughters and got Selamah to convert them gradually. Ordered to get married, Shahrbanur was allowed to sit on a dais and choose from all the chiefs who ride past. She criticized them and chose Husain. Her sister married Muhammad ibn Abubakar. Omar is fatally stabbed by a discontented litigant, Abu-lak, a maker of grinding-stones. After delay and disputes 'Uthman became Caliph. And he allowed Marwan Hakim, banished by the Prophet, to return. Using the Caliph's seal, Marwan sent a letter to Egypt to kill the Caliph's envoy, Muhammad the son of Abubakar, so as to get revenge for his banishment. Muhammad hunting intercepts the message and he and his family kill the Caliph—who has dreamt he is sitting with the Prophet and the two first Caliphs, when the Prophet brings out four cups for them. His bier is left in the high-way but is guarded by wild beasts from dogs and enemies, till 'Ali buries him there having dreamt that (p. 162) the Prophet tells him all places are equidistant from him. 'A'isha demands an enquiry into the murder of 'Uthman, which 'Ali shirks, to avoid bloodshed. She supports Mu'awiah, who comes from Syria with troops to chain the Caliphate. They fight 23

times. 'Ali enters the first battle with a club. His soldiers hamstring 'A'isha's camel and 'Ali reminds her of what the Prophet had foretold of her, whereat she begs forgiveness at his feet. Having failed in battle Mu'awiah bribes an old hag to tempt 'Ali's groom, a son of Muljam, by means of a young woman to kill his master. He stabs 'Ali as he goes to the mosque. 'Ali forgives him and tells him to flee but he goes blind. 'Ali bids Hasan and Husain cast his sword Dzu'l-Fakar into the Red Sea : when at last they do so, a pillar of light ascends to heaven. They enshroud their father's body and set it on Duldul, and a young man comes and asks for the horse and body, whereat they give them as 'Ali had enjoined. 'Ali and his horse vanish. Yazid, son of Mu'awiah, wants to wed Zainab daughter of Jaafar but she chooses Amir Hasan, whereat Yazid vows to kill him and his (184) brother. Yazid wants the wife of 'Abdullah Ziadah and Mu'awiah offers him Egypt to divorce her. He divorces her but is not given Egypt and his wife refuses Yazid and marries Amir Hasan. Yazid bribes a Medinah chief, a relative of one of Hasan's wives, to prison him, and prevents him being buried near the Prophet. Yazid sends letters to a captain, عتبه, saying the Arabs want him to be Caliph and urging عتبه to kill the "thorn" in his side, Husain. عتبه asks for help and Yazid sends عمر سعيد ميسوم with troops. They suggest to Yazid to get 'Abdullah Ziadah, ruler of Kufah (in Chaldea) to decoy Husain out of Medinah. 'Abdullah, having set his people against Husain, writes offering him refuge. Husain visits Selamah who looks at her bottle of the earth Jibra'il gave the Prophet and sees it is green. She warns him. He dreams that the Prophet promises him and his warriors the joys of heaven and sets out for Kerbela. He meets R-hban who joins him and gives him a horse. Wahab joins him. When they reach Kerbela, they fell trees to make a hut and the trees give forth blood. His enemies cut him and his followers off from (202) water. They wait three days. The battle starts and one by one his followers are killed, faint from thirst. Husain sends by K-s-d a letter in green and red ink to Muhammad Hanafiah, saying that his brother has been poisoned, and that he has been killed at Kerbela and all his people slain or taken prisoners. Aged 7 but able to sever an elephant at one blow Husain enters the fray and fights his way to the river but will not drink because his followers had died thirsty. He is struck by an arrow and falls. S-m-rla'in alone dares to approach to cut off his head. Husain asks him to show his chest which is black and has nipples like those of a dog. "You are the man the Prophet said (213) would behead me", says Husain and submits to the blow. A man tried to remove his waist-belt but was seized by the dead man. Jaafar ibn Abubakar met him near the Ka'abah and he told how he had become unconscious and seen Husain received in heaven by all the Prophets and by Fatimah. Husain's women-folk were made prisoners. A Syrian Isra'il gives them water and clothes and is beaten. Husain's head is put in the house of one

Kasim for a night and Kasim kills his eldest son and tries to substitute his head for the head of Husain, so that he may buy the martyr's head ; but his ruse is detected and he has to behead six of his sons till at last (222) the head of the youngest is accepted. Isra'il collects 300 hermits who have lived in the jungle since the time of Solomon and he and his wife Fatimah spend their fortune in equipping them to fight Yazid's captains 'Omar Sa'id Misum and Yaakob, whom they surprise and seize while praying in a mosque. Isra'il cuts off their ears and noses, ties them on donkies, face to the tail, and sends them back to Yazid. Yazid is enraged but quails when Marwan Hakim reminds him of Muhammad Hanafiah and all 'Ali's relatives. He sends 'Abdu'llah Ziadah and 30,000 against Raja Isra'il and his 1000. A slave, Haman Turk, slays all Yazid's warriors, Mahawirah and the (232) rest, and drives his forces from the field. Isra'il's sister Fatimah and the women guard the fort of Askilan. K-s-d. finds Muhammad Hanafiah at B-niar marrying his daughter to 'Ali Akbar and tells him of Ker-bela. Yazid prepares to bury the captive women alive, Shahrbanun having refused to marry him, but delays when he hears Muhammad Hanafiah has taken the field. Hanafiah summons 'Ali's relatives from Baghdad and Irak and elsewhere. 'Omar-i 'Ali, Talib-i 'Ali and 'Akil-i 'Ali are captured by S-m-rla'in, who in turn is noosed by مسقا made to release his three prisoners. مسقا kills Khia Zanggi and Harirah and Walidah. Talib-i 'Ali slays Shahrab Zanggi. فولة درديكان slays 40 of Hanafiah's warriors. Ahmad Jafius reports the arrival of Hanafiah's, relative, Brahim Istar (استر) and of his son Harith, who kills many warriors including فولة درديكان. Many are slain on both sides. 'Omar-i 'Ali is captured but released by Arkas. Tughan Turk and Mughan Turk are among Hanafiah's champions. At last Yazid asks the help of the rajas of the Franks (Fëringgi), China, Abyssinia, Zanggi. Hanafiah and his army visit the Prophet's tomb at Medinah and then advancing in Yazid at Damshik meet scouts from Yazid's four foreign allies. Two of Yazid's sons, Sa'id and Mahid desert to Hanafiah with many followers. Sa'id is killed by a great warrior Balkian, who in turn is slain by Hanafiah. Thousands of elephants take part in the war. The scout of the king of the Franks is جملني. Hanafiah is caught in 1700 Nooses and Yazid decides to burn him. But his followers rescue him from the flames, and the arm which he had lost in battle is rejoined to his shoulder when he recites the charm *darz al-akbar*. They invest the walls of Damshik. Yazid flees to a turret but confronted by the ghost of Husain who out of a white mist asks "Where canst thou hide?" falls to the ground and is burnt in a well as with hell-fire. Hanafiah releases Zain-al-abidin, Selamah, Kelsu, Shahr-banun and the rest from prison. Next there is an Indo-Malay installation (*tabal*) of Zain al-'Abidin on the throne (*singgasana*) of Damascus in the presence of *chëtëria* and

sida-sida. Neighbouring rulers send presents of *saf sakhalat ain al-banat dan bēlēdu dan katifah dewangga*. Nur نس, a niece of Shahr-banun, had married Muhammad ibn Abubakar and bore a daughter Shamsu'l-bahrain, who now marries Zain al-Abidin. Hearing that the followers of Yazid had hidden in a cave by Jabal Nur Hanafiah seeks them and in spite of a warning voice continues to kill them till the door of the cave closes on him.†

HIKAYAT SAIF DHU'L-YAZAN.

Tubba Dzu'l-Yazan with his vizier Yathrib set out to attack a prince Baal. Coming to Mecca he falls ill because he determines to rebuild the Kaabah. His vizier founds a city Medina Yathrib and leaves a letter bequeathing it to one yet to be born, Muhammad. Dzu'l-Yazan conquers prince Baal and founds a city Madinat al-Ahmar. His vizier by astrological calculations warns him not to attack Abyssinia, because it is reserved for another to fulfil Noah's curse and set the children of Shem above the children of Ham. Saif ar-Ra'd, ruler of Abyssinia, sends a slave-girl Kamariah to poison Dzu'l-Yazan. One of the Abyssinian viziers, an Arab Muslim, ar-Raif abu Rifah (father of two daughters Rifah and D-rnk al or Derzaka) sends a messenger to warn Dzu'l-Yazan. Kamariah confesses and becomes a favourite. On his death-bed Dzu'l-Yazan appoints her regent and her child his heir. The child is a son with a lucky red mark on the right cheek. When the people acclaim him, his mother is jealous and casts him away in the desert with 1000 *derham*, where a hunter finds a deer suckling him. The hunter takes the infant to his king al-'Afrāh, whose consort bears a girl child with a red mark on her left cheek. The boy they name Wahsh al-Fallah and the girl Shamah. Malik al-'Afrāh was advised to kill them both but refused. Wahsh al-Fallah is taught the arts of war till his prowess at driving a lance through tree trunks shows his instructor that he is destined to fulfil Noah's curse and he drives him from the country. Wahsh al-Fallah comes to a hill where in a tent sits Shamah, surrounded by weeping women in black. The vizier who had advised their murder had got a genie to command Shamah be transported there, to separate her from Wahsh al-Fallah. But the hero drives off the genie who flies away with a severed hand under his armpit, and asks her father for Shamah in marriage. Her father delegates the matter to the unfriendly vizier, who says the bridegroom must bring as the marriage-prize the head of a redoubtable traitor Sa'dun. Shamah tries to dissuade her lover from such an enterprise and then disguised has a duel with him to test his prowess, is unhorsed and recognized and wants to join him in his attack on Sa'dun. He refuses her help and tries to enter Sa'dun's

†Outlined from the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*, lith. Singapore, with references to Account of six Malay MSS. of the Cambridge University Library Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, Bij. T. L. en V. van N. I. Deel XLVI, pp. 1-53; Het Cambridge-handscript LL. 6-5 en het Leidsche handscript der *Hikayat Mohammed Hanafiah*, *ib.* pp. 54-62.

fort alone along with a band of Sa'dun's robber followers but is caught in a gate of knives with a pit of snakes and scorpions below until Shamah rescues him. They hide outside the inner gate and slay Sa'dun's followers as they come out. Wahsh al-Fallah and Sa'dun fight a duel. Shamah throws a dagger and wounds Sa'dun's hand causing him to drop his sword. Wahsh al-Fallah will not take advantage of this. Sa'dun becomes his friend and goes with him to Shamah's father. The unfriendly vizier (?Sakerdinun) now demands the book *Ta'rikh Nil* in lieu of the expenses of the wedding. The hero goes in search of it. After 61 days he reaches the cell of an ascetic Jayad who hails him by the name of Saif al-Yazan, initiates him into the religion of Abraham and bids him to go to the Nile and mount the back of a dragon, which daily rushes over the Nile to attack the sun and will carry him across. On the other bank Saif meets Tamah, daughter of Akilah, who tells him to climb into the town of Malik al-Kamar by a rope because at the gate is a mechanical bird which will blow a trumpet when the destined ravisher of the holy book *Tarikh Nil* enters. But though Saif climbs the rope, the bird gives the alarm. Akilah hides Saif in the skin of a large fish in a well, so that the king shall not believe his soothsayers when they say the ravisher has come from the sky and been swallowed by a dead fish and taken into dark water. Next she ties him under the belly of a deer on whose back she has fastened the wings of a bird, so that the soothsayers say they see a man being borne aloft by an animal and are again disgraced. Next she stands him on an inverted golden bowl in a tray full of blood so that the soothsayers say they see him on a hill of gold in a sea of blood. The next day Saif insists on going with Akilah to the palace. She hangs a sword round his neck, disguises him as her female slave and warns him not to enter the room where the *Tarikh Nil* is kept, as its chest will revolve thrice and come to him. He disobeys, is detected and fights till night when he falls fainting on a heap of corpses and is cast into a cavern prison. A female Muslim genie 'Aksah frees him and flies with him to the cell of Shaikh 'Abd as-Salam who has told her Saif will kill an infidel genie who wants to marry her: the same genie whose hand Saif severed before. Saif slays the genie and releases the princesses he has imprisoned, including Nahidah from China who wants to marry him, though he refuses till he has married Shamah. He buries Shaikh Abd as-Salam. 'Aksah flies him to a tomb on a hill below which flow the four rivers of Eden, Furat, Nil, Jaihan and Saihan. 'Aksah flies him to Plato's country where seven sons are disputing over a cap of invisibility left by their father. They ask Saif to arbitrate and he shoots an arrow, the first to pick it up to be the winner. While they run, he dons the cap and becomes invisible even to 'Aksah. She flies him to a city guarded by a bronze figure holding a Yank, who cries out at his arrival; the ruler sends for a sea captain and orders him to put Saif in a weighted basket and drown him. Saif converts the captain who is named Shaikh Abd as-Salam, and is told the ruler's precautions are to guard his ring, which who wears can kill by pointing only. The Shaikh's followers become Muslim all except one who is put in a

basket and drowned instead of Saif. The Shaikh teaches Saif to fish and he catches a fish that has in its belly the magic ring, dropped by the ruler at a picnic. He confronts the ruler and kills him when he refuses to become a muslim. He gives the ring to the Shaikh and makes him ruler. Aksah (p. 107) quarrels with him for keeping her waiting and drops him at the town of Malik al-Kamar where wearing his cap he takes the *Tarikh Nil* but, as he will not marry Tamah, she steals his cap and denounces him to the king, but he reaches the Nile and escapes across it on the dragon. He visits Jayad in time to bury him and then sets out for home. Meanwhile the unfriendly vizier had got Saif ar-Ra'd, king of Abyssinia to send an envoy asking for the hand of Shamah. The envoy meets and insults Sa'dun who kills him. Malik al-Afrah fights Sa'dun but Saif arrives and stops the fight. The wicked vizier writes to Saif ar-Ra'd at Madinah Dur al-Kusur to attack his master and come and kill Saif and Sa'dun. But the king writes to Malik al-Afrah who visits him along with Saif and Sa'dun. Saif ar-Ra'd asks his visitors to punish a woman who molests his country. Saif sets out for Madinat al-Ahmar, and finds its ruler is his mother Kamariah who recognizes an amulet about his neck. Pretending she will give him her throne she decoys him into the desert and nearly kills him as he sleeps. But Jayad and Shaikh Abd as-Salam talk to him in the form of birds and say the leaves of their tree will cure his hurt and Allah sends a great wind that makes the leaves drop. He comes to a castle with a holy man who makes him stand on a pillar that has two footprints fitting his feet and leap from it to a similar pillar across a river. This proves he is the destined owner of the castle's treasure. He takes a slate and a sword from the corpse of Ham in the castle and is nearly killed by a rain of stones as a punishment for removing the head and looking at the face. The holy man deserts him for his sin. After two months he decides to leap from the pillar, and he falls into the stream and is carried to a land where he hides in a tree till hunger forces him to reveal himself to a female warrior Jidah. He tells her he has been shipwrecked. But he sees her consulting his slate, which he has lost, and its familiar spirit, Airudl, tells her the story is false. He recovers the slate while she sleeps. Her father, the holy man of the pillar, arrives. Jidah says Saif must marry her but he gets the spirit of the slate to convey him to Shamah. Meanwhile Kamariah has told Saif ar-Ra'd that Saif is dead and has got him to capture Sa'dun and demand Shamah in marriage. Airudl drops Saif at Shamah's tent as Saif ar-Ra'd is about to consummate the marriage. Airudl rains stones that keep off his foes and carries Saif and Shamah to a hill. Saif slays so many that Saif ar-Ra'd gives Sa'dun his liberty on condition that he kills Saif. They fight. Sa'dun is defeated by Saif and joins him in resisting his enemies. Airudl carries them and Shamah away to a hill. Kamariah comes and begs her son's forgiveness. He marries Shamah. But as they sleep Kamariah steals the magic slate and makes Airudl carry off Saif to the desert of Shilan and his bride to a land where a ram is worshipped. Shamah hungry and pregnant faints outside the

(187) castle of a prince, whose daughter makes her keeper of the sacred ram. Shamah always hits the ram before she feeds him and one day he charges her as she is holding a candle, so that his jewelled mosquito-net is set on fire. She has born a son but now she is put in chains and told she will be sacrificed at the next festival.

Meanwhile hiding in a tree in Ghilan Saif is detected by tusked men who fetch a fair old man. The old man knows Saif's name and says he is destined to destroy the tusked race. He bids him dig up a box with seven caskets wherein are seven rice-grains, and go to a house with a spider key and fetch a white cock with yellow legs and eyes, which he must feed with the rice-grains to prevent it crowing. The two are chased by the tusked men but Saif hurls the feathers of the cock at them and the feathers turn to fire and stop the pursuers, until at last they reach a pit where Saif throws down the cock and all the tusked pursuers die. Saif and the old man come to the land of the sacred ram, are seized and put with Shamah to be sacrificed. But Saif barricades the door and kills the sacred ram for food. Then Aksah comes and carries him, Shamah and their child away to a hill three months journey from his mother's kingdom, and he fetches Saif his sword from Kamariah's palace. Saif slays a tiger and is honoured by Abutat, king of the country. But Abutat lusts after Shamah, till Saif and she flee. Abutat's people will not fight the tiger-slayer. Saif worsts Abutat in a duel and imprisons him in their cave. Airudl arrives to cast Saif away on a volcano by his mother's order. After some time Shamah releases Abutat who takes her to his palace and soon makes love to her. At her prayer the arms of Abutat are thrice contorted and thrice straightened again, after which he embraces the religion of Abraham and is attacked by his subjects. Meanwhile Saif is found by a magician Bernoh (or Bernukh), by whose magic his arms and legs are fettered, so that he may be sacrificed in the crater: but a huge figure of fire orders Bernoh to embrace the religion of Abraham. Aksah carries Saif and Bernoh to Abutat, whose people cease fighting and embrace the new religion. Aksah carries Bernoh to Kamariah and Shamah to her father, who is not to divulge her arrival. Saif and Abutat go for a voyage but Airudl carries off Saif to an island where in a lighted chamber he finds a huge old man waiting to catch a crab whose shell cures blindness. They catch one each and the sailors who buy the old man's crab give Saif a boat. He capsizes in a boat and swims to China where he cures Nahidah of blindness and marries her. Airudl carries them to Madinat al-Ahmar where they join Bernoh and Sa'dun. But Kamariah takes the golden slate while Saif sleeps, invokes Airudl and bids him fly to Plato's kingdom and tell the prince to wait for the chief of the cap of invisibility with spears erect. Then he is to carry off Saif and drop him on the spears. Aksah saves him in mid-air, and on the way back alights in a garden where Saif steals the flying-coat of princess Muhiyy an-Nufus and marries her. Aksah takes them to an island, at

which Abutat calls. Meanwhile Bernoh has made Kamariah so ill by his magic that she asks Saif ar Ra'd for help. Sakerdiun gets a great warrior Maimun to attack Bernoh and Sa'dun. But Saif and Abutat arrive. Saif captures and converts all his enemies and when he is ringed by magic fire, Akilah and his daughter Tamah arrive and douse the fire and give Saif a coat so that not even Airudl can come near him. Kamariah asks his pardon but persuades Nahidah, who is jealous of Muhiyy an-Nufus, to steal his magic coat. Tamah kills Nahidah, saves the coat and shows Saif that his mother has given him a worthless imitation of the magic slate. Airudl takes Kamariah to China where she tells the emperor of his daughter's death and marries him. But Aksah carries Bernoh to China where he recovers the magic slate, and then Aksah fetches Kamariah and kills her. Her father brings Jidah whom Saif marries. He also weds Tamah, giving her the flying coat of Muhiyy an-Nufus in exchange for his cap of invisibility. One day when Saif has entrusted his kingdom to his son Damir and gone hunting, Tamah lends Muhiyy an-Nufus her flying coat for fun, but she flies back to her country, where she is imprisoned. Airudl and Aksah take Saif to her where after suffering imprisonment they all return home happy.

HIKAYAT SAMA'UN.

Sama'un, son of Khalid, refused to suckle because his mother was an infidel, saying that Allah had provided him with different delicacies on every finger-tip. When he is three days old, his father suspects his mother of talking to a strange man but finds it is his son discoursing on religion. The Prophet and Jibra'il visit him, and later Abu-Jahal whom he reviles and causes to flee in terror. His Pateh, Surakal, advises Abu-Jahal that they kill Sama'un. Abu-Jahal sends a captain Asad to a champion Kinam at Iskandariah to come to Mecca and kill the Prophet. Kinam by mistake goes by night to the house of Sama'un, who kills him. Abu-Jahal sends 40 warriors to complain to the Prophet. Sama'un, clad in velvet (*bélédou*) trousers goes to the Prophet, to whom the archangel Jibra'il also comes to reveal the truth. The 40 warriors return and Abu-Jahal bids them go with their flags (*bandera*) and trumpets (*térompit*) to kill Sama'un. Sama'un kills them and all the warriors sent against him and going to the house of Abu-Jahal carries off his daughter Dewi Nasiah from her betrothed and weds her before the Prophet. Now there was a prince of Sari, Bukti, whose lovely daughter Mariah dreamt that a light from Mecca fell into her lap and that it was the light of Muhammad. So she sent the Prophet a letter and he sent messengers asking for her in marriage, infuriating her father who said he was not a prince and was poor. Aisha urges the Prophet to fight. Headed by Sama'un the Companions swear not to enter their houses or meet their wives till Sari is conquered. Jibra'il brings Allah's approval. They set out and are athirst. But the Prophet takes hold of a river-stone and prays and water springs forth. Jibra'il and the Prophet bid Sama'un go first. He leaves

his horse with the guide, (*murshid*) enters the town and when the people want to bind "the small boy" and take him to the king, he starts to fight. The horse bids the guide go to his aid. Sama'un kills hundreds and engages a vizier, Kalil, who derides his youth. Raja Bukti orders his captains Ka'im and Ka'irul to lead his advance guard. Soma'un is chopped up as a cucumber is chopped for a curry. He kills Kalil. Raja Bukti joins the fray on an elephant. Jibra'il bids the Prophet enter the fight. His parents are horrified at Sama'un's wounds but by the Prophet's prayer they are healed. Bukti orders Temenggong Kuari "bearded to the navel and with a six-inch moustache curled up on one side" to bring him the heads of the Prophet and Sama'un. Sama'un slays Kuari and Raja Bukti enters his castle and surrounds it with fire. Princess Mariah collects her treasures, calls for her buggy and her litter (*bugi dan jempana*) and followed by 9,000 deserters sets out to the Prophet, bidding the maid known to Sama'un not to clear out (*chabut*) and leave her. Sama'un recognizes the maid and takes them to the Prophet. They all embrace Islam. The Prophet orders 'Ali and Sama'un to go and convert Raja Bukti. Unscathed they leap through the ring of fire. Raja Bukti refuses to desert the religion of his forefathers whom then he will not meet again. 'Ali slays him. The rest accept Islam. The spoils were divided among the Arabs. One man said, "Are there no more infidels to kill or more booty to get?" Another replied, "Don't tell lies. I didn't see you in the thick of the fight." Another said, "I fancy I saw you hiding beside the river?" And the first man replied, "Yes! at your suggestion!" When Sama'un went home, he bade the guide (*murshid*) lead the way. And the guide thought, "He's made me a captain for my valour and he'll make me a headman (*pateh*). And I'll make profit from date orchards and rice-fields and take the girls into my house."†

HIKAYAT RAJA HANDAK.

Raja Handak was a son of the Prophet Solomon, who after his father's death worshipped idols. He had a son Raja Badar and a sister Zalzali. Hearing that 'Ali was destroying idols and their worshippers, he determined to attack Mekka and Medinah. But Jibra'il brought the word of Allah to the Prophet that he would send 70,000 angels to his aid. And Ali *karim Allah wajah* fastened red cloth on his forehead and took his sword Dzu'l-fakar and mounted his horse Dudul and cried his war-cry so that men thought the last trump was being sounded and 3000 of Handak's warriors fell dead a month's journey away. In one day the Prophet reached the battle-field Hunaini, though it was distant a month's journey. Learning that the Prophet's army was

†*Hikayat Sama'un pëyang dëngan Abu-Jahal*, lith. Singapore (undated); *Het Verhaal van den Held Sama'un en van Mariah de Koptische*, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Tijd. Ind. T. L. en Vk.* (Batavia), Deel XLIII (1901) pp. 444-481; *The Achehese*, Dr. C. Snouck Hurzronje, vol. II, pp. 173-4; *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, D. S. Margoliouth, London 1905, pp. 364-9.

small, Handak stayed his reinforcements and attacked but Ali's sword was lengthened so that he slew thousands. Then Handak sent for Badar and feasted with princess Zalzali and got ready more troops. A relative Raja K-skin, angry at not being invited, determined to attack Handak but was persuaded by a genie from Mt. Kaf to follow him and seek the treasury of Solomon. Again 'Ali slew his enemies, and the Prophet rained small stones on them so that many (p.23) were converted. Then Raja K-skin joins Handak. Still 'Ali triumphs and when Handak sends seven captains with 70,000 to surprise Mekka and Medinah, their eyes are blinded so that they cannot find those cities and they seek Muhammad, become Muslims and fight for the Prophet. K-skin kills his own men mistaking them for the enemy. Then he retires to Solomon's treasury. He enters the battle again and his life is taken by the angel of death. 'Ali's horse swims in blood like the Red Sea amid a din as of waves breaking on Mt. Kaf. Allah sends his angels and bids rocks and stones, mosquitos and sandflies and all the beasts help the Prophet. 'Ali kills Handak and Badar because they refuse to embrace Islam, and he enters the jewelled palace of Handak and destroys the idols. S-rs-l (alias Sh-rs-l alias S-rsil) and his relative Gh-fr-t (alias Ifrit) prepare to attack 'Ali, the latter after fighting his son *كروكسفرى*, who wants to desert to the Prophet apparently because he is not given a sword. Ali comes to the aid of *كروكسفرى*. Genies Muslim and infidel join the fray. One of S-rs-l's captains, *يافى عشا*, joins 'Ali. Jabal Kaf (or Mt. Kaf turned into a man !) joins S-rsal, who also summons Tur-ngga (*alias* Përangi). Genies, fairies and angels join the fray. Ali fights like a tiger with shut eyes and a war-cry that reaches the bull that supports the world. Allah sends Jibra'il to bid the Prophet and his Companions go to Mt. Kaf and stay 'Ali from shutting his eyes and crying his war-cry. S-rs-l and Gh-fr-t are killed and princess Zalzali flees to a prince Përlela on Mt. Kaf. Him also 'Ali slays, leaping like a Geruda after his soldiers into the Red Sea, so that Allah sends Jibra'il to close his eyes with his wings for fear he see and kill the bull that supports the world. The war ends and Jibra'il comes and announces that Allah forgives the sins of all those killed in the holy war.

HIKAYAT BAKHTIAR.

Envied the throne by his younger brother and threatened with civil war a king privily quits his country. On the journey his consort bears a son, whom they have to abandon. He is found by a childless merchant, Idris, while hunting, and adopted by him and his wife, Siti Sara and called Bakhtiar. Meanwhile his royal father has been chosen by an elephant to be king of the merchant's country, whose ruler has died without heirs. One day the merchant takes Bakhtiar to court where he alone can solve a hard case, and reluctantly the merchant lets him enter the king's service, where his rise excites the anger of T-hkim and the other

ministers. T-hkim's wife puts on Bakhtiar's bed in the palace the scarf of the king's favourite maid with a quid of betel tied in it. T-hkim whispers of this to the king. The judge (*kathi*) can find no clear proof but on the protests of the ministers Bakhtiar is at last sentenced to death. Bakhtiar submits but begs that he may die in the presence of the king he loves. The king comes and Bakhtiar tells him

(1) the tale of the fowler who presented a rare bird to a king and so won his favour that his ministers headed by Muhammad Julius plotting to destroy him suggested the bird wanted a mate and the fowler should get one. When the fowler said that he could not, the ministers declared such a reply merited death and the king gave him seven days to find the bird. On the sixth day the fowler meets a shaikh on a headland who helps him to get the bird and promises him aid at any time. Thwarted Muhammad Julius now suggests the fowler should be sent to bring the king a daughter of the emperor of Rum. The Shaikh bids him ask for a golden ship to be built at the cost of Muhammad Julius. When it reaches Rum, the princess will come aboard to see it and can be abducted. The fowler tells the emperor he has come from Semantan (elsewhere Semanta) Indra. The emperor lets his daughter Mengindra Sari go aboard and the fowler sets sail and carries her off. He seeks the Shaikh who says, as the princess mounts the twelve steps of the palace, on every step must be slaughtered a black bull with white eyelids, or failing those, Muhammad Julius. Though such bulls cost 10,000 dinar each, the old minister gets 11, but when the princess halts on the twelfth step, at the fowler's suggestion Muhammad Julius, who has failed to get the twelfth bull, takes its place.

The next day Bakhtiar relates

(2) the tale of the fisherman who sent by a friend a jar of fish-paste for the emperor of China and asked for a knife in return. The friend forgot the paste till criers announced that the pregnant empress wanted to eat fish-paste. He presented the jar, which proved to be full of jewels. The empress, delighted forgot her longings, and the royal pair sent the fisherman a knife and a coconut-monkey that had got them the throne. The fisherman received the monkey but could catch no fish. By dancing the monkey got him food, and raiment from a minister and attracted the notice of a princess, to whom he says that his master is a prince come from fairyland because he had lost his betrothed and that she should marry him. He tutors his master in court manners but the fisherman is such an inept pupil that the monkey gets them married before princess can find him out. After marriage he disgusts her by going to the shops and baking fish for himself. When a rejected suitor attacks and conquers the country, the fisherman pays no heed but sits on the doorstep eating fish. But

when a dog snatches his fish, he charges after it, knife in hand, into the midst of the enemy troops. Urged by the monkey, the soldiers follow him and the enemy is expelled. His father-in-law gives him the throne and his manners change.

The third night Bakhtiar tells of

(3) the rich merchant Hasan and his wife Siti Dinar who wore clothes costing 1000 *dinar* for a week only and then gave them away. One day the king of their country ordered that that night no one should be abroad on pain of arrest or, if he resisted, death. Siti Dinar advises Hasan to hide and seize any wayfarer. He seizes the king, takes him home bound, entertains him and is made prime minister. But the chief minister, Abu Fadl, is jealous and, as the law of the land is that the husband of an adulteress be impaled, declares he has committed adultery with her. Hasan is sentenced to death but Siti Dinar having got goldsmiths to make her a bejewelled golden shoe takes it to the mosque and charges Abu Fadl with having stolen the other shoe. He swears he has never seen her. Hasan is released and Abu Fadl impaled for bringing a false charge.

On the fourth night Bakhtiar tells of

(4) a king who with his consort and two sons left his kingdom rather than have civil war with his younger brother. In spite of his warnings of the ill-luck, his sons played with two fledgeling birds and, while the king was carrying their mother across a river, were siezed by fishermen. As the king came back for his sons, his wife was carried off by sailors. The king is chosen ruler of another land by an elephant. Thither the fishermen in time brought the two boys and the king, not recognizing them, took them for pages. The captain of the ship that had carried off his wife arrives and, that he may have the captain's company, the king sends his two pages to guard his ship. As the elder recounts their adventures to the younger to keep him awake, their mother (well treated by the captain) overhears their talk and comes and kisses them. The sailors mistaking the act seize the pages and the king sentences them to death.

The keeper of the city's gate will not let them be taken out to the execution ground, telling the tale of the two peasants who returned from their rice-fields to find their cat covered with blood and their child dead in his cradle. They killed the cat but soon found it was red with the blood of a snake it had killed, trying to save the child.

The keeper of the second gate also refused, telling of a man who came home and found his dog covered with blood, lying beside his dead wife. He killed the dog and entered the house only to discover that the dog had killed her lover in his bed.

The keeper of the third gate tells of an astrologer executed because a palace built at the hour he struck a gong did not

turn to gold, as he prophesied. But his ministers had been slow, while an old man who heard the prophecy had had a banana sucker ready and planted it at the exact moment, so that all its fruit turned to gold. And the hasty raja heard of it and bewailed his astrologer.

This keeper is taken to the king and advises him not to hasten Bakhtiar's execution. The king sends for Idris who tells Bakhtiar how he came to adopt him. The king hears the story, recognizes his son and makes Bakhtiar Sultan. The chief minister is sentenced to gaol for 17 days, a period equal to Bakhtiar's incarceration and then is given back his office. Bakhtiar's uncle comes on a visit and all live happily.

HIKAYAT KALILA DAN DAMINA.

Horman Shah, son of Nushirwan the just, ruled Medinah. One day a Brahmin told him how Said, a Hindu scholar, owned a MS. tale of Kalila and Damina. Barzueh sailed to Hindustan and having the eight qualities of a wise man persuaded its owner to let him copy it, for which Horman gave him 10 ships of jewels. For reward Barzueh accepted a gold embroidered garment and begged that his name and lineage might be cited in the book Khoza Buzur Jamahir Hakim would compile from the M.S. The tale was translated from the Hindu language into Persian. This book has 10 chapters from the Hindu and 6 from Persian. Readers should grasp its import and not be like the man who wrote his Arabic lessons on a golden slate but memorized them badly. Says the book *Adab u'l-murid* "Pursue learning even into a sea of fire;" and Muhammad said, "Pursue learning even if it is in China or Bulghari," and the Kuran says, "Whomsoever God enlightens, his knowledge is as clear as the sun that lights earth and sky." Be not like the fool that followed the blind man into a well, or like the thief, who was killed, because overheard by a householder he relied on a charm the householder purposely told his wife would keep people asleep and protect thieves. The wise will take thought and even suffer oppression, like Thaif who from loyalty to the king of Rukham prepared to kill his only son so that Luck, in the form of a beautiful woman, should not desert the palace. Be not like the dog that seeing his own reflection in water dropped a bone to attack it. As the saying goes, "The lark *خلدي* went out with two horns and returned with two torn ears." Mortals are fools not to remember whereof they are made. Said Muhammad, "This world is rotten and he who follows after it a dog," and again, "It abides for a moment; make of it a house of service." Here ends the preface which Khoja Buzur Jamir wrote at the request of Barzueh for the story of Kalila Damina.

Grieved at the stupidity of his four sons Iskandar Shah gave them into the care of a Brahmin, Somasanma, who made them fond of him and told them a tale in five parts. A rich Hindu

merchant, Barzaghan, had a spendthrift son, who on his advice took two bulls Sateruboh and Saburboh and went to a far country to trade. Sateruboh fell into a chasm and was left in charge of a hireling who deserted the beast and told its master it had died. But Sateruboh revived and by lowing terrified Lion, prince of all the beasts, as he had never heard the sound before. Lion had two faithful jackals Kalila and Damina. When Damina remarked on the low spirits of Lion, Kalila reproved him for a busy body, telling of the monkey who lost his life by getting his tail caught through pulling out a wood-cutter's wedge. Then Kalila sought an interview with Lion and pleased him with choice words. But Damina was with Lion when Sateruboh lowed and seeing his fear told him Sateruboh was not as formidable as his voice. Damina told Lion the tale of the fox which seeing a big round drum hung from a tree after a battle in which Raja Sulan had repulsed Raja Pandayan took it for food, bit it and found it empty. Damina fetches Sateruboh to do obeisance to Maharaja Singa, Marga Dipati, Lord of Beasts. Lion makes Sateruboh one of his heralds, whereat Damina is jealous. Kalila tells him of the monk, whose fine suit, a gift from royalty, was stolen by a thief who pretended to want to learn the *tarikah* and become his pupil. In quest of the thief, the monk beheld a fox killed for suspicion of murder because it was found licking the blood of two hunters whom the hermit had seen kill one another in a quarrel over the division of their game. The monk was invited by a procuress, Baliba, into her house, and saw her try to blow poison through a quill up the nose of a youth who rejected her love, but he sneezed and the poison entered her mouth and she died. He stayed next at the house of a shoemaker, who returning drunk one night found a youth at his door and so beat his wife and tied her to a house-pillar. His wife persuaded her friend and go-between, the wife of a barber, to untie her and take her place, so that she might meet her lover. But the shoemaker woke and getting no answer from his wife when he shouted for water mistook the wife of the barber for her and slit her nose. His own wife returning condoled with her friend and was again tied up by her. She then cried, "If I have committed adultery, may my nose never heal up." Her husband lighting a lamp saw her nose whole and knelt for pardon. Meanwhile he threw a bowl at his wife, in which in the dark she had (p. 53) handed him water; whereat she pretended it had struck and cut off her nose. The husband was taken before a judge but saved by the monk who related his own adventures as proof that our troubles spring from our own actions; his own from taking a pupil, the fox's from licking blood, Bibi's from having a lover, those of the barber's wife from acting as a go-between. So the barber was acquitted and the shoemaker's wife was punished. Consider the moral, said Kalila to Damina, warning him against traducing Sateruboh to Lion. But Damina declared that his wits could defeat Sateruboh's strength and told how Jackal advised Crow not to peck the Snake that ate her (59) young. An egret living beside a lake wept because age was preventing him from catching fish, but when Crab asked the cause of his grief he pretended it was because two fisher-

men had said they would bale out the lake to catch the fish. Tortoise overhearing this told the fishes, who asked the egret to help them. So he offered to fly them a few at a time to another lake, and took a carp first to view it. After that by pretending to take them there he got five fat fishes a day and ate them. Then as the lake was emptied of fish the egret offered to remove Crab, but crab suspecting such a crafty bird of guile bit his neck in mid-air so that he died. "Even man," Crab quoted a verse, "feels a day a long time, when he is alive and his enemy dead." Beware of strength, said Jackal: Crab had claws for a weapon. If you want to kill a snake, steal some trinket from the raja's palace and fly with it in the sight of all men to the Snake's hole, when he will be found and killed. Damina vowed to get rid of Sateruboh as Mouse-deer killed Tiger for oppressing the beasts. As Tiger was killing so many, Mouse-deer arranged that he should be given one animal a day: when it came to Mouse-deer's turn, he arrived late and said the animal he was bringing had been snatched by a rival tiger on the way; he led Tiger to fight this rival and showed him his shadow in a pond, leaping at which in mistake for his foe Tiger was drowned. In spite of a resolve to follow Kalila's advice and use guile, Damina finds Lion alone and bluntly tells him Sateruboh should be dealt with quickly as a traitor; "as the poem says, one should deal with a foe with any device, because he waits for one to sleep and dout the lamp." Once there were three fish, Jazim, Abu'l-fadlail and Aziz. When they heard two fishermen say they would fetch their nets, Jazim removed to other waters, Abu'l-fadlail delayed but when the men returned pretended to be dead and rotten and so escaped, while the foolish Aziz was caught. Impressed by this tale, Lion agrees to punish Sateruboh, if he comes into the presence with guilty mien. But Damina telling Sateruboh that death awaits him, advises flight,—before Lion can discover the bull's innocence. Sateruboh declares he has been slandered and tells how Crow Rhino and Jackal contrived Camel's death. When Lion wounded in a fight with a mad elephant could not capture game, Crow, Rhino and Jackal agreed each to offer himself in turn for food, while the other two were to save the offerer by saying he was too small or his flesh was not good: but when Camel offered himself, they all praised his flesh, whereupon Lion ate him. So are creatures destroyed by false friends. Damina warns Sateruboh not to invite a contest with mighty Lion, telling the story of the sandpiper who insisted on his mate laying her eggs on the shore, though she begged him to follow her advice and remove and told him of the two birds who took the monitor-lizard from a pond that had dried up on condition that he should not release his jaws from the piece of wood on which they carried him: he disobeyed and fell and was killed. The sandpiper's eggs were carried away by the spirit of the sea and she bewailed her loss till her mate got Geroda to compel the spirit of the sea to return them. However Sateruboh insists on confronting Lion, and Damina warns him that if on meeting Lion he sees his tail down and his whiskers trembling, it means that Lion is displeased. Lion and Sateruboh meet and fight: Lion is wounded

and Sateruboh falls dead. Kalila warns Damina that over this he will get into trouble from not having followed his advice; like the bird who in spite of a man's warning told shivering monkies that they could not make a fire out of incandescent mushrooms and got his feathers pulled out for his pains. Kalila tells of the clever Man and the Fool who agreed to divide all they found on their travels. They found a jar of gold. The clever Man persuaded Fool that it should be left hidden under a tree, and they should take a little gold as they needed it. The clever Man then stole it and accused Fool of the theft before the Kathi, to whom he said the tree was his only witness. He begged his father to hide in the tree and speak. (His father told of the Snake that lived at the foot of Crow's tree and ate her eggs. Tortoise advised crow to strew fish between Snake's nest and Mongoose's trail. So Mongoose found and devoured Snake but next day seeking fish in vain he devoured Crow's young. Cunning is often overreached.) But the clever Man's father at last consented and gave evidence from the hollow of the Tree. The Kathi had a fire lit round the tree whereat the father jumped out and having told the truth died. The Kathi gave the gold to Fool. Kalila tells another story of cunning overreaching itself. A man accepted steel for safekeeping and told its owner it had been devoured by rats: the owner stole the son of the man and said he had been carried off by an eagle. The judge ordered that both the steel and the boy should be returned.

Panther overhearing Kalila blame Damina for treacherously compassing the death of Sateruboh runs and informs Lion's mother. Lion laments Sateruboh's death to a Brahmin. His mother talks to him. Lion summons Damina and all the beasts and accuses Damina who relates the tale of the designer of fabrics who for want of investigation beat his innocent son and spared his guilty slave. He had an intrigue with the wife of a Kashmiri, Jamir, and signalled for their assignations by black and white cloths: his slave knew this, borrowed them from the designer's son when his father was away, and enjoyed the lady. The raja imprisons Damina for trial. Kalila visits him and laments that treachery has brought him to such a pass. A bird (*kuas*) hearing this flies and informs the raja's mother, who persuades her son to order an immediate trial. Damina protests his innocence saying that knaves are fools like the man who pretended to be a doctor but knew so little of drugs that his mixture poisoned a princess and led to his execution. Panther declares the space between his eyebrows, the unequal size of his eyes and the twist of his nose prove Damina a knave. He is sent back to gaol, where Fox tells him Kalila has died of sorrow: Damina adopts Fox as his brother and gives him half of the treasure he had hidden beneath a tree. Called before the judge again Damina tells the tale of the Hawker to show the need for full investigation. Spurned by his master's wife, Baroti he gave his master Mirzaban two mynahs, one of which he taught to say in their own language "Master's wife is beautiful" and the other to say in Balkhi, "I've seen her in the

embrace of the porter." A friend came from Balkhi and told Mirzaban, who went to kill his wife but she bade him enquire if the bird knew any other words in Balkhi, which it did not! The Hawker declared the mynah spoke the truth but his own hawk pecked out his eyes. However on the evidence of panther and *kuas* Damina is convicted and left to starve in gaol.

II. The four princes beg Somasanma to tell the second part of his tale, dealing with friends in need. He tells of the friendship between Dove, Crow, Mouse, Barking-deer and Tortoise. In Kashmir are great forests where the king of the crows lives. One day after a battle in a pond he saw two men come and set a fowling-net. A flock of Doves flew into it to eat the bait of grain, but they were caught fast. Their leader Hamam bade them, fly away with the net to Mouse, who gnawed the net and released them. Impressed, Crow succeeded in winning Mouse's friendship, though Mouse says nature has made them enemies and is suspicious. Crow flies off with Mouse to a fine place where his friend Tortoise lives. Mouse tells a tale to illustrate the value of his friendship with Dove. In an orchard in Mawra lived a lonely hermit, whose food was eaten by mice. A mendicant visited him and expressed anxiety because he kept raising his hand. I would not harm you but drive away the mice, said the hermit. Perhaps, replied his guest, there is one mouse for some reason more forward than the rest! Hear the tale of the woman who put oil-seed to dry and changed them for seeds in the pod. A guest heard his host and hostess wrangle over the lack of food to entertain him. The hostess wanted more provisions. Her husband bade her not be greedy like the hunter who had shot a deer and put it down to shoot a boar which charged and killed him or like the tiger which seeing the three corpses ate the string of the hunter's bow first and was killed by the discharge of the arrow. Next day the hostess told her husband to watch oil-seed she had put in the sun but he fell asleep and crows ate and scratched and mixed the seed with sand. She tried to exchange them for seeds in the pod but the Hindu tradesman saw the sand and drove her away and so her guest was hungry for want of a dinner. Let us visit Mouse's hole, said the mendicant, and see if there is a reason for his pertness. So they did and found 1000 gold pieces Mouse had collected and they divided it between themselves, and put it under their pillows. In vain Mouse tried to recover it and get food: he was always driven away and found no solace except in the friendship of dove. Said Tortoise, greed leads a man to destruction, as a camel is led by his driver: witness the tale of the cat that was kept on short commons so that he should devour rats in a store but felt hungry and tried to catch two young doves but was captured by their owner and killed. Five things are fleeting: shadows, friendship with the vicious, love of woman, beauty and wealth. When Crow heard Tortoise admonishing Mouse, he recited a verse. 'If man would dig a well, he will find cool water not in low ground but on high'; help comes from the wise; 'good things are dear but unlike mean things bring profit.' Suddenly a Deer ran up and

became one of the band of friends. One day when Deer was caught in a net, Mouse bit it and released him. But the hunter came. And all ran but tortoise, who was tied up and carried off. Then Deer feigning lameness showed himself to the hunter, who set down Tortoise and chased Deer. So Tortoise escaped.

III. The princes asked for the third part of his tale : how the wise should never trust an enemy. Somasanma tells of the Crows and the Owls. The Owls attacked the Crows at night and worsted them. The Raja Crow consults his five ministers who give various counsels. They advise secrecy and one of them, Karkenass, talks of a Sultan of Kashmir, whose favourite concubine Ratnasuri had an intrigue with a page. The Sultan asked the advice of his minister who advised poisoning them, but the minister revealed this to his daughter whom Ratnasuri had insulted, and his daughter told a warrior who told Ratnasuri, who with her lover poisoned the Sultan. Karkenass tells the Raja Crow privately that the attack was due to a Crow who was asked by the Owls to help choose their Raja. The Crow had advised them not to choose a day-blind vicious Owl but a noble and clever Peacock or Eagle or Hawk. He had told how a clever Mouse-deer, Piruzu, pretending to be an envoy from Moon had made the huge Elephants do obeisance to her reflection in a pool and remove from the pool, wading in which they were fouling the Mouse-deers' drinking water. He had told, too, how once when Mouse-deer had taken a *senubul* bird's place during its absence, he had refused to give it back and he suggested a hermit cat as arbitrator. But the cat had seized the bird ! The bad, he had urged, could never be trusted. However the next day the Owls chose an Owl for their king, and the new king hated the Crows because a crow had nearly cheated him of his throne. Hearing this the King of the Crows lets Karkenass pretend to desert to the King of the Owls, who receives him so graciously that Owl's prime minister warns his Lord against favouring an enemy. Like the Ceylon craftsman who spared his wife because knowing he was spying on them she told her lover that she loved her husband more than him. The Owl minister tells Karkenass he can no more change his nature than the Mouse, who turned into a girl by a hermit's prayer wanted a strong husband. Sun said cloud was stronger than he and Cloud said Wind was yet stronger and Wind said Mountain was stronger still, but Mountain said that Mouse who could enter his entrails was strongest. So the girl begged to be turned into a Mouse again. Karkenass retorts with the tale of (p.231) the Merchant and the Wife of the Arab Amir. Left behind by his caravan because of sickness a Persian Amir a wealthy merchant found his way to the house of an Arab Amir. He tried to seduce his host's beautiful wife but failed and she told her husband who concealed his knowledge and escorted his guest to Mecca, refusing pay. Meantime Bedui had stolen the Arab Chief's goods and his wife. They then sold her in Baghdad to one who sold her to the Persian Amir, who treated her with every courtesy, concealing his identity. Seeking his wife, her husband reached

Baghdad and was entertained by the Persian Amir, who forced on him a bride—his lost wife—and loaded him with riches. Still his minister counsels Raja Owl against Karkenias, who replies that one should never visit a land, where the king is just but his minister tyrannical and tells of the hermit who out of pity turned a mouse into a beautiful boy. Later he turned his wife into a lovely woman. She then said she was too good for him and he turned her into a bitch. Finally on his children's entreaty he turned the boy back into a mouse and his wife to her former state. At last the Crow Minister returns to his king and advises that the Owl fortress, a cave, may be smoked out and burnt by day when the Owls cannot see. He adds that he was like the Snake who made friends with the Frog. On condition that Snake carried him about on his back, the King of the Frogs agreed to give him two frogs a day to eat, but when all the other frogs had been eaten, Snake ate the King:—he had pretended that as he had bitten the child of a pious hermit in mistake for a frog, the hermit had cursed him so that he could not catch frogs. However trivial, one cannot make light of fire, winds, foes and debts.

IV. Somasanma tells stories of those who from greed lose what they have. On a certain island lived Dianda, king of the Monkeys. His successor, loving the sound of fruit plumping into water, sat on a tree by the shore and made friends with a turtle who ate the fruit thrown down. Irrked by his absence the turtle's wife pretended to be sick and got the doctor to say the only medicine was a monkey's heart. Turtle takes monkey on his back across the sea to visit his wife, and half way across tells him he wants a monkey's heart, whereat his passenger says he will be glad to give his own but he has left it at home. So turtle takes Monkey back and he escapes and tells turtle a story. Once a Fox made friends with a mangy old Tiger. He told him that the medicine for his mange was the heart and ears of a donkey and persuaded a washerman's donkey to go to the place where Tiger lay. Tiger sprang but missed the prey. Again Fox persuaded Donkey, who had never seen a tiger, to go there, saying his old friend was merely playful. Tiger killed Donkey and went to bathe, whereupon Fox ate her heart and ears, telling Tiger on his return that his victim had had neither or she would not have heeded the lies told her.

V. The Brahmin tells stories to show the value of deliberation. An elderly hermit having no children brought a mongoose. Then his wife conceived. We shall have a clever son, said the hermit. How can you know? asked his wife telling the tale of the hermit who was given honey and oil and spilt them over his head. He thought, I shall sell them and buy a she-goat: I shall sell her goat and kids and become rich and marry a rich girl and have children and if I have a son who won't learn I'll beat him—and he lashed out with his stick and smashed the jar that held the oil and honey. Then the hermit's wife bore a son. One day she went to the well and her husband was called to the palace. When he returned the mongoose met him, its mouth red with blood and he killed

the mongoose thinking it had killed the child but when he came to his ground he found that the mongoose had killed a snake, and his son was alive and well. Sometimes, said the Brahmin, it pays to make a friend of an enemy. Once a cat was caught in a snare near a mouse's hole. The mouse saw a mongoose and an owl, both ready to kill it. So it made friends with the cat and released it but would not keep up the friendship afterwards for fear. Then there is the tale of the lark whose young became the pet of a king's baby but was killed by him: whereat the lark pecked out the child's eyes and flew off, refusing all the king's entreaties to be his friend. Once after many entreaties a vegetarian ascetic jackal consented to serve the King of the Tigers, who so ennobled him that all the beasts were jealous. One day Jackal gave Mouse-deer tiger's meat to keep for the morrow but cat stole it and hid it in Jackal's home. Panther told Tiger who was very angry, but his mother told him to investigate, and cat confessed. And Jackal agreed at length to continue to serve tiger. Evil is requited with evil as the hermit jackal told Tiger the flesh-eater when he found her lamenting her two cubs' death at the hands of an archer. Then I will eat only fruit, she cried. You'll frighten all the beasts from their main food, answered Jackal. Then I can eat only grass (p.285) and earth, said Tiger. Every man should stick to his own work, says the Brahmin. Once a guest got a Hermit to teach him the Iberani language and tried to talk it but when his hearers asked him the words for *day* and *night*, he did not know and was confounded. The Brahmin tells a tale of a king who confuted his enemies. Once the king dreamt seven times in one night that two red fish and two white ducks followed him and a snake coiled about his legs; then a man smeared blood on him and a white camel came before him and a bird perched on his head. Halir and other Brahmins angry at the execution of relatives, said the dream betokened death, unless the king killed his elephants, his only son Thahir Shah, a minister and a favourite camel and drank their heart's blood. The king rejoined telling how Solomon refused the water of life. His ministers, Asaf, Damarbath, Aqab and Asad advised him to drink and get immortality health youth and beauty. Asad added, 'But ask Hedgehog for he is wise.' Horse was sent to call him but he made excuses; Dog went and he came. For, he said, Horse is noble and would deliver my excuses; Dog is ignoble and would traduce me. He advised Solomon not to drink water, which would make him outlive his wife, children and ministers. Thahir Shah, pretending to submit to Halir's demands, brings a *hakim* who says the two red fish are two envoys from Yunan, mounted on elephants and bringing jewels and gold, the two white ducks are envoys from Balkh bringing two horses as gifts, the blood envoys from Hormuz bringing jewelled raiment, the camel a man from Kerman bringing an elephant, the bird on his head a crown sent by the king of Isfahan. Dreaming seven times meant the present would come in seven days. So the king killed Halir and the Brahmins. The princes begged Somasanma to tell of the man who kept and the man who broke his promise. He told of the Goldsmith and the

Hunter. A monkey, snake, tiger and man fell into a hunter's pit. The hunter came and pulled the man out but the beasts also clung to his rope and were rescued. The monkey brought him fruit. The tiger killed a child and gave him its rich attire. The gold he took to a goldsmith, who recognizing the attire took it to the child's father, who denounced the hunter and got him condemned for murder. But the snake came and said, "I'll bite the Raja's son. Take this herb which is the only cure for my bite, and save the boy, when you may be spared." So it happened and the ingrate was executed in his stead. The Brahmin then tells the story of the four friends, the princeling, the minister's son, the merchant's son and the farmer's son. The prince said one must trust in God in this rotten world, the minister's son said looks and manners always brought success, the merchant's son believed in brains and the farmer's son in work. So they tested their views. The farmer's son cut firewood and bought food for his friends. The merchant's son bought a cargo and sold it at a profit. The minister's handsome son attracted the notice of a lady who gave him 500 gold pieces and the prince went and sat under a fence, trusting in God, and was chosen to succeed the dead ruler of that country.

The Brahmin's pupils ask for a tale of a man who acted hastily and he tells them of Prince Bahazada, son of the ruler of Halabu. A court attendant tells him how journeying in Sham he saw the daughter of the raja of Rum escorted with music in a jewelled litter to her garden pleasaunce and wept to think what a bride she would make for Bahazada. Though his father says she is far above him, he demands that her hand be asked. The raja of Rum demands a bridal gift of 100,000 gold pieces. Borrowing from merchants, Bahazada's father collects 70,000 and begs his son to wait but instead he tries to raid a caravan and is captured, though its leader Amir Mahmud hearing his story lends him the 30,000 pieces required and takes him to Rum. The raja accepts his suit but says it will take time to collect the wedding-guests. "I want her now", cries the impatient prince whereat the raja liking him but angry sends him to his daughter's garden. She is dressing after her bath and seeing a man prying tells a maid to fetch a two-pronged spear and push it through the trellis into his eyes. He is blinded and blind is rejected for bridegroom and for his father's throne.

Somasanma tells the tale of the merchant who bought wheat that was spoilt by the flooding of his barn, bought a ship that was wrecked, got a job with Sahib A'suri on a half profits basis but buried the money he got and asked leave to go away, whereupon Sahib A'suri discovered the money, seized it and drove the merchant away. The merchant met five pearl-fishers who dived and got five pearls, which in pity they gave him. Encountering Bedouins he put two pearls in his mouth but in talking dropped them whereupon the Bedouins stole them. Meeting a Hindu, Manikchata, he asked him the value of the three he still had, whereat the Hindu seeing their quality seized him and cried, 'This the

thief who stole my pearls'. He is cast into gaol for enquiry but the pearl-fishers arrive and exonerate him. He is given all the property of Manikhchata and made royal treasurer. The other ministers are jealous and one who sees him filling a hole in a wall made by a lamp accuses him to the king of spying on the ruler's daughter, whereupon his eyes are put out. Then the king finds that his daughter has been away for three days and repents of his unjust haste.

Somasanma tells the tale of Abu-sabar, who counselled patience when a raja destroyed his village because the people had killed a royal page for raping a girl and again when a tiger killed the cattle. The raja hearing that the exodus from the village was due to his apathy expelled him. Bedouins stole his children and while he went for food a thief, Fajar, carried off his wife. Next a cruel king made him carry stones and beat him for carrying small ones: when prayer gave him the strength of ten, the king had a ladder broken so that Abu-sabar fell and broke his arm. After that he was put in chains. But the cruel king died and his ministers decided to give the throne to the man who could answer four hard questions. Only Abu-sabar can answer them and he is made king. A merchant restores his children, whom he has bought from their captors. Fajar unwillingly brings his chaste wife before Abu-sabar and complains of her recalcitrancy. Fajar is impaled.

The Brahmin tells the tale of the hasty harsh Raja of Yamen who however spares the life of his favorite servant Ibraha when hunting deer Ibraha shoots off his ear. Ibraha is the son of the king of Rinji in disguise and returns home. On a pleasure trip the Raja of Yamen is wrecked on the coast of Rinji and falls asleep under the house of a merchant who that night is murdered. He is suspected and locked up for enquiry. Seeing a crow on the roof of the palace, he shies a stone at it, thinking a hit will procure his release, but the stone cuts off Ibraha's ear. This leads to recognition and the Raja of Yamen is honoured and escorted home.

Next is the story of the king who slew his two ministers. Raja Ibrahim took one minister Kamkari, father of the lovely Biyakari, hunting and left his kingdom in charge of another, Kardari, who seeing the girl planned to marry her to the king, traduce her and so get for himself. She refuses the royal match, telling her father how the sparrow bride left her hornbill bridegroom, how Solomon referred the case to the lord (*saïd*) of the headland, who flew away when a covey of hornbills arrived but agreed to meet one or two. Meanwhile Raja Hornbill had caught and proposed to eat Mouse-deer, who saved his life by improvising verses (*pantun*). Next Mouse-deer met a snake and then a coconut monkey and then an old man, escaping from all by laudatory verses. Raja Hornbill flew to the headland and stated his case, whereat the *Saïd* engaged in a struggle with Mouse-deer, which proved too strong and big for him. So, too, he said, a hornbill is too strong for a sparrow bride. So one night Kamkari and his

daughter flee to Isfahan. Kardari is sent to catch them and Raja Ibrahim splits open Kamkari's head with a stick and kills him. His daughter can demur no more but asks for her friend Kiyakari as a companion. The Raja and his bride live happily till he goes to fight an invader from Ruhham. Kardari then invites the new queen to flee with him or else poison her father's murderer. She refuses. He tells the king he has overheard Kiyakari suggesting to her to poison her consort. The king kills Kiyakari and, on Kardari's proposal has Biyakari tied on a plank behind a wild camel. Kardari hoped to find her and make her his own. But an angel releases her and causes a brook to spring up besides her and grass to grow, and there she kneels and prays till a camel-driver finds her and gives her shelter. He tells Raja Ibrahim of his discovery and the king comes and is convinced of her innocence. But she bids him hide and send the camel-driver for Kardari, who again makes overtures to her. The king slays him and he and his bride live happily.

The next tale is that of the mean and cruel Raja Khabasi of Turkestan who demanded the hand of the daughter of the king of Irak and, his suit refused, attacked Irak and got her, not knowing she was a widow with a grown son Khadad. Pretending that she had always looked after the boy, she gets Raja Khabasi to have him fetched from Irak. On his arrival she kisses him and her husband not knowing he is her son sends him with a roll of white cloth to a minister ordering him to kill the boy. On the way he talks to another boy who takes over the cloth and delivers it and is killed. Realizing his mistake the minister hides Khadad, until to assuage the grief of his mother and grandfather and Raja Khabasi he produces him.

Somasanma is given rich presents for training the princes.

TAJ AS-SALATIN.

I. Man must know himself to know his God. He is a creature of dust, compounded of earth, air, fire and water, the lowest but also the highest of created beings, a microcosm or glass wherein he may see God the Eternal, the macrocosm.

II. The nature of God, the Creator. Just as 1 is not 10 but connotes 10, so God is neither knowledge nor power nor life nor sight nor desire nor creation but connotes them. Man exists in the knowledge and power of God, as fishes exist in water, not one of whose scales even can live apart from water, though the fishes know neither themselves nor the nature of water or of their dependence on it. Whomsoever He will, God leads astray or directs in the right way.

III. The nature of the world. It is a place for the lover and beloved, the knower and the known (*'ashik dan ma'shok, habib dan mahbub, 'arif dan ma'ruf*), a bazaar for the next world. The way is far, and age, like a cavalcade, halts not; every breath marks

a step ; every day is another plain traversed. The world is a bridge to eternity, which the wise cross without making on it their abode. Some say it is a dream and men the sleepers.

IV. Of death. According to the *Tanbihu'l-Ghafilin*—there are Persian, Hindustani and Malay tracts of this name—God makes the grave a flower garden for those that think upon death, while for others it is a cavern of hell. Once there was a Persian king, Shahriah, so proud he ignored the greeting of a humble mendicant, but the mendicant seized his bridle and whispered "I am the Angel of Death" and Shahriah fell dead in front of his people, before he could atone for his misdeeds.

V. Of Caliphs. Adam was the first caliph and was succeeded by his son Kaiomarz—first of Persian kings. There were six Prophet kings, Adam, Yusuf, Daud, Sulaiman, Musa, Muhammad, Fatimah (when visited in sickness by Muhammad and 'Imran), Muhammad, Abu-Bakar, 'Omar, 'Usman, 'Ali, all knew poverty. Supported by public monies, Abu-Bakar and 'Usman repaid it all on their death-beds. 'Omar worked as a brick-maker. When 'Omar "son of 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, son of Sultan Sulaiman" ruled Baghdad, he gave the contents of its palaces to the needy. According to the *Siyar u'l-Muluk*, a ruler must observe Muslim law and slay heretics, to do his duty to God, and be just to do his duty to man.

VI. Of justice and mercy. Said the Prophet, "A prince just in this world shall from the day of judgment sit in heaven on a throne of pearl." An unjust king is the shadow of Iblis upon earth. God is a shepherd and men His sheep. Virtue in a king is a greater sign of honour than a golden creese. By justice a king can acquire the merit of 60 pilgrimages. Ahnaf declared that justice populates and cruelty devastates the world. The *Adabu's-Salatina* says a just ruler must know the affairs of his realm. The *Adabu'l-Muluk* says, a ruler's ignorance of affairs, his elevation of evil and base-born men, and the injustice of officials destroy kingdoms.

VII. Of just princes. Harun a'r-Rashid was told by a Sufi Sufian Zahid—anchorite that rulers must have a treasury for alms and public works, a sword to slay criminals and heretics, a staff to strike the irreligious: he was warned by Fadli 'Iyad that his hand was soft but hell-fire hard and that entrusting affairs to others, like 'Abbas his companion, would undo him. Sultan Sulaiman ibn 'Abdu'l-Malik begets a son, 'Abdu'l-'Aziz after eating coarse flour given him by a holy man. In a famine 'Omar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Aziz opened the treasury to Arabs, who claimed the money belonged either to God, who did not want it, or to 'Omar who should give it in alms, or to themselves. In Nashapur, a Shaikh asked Bu Ali'l Jasa or Abu Ityas a captain why he was prepared to leave behind him loved possessions and take enemies (?sins) to the next world. Sultan Isma'il bin Ahmad had the hand cut off a groom who stole from an orchard in spite of drawing wages. One night the Caliph 'Omar, accompanied by Zaid ibn 'Abdu'llah ibn 'Abdu's-Salam, found a hungry woman

with two children outside Medinah, with a pot of water boiling to make the children think there was food, and he himself went and bought her flour and meat. In Sham a just king Malik al-Salih found a naked beggar shivering in a mosque and gave him clothes and money (p. 45 V.D.). Zayad, Sultan of 'Irak, put down theft by forbidding persons to leave their houses after evening prayer and to keep his word executed even those who disobeyed unwittingly. Later when a man complained of theft of 400 *tahil* of gold, the Sultan replaced it, assembled his people in the mosque and swore to kill all unless the thief confessed, which he did. Sultan Abu Ja'afar revoked an execution when Mubarak ibni Fazal told him a tale from a *hadith*, how on the day of judgment none shall rise and claim to have loved God save those who pardoned the sins of men. The *Najat al-Muluk* tells how Satan told Musa that unrighteous anger, the seduction of women and meanness were his three weapons for the destruction of the world. The *Adab as-Salathin* says that formerly good kings divided the day into four parts: one for religious duties, one for judicial and government work, one for theological and legal study, one for eating and sleeping.

VIII. Of just infidel kings. Once Nushirwan asked Buzurghmihr if his country were prosperous. The vizier pretended that his ruler was sick and could only be cured by clay from a ruined place. It could be got only from the house of a stranger sealed up for years because no heirs claimed his property. A man bought a house and found a jar of gold: he wanted to restore it to the seller, who refused it; Nushirwan bade them arrange a marriage between their children and give the girl the gold for dowry. Harun a'r-Rashid opened the grave of Nushirwan and found his body whole (and a gold tablet beside it setting forth the duties of kings), because he had been just. A Chinese Emperor, troubled by deafness bade all his subjects who had complaints dress in red and write their grievances on their coats. The book *Fazilah al-'Adalat* tells how between heaven and hell there is a place 'Araf for just infidel rulers. There follows a list of kings from Adam down to Yazdakird, last of the *Muluku't-tawaf*.

IX. Of unjust kings, who beyond all others shall be punished on the day of judgment. Sayings of the Prophet are quoted. Hanafi said the three worst sins are injustice, ingratitude for the true faith, contempt for death. In Basrah an unjust ruler laughed at a poor fireworshipper who had had the tail cut off his ass and his pregnant wife thrown to the ground and carried away, but Allah had his palace swallowed up in black boiling water. So, too, a pleasure dome in Isfahan was destroyed because the king had destroyed the hut of an old woman and his men had cast her and her rice into the dust. An angel in the form of a horse entered the palace of the cruel tyrant Yazdakird and when he tried to mount kicked him to death and vanished.

X. Of viziers, their qualifications and their value to rulers. Yunan tells Nushirwan of the whole duty of kings and how his vizier betrayed king Kishtasab robbing his subjects and leaving

the treasury empty, till the king, learning two watch-dogs he sees hanged by a tent-door have been killed for treachery, hangs his vizier by the gate of the city. Yunan continues that Ardashir was a king famous for industry and justice, that Kobad was once told by his vizier the whole duty of kings, that once when Solomon's crown was asked and he chided it, the crown replied, "Straighten your heart and I'll be straight," and that Khusrau Firuz once fled from Bahram Cobin in battle, declaring that in spite of the shame there was a time to fight and a time to flee. Yunan tells how a vizier, ordered by a king of 'Ajam, to execute his consort, found her pregnant, slew a condemned prisoner in her stead and later was able to present a son to his king, who thought himself childless.

XI. Of writers. Quotations from the Kuran and the *Kitab al-insan* to prove that the pen and the sword are the two mightiest forces in the world and without them not even Alexander the Great could have succeeded. A writer should understand irrigation, astronomy and astrology. Ibni 'Abbas relates how the letter of Solomon to the Queen of Sheba was sealed, and that Muhammad had a silver signet ring engraved with the creed, and held that before dispatch every letter should be laid on the earth because the earth is blessed. A letter should have more meaning than words (*lafath*).

XII. Of envoys, who must be of good appearance and conduct and speech. Alexander suspicious that an envoy to Dara had misrepresented him wrote to Dara: Dara cut the word out of Alexander's letter and disavowed it; Alexander cut out the envoy's tongue. Humayun's envoy to the ruler of Khorassan won fame by his eulogies of his master.

XIII. Of officials (*pëgarwai*), who must be loyal and grateful as Ayaz was to Mahmud, so that thinking of past favours Ayaz even called a bitter gourd sweet, because it was received from Mahmud's hand. Their love was as famous as that of Laila and Majnun among the Arabs or that of Khusrau and Shirin and Yusuf and Zulaikha among the Persians. Once when Mahmud flung gold, silver and jewels for all his followers to take, Ayaz alone followed his master with empty hands, counting it the greatest riches to be with his lord.

XIV. (p.160). Of the upbringing of children, who should be shaved on the seventh day, taught *adab* when they are six, be given separate beds when they reach seven, taught to pray at thirteen married at 16 or 17, and trained in manners of the court and warlike arts.

XV. Of right conduct. Every one should speak the truth and in the proper place, and then, as Galen told Alexander, a prince will get an eternal in place of a transitory realm. When a prince wanted to give a man 500 *derham*, his vizier said no prince should give less than 1000; when Harun ar'-Rashid gave 500 *tahil* to a

man, his vizier Yahya gave the same advice ; when Ma'mun a'r-Rashid heard his vizier 'Abbas give a servant half a *tahil* for marketing, he declared he was unfit to be called a vizier. The *Sifat u'l-Muluk* relates that Shabur told his son never to give with his own hand or to send for or look at his gifts and never to give less than the revenue of a state. Hormuz reproached his vizier for dealing in jewels as it distracted him from government work and harmed other traders. A vizier of Harun a'r-Rashid bade his servants give a beggar of his own food and 1000 *dinar* a day so long as he sat at his gate, which he did for a month. Shirian once reproached Khosrau for giving a fisherman 4000 *derham* for a fish but he said a ruler could not go back on what he had done. She replied that he could ask whether the fish was male or female and, whatever the man replied, say he wanted the other sex and so get out of his purchase. But the man replied the fish was sexless and so got 8000 *derham*. He dropped one *derham* and hunted for it, whereupon Shirian bade Khosrau reproach him for his meanness but the man said he only searched for fear passers-by should tread on a coin bearing the names of Allah and Khosrau, whereupon he got another 4000 *derham* and Khosrau put up a gold inscription, "Whoever pays heed to a woman over one or two *derham* will suffer loss."

XVI. Of wisdom (*budi*) and the wise. *Budi* = the Arabic '*akal* and is defined as doing good to those that harm us, abasing oneself before the lowly and exalting the high, hastening to do good, hating evil men and their works, perpetually thinking of God, death and the grave, speaking with knowledge, trusting God in trouble. Khosrau's father advised him to seek wisdom. Nushirwan and one of his judges exchanged letters in praise of wisdom. Buzurgmihr said the rarest qualities of man were wisdom and courage. Lokman said knowledge without wisdom was vain. The Prophet extolled it as the greatest of God's gifts. All the experts in religious law (*hakim*) declare that asleep a wise man is better than a fool at prayer, not fasting better than a fool fasting, and weeping better than a fool laughing. Abdullāh son of Mubarak said wisdom exceeds science because it knows how and when to apply science. As he of Bokhara says, "The light of wisdom illumines all places, showing truth and falsehood, wisdom and folly." When Nushirwan asked Buzurgmihr why friends quickly became enemies, but enemies slowly became friends, he replied that crowded places could quickly be destroyed but it was a slow job to fill waste places. Iskandar told Aristotle that he honoured him above his own father, because one gave him mortal the other immortal life, and because a judge must honour a learned man above all others.

XVII. Of the qualifications of a ruler. There are ten—justice ; a door open to suppliants ; avoidance of rich food and fine garments,—Ali wore a sleeveless coat costing 3 *derham* and ate a handful of flour for his daily fare— ; graciousness to suppliants ; administration of the law of the Prophet unswayed by the attitude of those to whom he delivers judgment ; perpetual

concern over affairs of state ; seeking the company and conversation of the learned. Because Isma'il, Samanid ruler of Khurasan, walked seven paces behind a learned man to honour him, the Prophet visited him in a dream and said that for seven generations his descendants should be kings. When 'Abdu'llah Tahir ascended the throne of Khurasan, only two men Ahmad the Arab and Muhammad Islam failed to come to court. When the Sultan visited Ahmad, the Arab said, " Yes, you are handsome. Beware lest your body become a faggot for hell-fire." Muhammad would not admit him to his house and turned away from him even at the mosque, whereat the Sultan knelt and prayed and God forgave him his sins on account of the piety of Muhammad Islam. The eighth qualification of a ruler is not to be proud like Nimrod, Shadad and Fir'aun ; the ninth to see that his servants do not oppress the public ; the tenth to be a judge of men's characters.

XVIII. Of the science of physiognomy (*Riafat* and *Firasat*). In the *Ma'arifat al-nas* it is said that human knowledge depends on the science committed to the prophets and the saints, the science of astrology, and the science of physiognomy. A knowledge of the last enabled Shafi' to see through his liberal host at Ramlah, who presented him with a bill for twice what had been expended on his entertainment. *Firasat* is deduction not from books but from acts, such as Solomon made when he ordered the infant that was claimed by two women to be split asunder.

XIX. Of the deductions to be drawn from the shape, of the head, colour of the hair, the eyelashes, the forehead, the eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, etc.

XX. Of the twenty duties (fairness, pity, respect for the aged, help for poor *fakirs*, guarding of wayfarers on the roads, building of mosques, etc.) of a ruler to his Muslim subjects. Iskandar was given empire because he spoke the truth, kept his word and gave away all the riches he got.

XXI. Infidels under a Muslim ruler may not build or repair heathen temples, or ride on horseback or keep arms or wear rings or dress like Muslims or sell spirits, or drink in public or give their children Muslim names, or live or be buried near Muslims or keen for their dead or buy the slaves of Muslims or prevent their relations from becoming Muslims.

XXII. Of generosity and meanness. The *Siar al-Muluk* relates how the Persian king Bahram bade his son, when giving, to give enough to support a man for life. Nushirwan was famed for justice, Hatim Thai an Arab for his generosity. So the emperor of Byzantium tried him by sending an envoy to ask for his favourite steed. When the envoy arrived one wet and stormy night, Hatim Thai killed the horse to feed the envoy and so, when in the morning he read the Emperor's letter, could not give him the steed. The king of Syria asked Hatim Thai for 100 camels with the rarest markings. Hatim Thai had to incur debts to buy

them but sent them to the king, who returned them laden with presents. Hatim Thai gave back camels and their loads to the men from whom he had brought them. The king of Yemen sent a Bedouin to murder Hatim Thai. The Bedouin meets a young man who feasts him and tells him how to kill Hatim Thai when he is asleep in his orchard, his face covered with a kerchief. The murderer goes to the orchard, finds the sleeping man and takes off the kerchief—to discover and spare his host. After death, Hatim Thai's charitable right hand did not decay.

XXIII. Of the keeping of faith. The *Zainat u'l-Muluk* tells how against the advice of his viziers, a king, who had sworn to give the contents of his treasury to the poor if God freed him from a certain trouble, was advised by a lunatic to keep faith with God and profited. When Sultan Ya'akob conquered Khorasan by the treachery of all its viziers but one, that vizier he honoured for keeping faith with his prince but the traitors he destroyed.

XXIV. Princes should honour this book and fast and pray. The people should read it and "not read other tales because those who read or listen to all the other tales famous in Malay land (*tanah Melayu*) acquire wickedness here and hereafter, for all those tales contain lying stories and truly their readers are sinful." Copyists must copy carefully and not make mistakes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Abbreviations.

- B.T.L.V.K.N.I. = Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, The Hague.
J.R.A.S.S.B. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch, Singapore 1878-1922.
J.R.A.S.M.B. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch, Singapore, 1923-39.
M.L.S. = Malay Literature Series, Methodist (Malayan) Publishing House, Singapore.
P.M.S. = Papers on Malay Subjects, Kuala Lumpur.
T.B.G. = Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.
-

Catalogues of Malay Manuscripts.

- Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Leiden 1899.
Supplement-Catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche Handschriften in de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, D. Ph. S. van Ronkel, Leiden 1921.
Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel (Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap Deel LVII, 1900).
Short account of the Malay manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society (London) by H. N. van der Tuuk (Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society, N.S. vol. II., pp. 85-135 or Essays relating to Indo-China, 2nd series, vol II., Trübner & Co., London 1887).
Malay Manuscripts in the Libraries of London, Brussels and the Hague, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 82, 1920.
Malay Manuscripts bequeathed to the Royal Asiatic Society by Sir William Maxwell: C. O. Blagden J.R.A.S., 1899.
Catalogue of the Malay MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford by Greentree & Nicholson, Oxford, 1910.
Account of Six Malay manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, B.T.L.V.K.N.I. 6°, II., pp. 1-53.
Malay Manuscripts at Cambridge (the Wilkinson collection)—Appendix III., English-Malay Dictionary by R. J. Wilkinson.

Malay Manuscripts (Marsden & Hervey collections) in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London :—MS. catalogue.

Malay Manuscripts in Germany, H. Overbeck, J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. IV. Pt. II., 1926.

On the language and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations, J. Leyden (with list of Malay MSS. 1808), *Essays Relating to Indo-China*, 1st series, vol. I.

CHAPTER I.

Malay-English Dictionary, R. J. Wilkinson, 2 vols. 2nd ed. Mytilene, 1932; *A History of Malaya*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B. Pt. I., vol. XIII., 1935; *An Early Malay Inscription from Trengganu*, H. S. Paterson & C. O. Blagden, J.R.A.S.M.B. Pt. III., vol. II. 1924; *Hikayat Sri Rama*, ed. Shellabear, J.R.A.S. S.B. LXX.; *Malay Grammar*, R. O. Winstedt, 2nd ed., Oxford.

CHAPTER II.

(a)

Malay Literature Pt. II. R. O. Winstedt, Pt. III. R. J. Wilkinson, P.M.S., Kuala Lumpur, 1907; *Tēka-Tēki Melayu*, O. T. Dussek, M.L.S. Singapore 1918; *Malay Proverbs* J.R.A.S.S.B. vols I., II., III., XI., XXIV., LXVII.; *Malay Proverbs* E. Hose Govt. Press, Singapore; *Kiliran Budi*, ed. Shellabear, Singapore; *The Folk-Tales of Indonesia & Indochina*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B., No. 76, 1917; *In Malay Forests*, G. Maxwell, Edinburgh 1907; *Supplementary English Readers, Eastern Tales*, R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1933, pp. 8, 12.

(b)

Hikayat Pelandok (including *Ht. Sang Kanchil*, *Chērīta Pelandok dengan anak Mēmērang* and Klinkert's 1885 edition of *Ht. Pelandok Jēnaka*), M.L.S. 13, 1915; *Hikayat Pelandok Djinaka*, ed. H. C. Klinkert, 1893; P.M.S., *Malay Literature Part II.* by R. O. Winstedt, giving English outlines of Peninsular Mouse-deer stories and of the Malay version of the Tamil recension of the Panchatantra, the *Hikayat Pancha Tanderan*; *Dwerghert-Verhalen uit den Archipel* by J. Brandes, T. B. G. XXXVII., 1893 and XXXVIII., 1894; *Sha'ir Pelandok Jēnaka*, lith. Singapore, 1883; *Some Mouse-deer Tales*, R. O. Winstedt J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 45, 1905; *A Mouse-deer Tale*, G. M. Laidlaw, *ib.* No. 46, 1906; *The Indian Origin of Malay Folk-Tales*, R. O. Winstedt, *ib.* No. 82, 1920; *The Folk-Tales of Indonesia and Indo-china*, R. O. Winstedt, *ib.* No. 76, 1917; *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*, J. R. H. Gonggrijp, Leiden 1876; *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, M. L.S. 16; *In Malay Forests*, G. Maxwell, (A Tale by the Wayside), Edinburgh, 1907; *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, W. Skeat, Cambridge 1901; *Jataka Tales*, ed. H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas, Cambridge 1916; *Supplementary English Readers, Book III., Eastern Tales*, R. O. Winstedt, 1933, Singapore; *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali*, H. B. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 356-383.

(c)

Chërita Jënaka (Pa' Kadök, Pa' Pandir, Lëbai Malang, Pa' Bëlalang, Si-Lunchai) ed. R. O. Winstedt and A. J. Sturrock, M.L.S. 6, 3rd ed., Singapore, 1917; *Uilespiegel-Verhalen in Indonesië* Dr. L. M. Coster-Wijsman, Santpoort (N.H.) 1929; *The Achehnese*, C. Snouck Hurgronje, vol. II. pp. 70-73, Brill, Leyden, 1906; *Malay Literature, Part II.*, R. O. Winstedt, P.M.S., Kuala Lumpur, 1907; *The Indian Origin of Malay Folk-Tales*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 82, 1920; *The Folk-Tales of Indonesia and Indochina*, R. O. Winstedt, *ib.*, No. 76, 1917; *Musang bërjanggut*, ed. with outline by R. O. Winstedt, *ib.*, No. 52, 1908; *Pëlandok and other stories*, G. M. Laidlaw, *ib.*, No. 48; *Hikajat Masjhoedoe'lhakk*, A. F. Von Dewall, Betawi, 1906; *The Jataka*, E. B. Cowell, vol VI., 156-246; *The Ocean of Story (Katha Sarit Sagara)*, vol I. pp. 42-44, ed. N. M. Penzer, 1924; *Hikayat Abu Nawas*, MS. Raffles Library, Singapore; *Tjërita Aboe Nawas*, Batavia, 3rd ed., 1894; *Chërita Abu Nawas dan Chërita Rampay*, Rampay, Koh & Co., Singapore, 1917; *Hikayat Abu Nawas*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B. Nos. 81 (1920) and 83 (1921); Supplementary English Readers, Book III., Eastern Tales, R. O. Winstedt, 1933, Singapore.

(d)

A Patani Version of the *Ramayana* door, R. O. Winstedt, Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten et Wetenschappen bij Gelegenheid van zijn 150 jarig bestaan 1778-1928, Batavia, 1929; *Hikayat Maharaja Ravana* by H. Overbeck, J.R.A.S.M.B. XI., Pt. II., (1933), pp. 111-132. *Sri Rama* by W. E. Maxwell, J.R.A.S.S.B. 17, (1886), *ib* LV; *Raja Donan*, *ib*. XVIII; *Raja Ambong*, *ib*. XIX.; *Hikayat Raja Budiman*, ed. H. Clifford, Publications 2 and 3 of the R.A.S.S.B., Singapore, 1896; *Hikayat Awang Sulong Merah Muda*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, 2nd edition, Methodist Publishing House, Singapore, 1914, *Awang Sulong Merah Muda* (from another text) ed. R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B., 51 (1908); *Ht. Malim Deman*, ed. R. O. Winstedt and A. J. Sturrock, Malay Literature Series 8, Singapore, 1908; *Hikayat Malim Dewa*, *ib*. 7, 1908; *Ht. Raja Muda*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1914; *Ht. Anggun Che' Tunggal*, *ib*. 1914; *Hikayat Trong Pipit*, J.R.A.S.M.B., vol. V., Pt. III., 1927; Malay Literature Part II., R. O. Winstedt, P.M.S., Kuala Lumpur, 1907; Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali, by H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.* pp. 338-347; The Folklore of the *Hikayat Malim Deman*, R. O. Winstedt J.R.A.S.S.B., 83, (1921), p. 92.

CHAPTER III.

(a)

Geschiedenis van Sri Rama, ed. P. P. Roorda van Eysinga, Amsterdam, 1843; *Hikayat Sëri Rama*, ed. W. G. Shellabear, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 71, Dec. 1915, with introduction (and outline) *ib*. No. 70, April 1917; Rama-Legenden und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesien, ed. Stutterheim, München, 1925; Die Rama-Sage

bei den Maleien, ihre Herkunft und Gestaltung, A. Ziesenis, Hamburg, 1928; *Jets over verschillende Maleische redactiën van den Seri Rama*. D. Gerth van Wijk, T.B.G. XXXIV., 1891; Een episode uit het Oudindische Ramayana vergeleken met de Javaansche en Maleische bewerkingen, H. H. Juynboll, B.T.L.V.K.N.I., 50, 1899; Indonesische en Achterindische Tooneelvoorstellingen uit het Ramayana, H. H. Juynboll, *ib.* 54, 1902 (cf. T.B.G. XXXVIII.); Aanteekeningen op een ouden Maleischen Ramayana-Tekst, Ph. van Ronkel, *ib.*, LXXV., 1919; *Sang Boma*, Balai Pustaka, Weltevreden 1924, *ib.* Raffles MS. 15, R.A.S. London; *Hikayat Përang Pandawa Jaya*, Raffles MS. 2, R.A.S. London; Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali, H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*

(b)

Raffles MS. No. 2, Library Royal Asiatic Society, London; ditto No. 21 (*Hikayat Pandawa Pancha Këlîma*); Geschiedenis der Pandawas, naar een Maleisch handschrift van de Royal Asiatic Society, H. N. van Tuuk, T.B.G., 1875, Deel XXI., pp. 1-90; Eenige Maleische wayangverhalen, *ib.*, 1879, Deel XXV. pp. 489-552.

(c)

Hikayat Maharaja Bispu Raja (=Puspa Wiraja) Government Press, Singapore 1899, and R. O. Winstedt J.R.A.S.S.B., LXXXIII. pp. 96-103; *Ht. Parang Puting*, *ib.*, LXXXV. pp. 62-66; *Ht. Si-Miskin* (or *Marakarma*), *ib.*, LXXXV. pp. 41-45

CHAPTER IV.

Hikayat Chekel Waneng Pati, Raffles Malay MS., Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London; *Hikayat Pandji Semirang*, 2 vols. (romanised), Batavia, 1917; *Hikayat Mesa Kagungan Sëri Panji Wira Kësuma*, part 1, H. C. Klinkert, Leiden, 1897; *Hikayat Misa Përbu Jaya*, Ipoh, 1909; Het Damar Wulan verhaal in lakon-vorm, Dr. J. Brandes, T.B. G. Deel XXXVIII., 1895; Eenige Maleische wayangverhalen, Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, *ib.*, Deel XXV., 1879; De Pandji Roman, Dr. W. H. Rassers, Antwerp, 1922; Encyclopaëdie van Nederlandsch-Indie *sub* Tooneel; *Ht. Hang Tuah* (outline) R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 83 (1921); *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, ed. Shellabear, 4 parts, Singapore 1908-1909; *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, ed. R. Brons Middel, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1893; History of Perak, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B., vol XII., Pt. 1., pp. 122-4; *Sëjarah Mëlayu*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, *ib.*, vol XVII. (1939); Funktion und Stellung des Laksamana am Hofe der malaiischen Sultane, Dr. A. Zeiseniss, Acta Orientalia, vol. XV. Pt. I., 1936; Yets over verschillende Maleische redactiën van den Seri Rama, D. Gerth van Wijk, T. B. G., Deel XXXIV.; Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, Ph. S. van Ronkel, pp. 33-74; Een Maleisch Gezantschap naar het Tamilland, Ph. S. van Ronkel, B.T.L.V.K.N.I., No. 7, vol. II.,

1904; Encyclopaedie van. Ned. Ind., *sub* Atjeh; Encyclopaedia of Islam, *passim*; De Kroniek van Bandjarmasin, A. A. Cense, Sandport, 1928 p. 129; *Kuda Sumirang Sèri Panji Pandai Rupa (Hikayat Jawa, Gêdok)*, vol. I., Kota Bharu, Kelantan 1931.

CHAPTER V.

The Achehnese, Snouck Hurgronje (tr. O'Sullivan), vol. II., pp. 121-158, Leyden 1906; *Hikayat Bërma Shahdan* Raffles MS. 12, Library, Royal Asiatic Society, London; *Kesah Pëlayaran 'Abdu'lah* (rom.) Singapore 1907; *Sirat al-Mustakim* lith. Singapore 1330 A. H.; The Date of the *Hikayat Indëraputëra*, R. O. Winstedt J.R.A.S.S.B., No. 82 (1920) pp. 145-6; *Hikayat Indraputra* (outline, etc.), R. O. Winstedt, *ib.* No. 85 (1922), pp. 46-53; *Ht. Putra Jaya Pati*, *ib.* pp. 54-57; *Ht. Si-Miskin* or *Marakarma*, *ib.* pp. 41-45; *Ht. Indra Bangsawan*, *ib.* pp. 58-61; *Ht. Parang Puting*, *ib.* pp. 62-66; *Ht. Nakhoda Muda*, *ib.* No. 83 (1921) pp. 104-9; *The Perak Genies*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B. vol. VII. (Oct. 1929), pp. 460-466; *Ht. Raja Muda Shah Mardan* (rom.), Batavia, 1916; *Ht. Ahmad Muhammad*, lith. Singapore, 1889; *Ht. Koraish Mëngindëra*, Winstedt MS.; *Ht. Maharaja Indëra Mëngindëra*, lith. Penang 1900 (for R. J. Wilkinson); *Ht. Isma Yatim*, ed. Roorda van Eysinga, Batavia, 1821; Part I. (rom.) Singapore, 1908; *Gul Bakawali*, Singapore, 1878; *Ht. Ganja Mara*, H. Overbeck, J.R.A.S.M.B. vol. VI., Pt. I. pp. 45-79; *Ht. Bustamam*, *ib.* vol. IX., Pt. I., (1931), pp. 35-121; *Ht. Jaya Langkara*, R. O. Winstedt J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 82 (1920), pp. 147-150; *Ht. Shamsu'l-Bahrain* (text) *ib.* No. 47; *Ht. Bustamam*, lith. Singapore, 1914; The Romance of the Rose in Malay literature, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, T.B. G. LIV. afd. 5 and 6; *The Perak Genies*, R. O. Winstedt J.R.A.S.M.B. vol. VII. Pt. III. (1929).

CHAPTERS VI, VII & VIII.

Het Boek van Bonang, Dr. B. J. O. Schrieke, Utrecht, 1916; *Sëjarah Mëlayu*; *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain*, Winstedt MSS.; De Maleische Alexanderroman, P. J. van Leeuwen, Meppel, 1937; The Date, Authorship, Contents and some MSS. of the Malay Romance of Alexander the Great, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S. M.B., vol. XVI., Pt. II., (1938), pp. 1-23; Account of six Malay manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel (*Hikayat Yusuf*) B.T.L.V.K.N.I. 6°, II., pp. 1-53; *Hikayat Amir Hamza*, Ph. S. van Ronkel, Leiden 1895; *Ht. Muhammad Hanafiya*, lith. Singapore; *Ht. Muhammad Hanafiya*, Ph. S. van Ronkel, B.T.L.V.K.N.I., Deel XLVI (1896) Hague; *Ht. Sama'un përang dëngan Abu-Jahal*, lith. Singapore (undated); Het Verhaal van den Held Sama'un en van Mariah de Koptische, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, T.B.G. Deel XLIII (1901), pp. 444-481; *Hikayat Tamim ad-Dari* MS. 50, Library, Royal Asiatic Society, London; *ib.* Ph. S. van Ronkel, Verslagen en Medetteelingen van Kon. Ak. van Wetenschappen, Afd., lett., 5e Reeks, Deel III., 1917; *Hikayat Saifal-Yezan*, G. F. Hose, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 58, pp. 1-252; *Ht. Nur Muhammad*, lith. Singapore, *Ht. Bulan bërbelah*, *ib.*

Ht. Nabi bërchukor, ib., *Ht. Nabi Allah wafat, ib.*, *Ht. Abu Samah*, lith. A. H. 1298 ; *Ht. Raja Handak*, lith Singapore, 1306 ; *Ht. Bayan Budiman*, ed. with introduction and notes, R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1920, M.L.S. 6 ; *Jets over het Papegaai-Boek*, Dr. Brandes, T.B.G., XLI., 1899 ; *Ht. Ibrahim* (rom.) Singapore, 1899 ; *Ht. Sultan Ibrahim*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B., 1923, vol 1 ; *Ht. Bakhtiar*, Government Press, Singapore, 1889 ; *Ht. Maharaja Bispu Raja, ib.*, 1899 ; *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*, ed. Gonggrip, Leiden, 1892 ; *Hikayat Golam*, MS. belonging to Committee for Malay Studies, Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur, and an edition lithographed by Haji 'Abdul-Karim, Singapore, 1311 =1893 A.D. ; *Ht. Maharaja 'Ali*, ed. C. O. Blagden, J.R.A.S.M.B., vol. VII., pt. 3, October, 1929 *Ht. Puspa Wiraja*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 83, 1921 ; *The Bakhtyar Nama*, trans. by Sir W. Ouseley, ed. W. A. Clouston, 1883 ; *Sindibad-Namch and Bakhtiar-Namah*, *Ency. of Islam* ; *Het Onderzoek naar den oorsprong van de Maleische Ht. Kalila dan Damina*, Dr. J. Brandes, *Feest-bundel De Goeje*, pp. 79-110 ; *Nadere Opmerkingen over de Maleische Bewerkingen van de Geschiedenis der 10 Vizieren*, Dr. J. Brandes, T.B.G. XXXVIII., pp. 191-273, XLI. p. 292 foll. ; *Arabian Nights* (Breslau text), *Nights CCCCXXV.—CCCCLXXXVII—vol. VI.*, pp. 191-343 ; *Het Boek der tien Vizieren in het Maleisch*, Dr. P. Voorhoeve, T.B.G. LXXIII. pp. 427-435 ; *Een paar bijzonderheden uit een handschrift van de Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*, Dr. J. Brandes, T.B.G., XXXVI. pp. 394-417 ; *Het Problem van de Maleische Hikajat Kalilah dan Daminah, ib.* LXXI., pp. 172-185 ; *Ht. Kalilah dan Daminah* (a good) MS., Raffles Library, Singapore ; *Encyclopaedia of Islam sub Bakhtiar, Bidpai, Kalila wa-Dimna, and Saif bin Dhi Yazan.*

CHAPTER IX.

The Achehnese, Snouck Hurgronje, (tr. O'Sullivan), vol II., pp. 1-59, 269-351, Leyden 1906 ; 'Abdoerraoef van Singkel, D. A. Rinkes, Heerenveen 1909 ; *Ean Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw*, H. Kraemer, Leiden, 1921 ; *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, J. Doorenbos, Leiden, 1933 ; *Some Malay Mystics, Heretical and Orthodox*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B., vol. I. (1923), pp. 312-318 ; *Advent of Muhammadanism in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 77 ; *The Early Muhammadan Missionaries, ib.* No. 81 (1920) ; *Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra*, R. L. Archer, J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. 15 (1937), pp. 1-126 ; *Het Boek der Duizend Vragen*, G. F. Pijper, Leiden, 1924 ; *Sirat al-Mustakim*, lith, Singapore ; *Taj a's-Salatin*, *De Kroon aller Koningen*, P.P. Roorda van Eysinga, Batavia, 1927 ; *Tadjoe's-Salatin (Makoeta sigala Radja-Radja)*, v. Dorp., Samarang, 1866 ; *Taju's-Salatin* MS. Raffles Library, Singapore ; *Taju's-Salatin*, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, T.B.G., Deel XVI., R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 81 (1920), pp. 37-8 ; *Observations sur une variante malaise de la legende de Jezdeguerd I.*, A. H. Krappe, *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCXXIX., Oct.-Dec. 1937 ; *Kitab Bustan a's-Salatin*, ed. R. J. Wilkinson, Bab I,

1899, Bab II., 1900 Singapore; *Taju'l-Mulk and Bad khalk a's-samawat wa'l ardh* = Bustan a's Salatin, Bab. I., Mecca 1311 A.H.; *Bustanu's Salatin*, its date and author, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S. B. No. 82, (1920), pp. 151-2.

CHAPTER X.

Sĕjarah Mĕlayu, ed. W. G. Shellabear (rom.) 2 vols., 2nd ed., 1909, 1910, Methodist Publishing House, Singapore; *ib.* ed. R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B. vol XVI (1938); Collection des Principales Chroniques Malayes, vol. II., Dulaurier, Paris, 1856; *ib.* ed. 'Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munshi, Leiden, 1884; *ib.* typed copy of Batavian MS. Collectie von De Wall, 188; The Princess of Gunong Ledang, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B., No. 83, 1921; *Ht. Raja-Raja Pasai*, ed. Dulaurier, *op. cit.*, vol I.; *ib.* (rom) J. P. Mead, J.R.A.S.S.B. LXVI., place names in, R. O. Winstedt, *ib.* LXXVII, p. 181; The Chronicles of Pasai, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B. XVI., Pt. 2, (1938), pp. 24-30; *Hikayat Marong (Mĕrang) Maha Wangsa* (Kedah Annals), rom. A. J. Sturrock, J.R.A.S.S.B. LXXII. 37-123; Cannibal King in the Kedah Annals C. O. Blagden, *ib.* LXXIX., p. 47; The Kedah Annals, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B., vol XVI., Pt. II. (1938) pp. 31-5; Het Boek van Bonang, Dr. B. J. O. Schreike, Utrecht, 1916; *Bustan a's-Salatin*, Books I. (1899) and II. (1900), ed. R. J. Wilkinson, Methodist Publishing House, Singapore; *Hikayat Nĕgĕri Aceh* (from *Bustan a's-Salatin*) Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften, G. K. Niemann, vol. II., pp. 120-140, 's-Gravenhage, 1907; *Misa Mĕlayu*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1919; *Hikayat Nĕgĕri Johor*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B. vol X., Pt. I. (1932); *Sĕjarah Raja-Raja Riau*, *ib.* vol XI., Pt. II. (1933); *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, A History of Riau and Johore, ed. R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B. vol. X., Pt. II. (1932); *Silsilah Mĕlayu dan Bugis*, Singapore, A. H. 1329, tr. by H. Overbeck, J.R.A.S.M.B. vol IV. (1926), pp. 339-381; A Genealogy of Malacca's Kings from a copy of the *Bustanu's-Salatin*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 81, 1920, pp. 39-47; Fragment of History of Trengganu and Kelantan, H. Marriott, *ib.* LXII. 1-23; *Hikayat Johor* by Haji Muhammad Said bin Haji Sulaiman, 3rd. edition, Methodist Publishing House, Singapore 1920; *Al-tarikh Silsilah Nĕgĕri Kĕdah*, by Mhmd. Hsn., Penang, 1928; *Salasilah atau Tawarikh Kĕrajaan Kĕdah* by Wan Yahya, 2nd ed., 1911; *Salasilah Kĕrajaan Nĕgĕri Kĕlantan* (imperfect copy; modern); *Rengkasen Chĕritĕra Kĕlantan* by Haji Nek Mahmud 1934, Kota Baharu, Kelantan; *Tarikh Dato' Bĕntara Luar, Johor*, by Muhammad bin Haji Elias, vol. I., Johor Baharu, 1928; *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riau*, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B. XI., Pt. II., pp. 161-5; De Kroniek van Koetai, Dr. C. A. Mees, Santpoort, 1935; De Kroniek van Bandjarmasin, A. A. Cense.

CHAPTER XI.

Risalat Hoekoem Kanoen yaitoe Oendang-Oendang Mĕlaka, Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, Leiden, 1919; A Brunei Code, R. O. Winstedt, J.R.A.S.M.B. vol. I. (1923), p. 251; Encyclopaedia of

Islam *sub* Kanun ; Institutions Maritimes de l'Archipel d'Asie traduites en français, Paris, 1845 ; Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische Taal en Letterkunde, de Hollander, Zesde Druk, pp. 203-205 ; The Maritime Code of the Malays, Sir S. Raffles, J.R.A.S.S.B., No. 3 (1879), pp. 62-84, 143-144 ; No. 4, pp. 1-20 ; Kedah Laws, ed. R. O. Winstedt J.R.A.S.M.B. vol VI., Pt. II. (1928), pp. 1-44 ; Law Pt. I., R. J. Wilkinson, Papers on Malay Subjects, Kuala Lumpur, 1908, Pt. II., Ninety-Nine Laws of Perak, J. Rigby, *ib.* 1908 ; The Law and Customs of the Malays with reference to the Tenure of Land, W. E. Maxwell, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 13 (1884), pp. 75-220 ; The Johor Code, Logan's Journal of the Indian Archipelago, 1855, vol IX., pp. 71-95 ; Extracts from Perak Code concerning Slavery, W. E. Maxwell, J.R.A.S.S.B. XXII. 247-297 ; History of Negri Sembilan, R. O. Winstedt. J.R.A.S.M.B. vol. XII., Pt. III. (1934) pp. 77-96, 108 and bibliography ; a MS. of Minangkabau law (*Tëromba sêgala 'alam milek Dato' Makhдум Sakti*).

CHAPTER XII.

Hikayat 'Abdu'llah (rom.), ed. W. G. Shellabear, Methodist Publishing House, Singapore, vol I., 1907, vol. II., 1908 ; *Kesah Pëlayaran 'Abdu'llah*, *ib.* 1907 ; *Kissah Pëlayaran 'Abdoe'llah kënegëri Djoedah*, 2nd ed., *Balai Pustaka*, Serie No. 47, Batavia 1920 ; *Sha'er Kampong Glam tërbakar* (rom.) Chuah Thean Lye, Penang ; *Hikayat 'Abdu'llah*, translated by J. T. Thomsen, 1874 ; The Autobiography of Munshi 'Abdu'llah, tr. by W. G. Shellabear, Singapore, 1918 ; *Hikayat Pandja Tanderan*, Leiden, 1913.

CHAPTER XIII.

Ht. Raja-Raja Pasai (rom.) J.R.A.S.S.B. LXVI. ; *Tjindoer Mato*, J. L. van der Toorn, Batavia, 1886 ; *Jelebu Customary Songs and Sayings*, A. Caldecott, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 78 ; *Malay Magic*, W. W. Skeat, pp. 612, 653 ; *Ht. Malim Dewa*, ed. R.O. Winstedt, M.L.S. 7, Singapore, 1908 ; *Ht. Sëri Rama*, ed. W. Maxwell, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 55 ; A Naning Recital, by J. L. Humphreys, *ib.* No. 83 (1921), A Malay *Sha'ir* in old Sumatran Characters of 1380 A.D., Stutterheim, Acta Orientalia, vol. XIV., 1936, Leiden ; *Drei Maleische Gedichten (Ken Tamboehan, Jatim Noestapa, Bidasari)* H. C. Klinkert, Leiden, 1886 ; *Ken Tembohan*, lith. Singapore 1904 ; *Sjaïr Bidasari*, ed. van Hoevell ; *Sh. Nyai Dasima*, lith. Singapore, 1912 ; *Sh. Johan Malikan*, lith. Singapore, 1898 and 1915 ; *Sh. Yatim Mustapha*, lith. Singapore, 1917 ; *Sh. Tajul-Muluk*, *ib.* 1917 ; *Sh. Bidasari*, *ib.* 1915 ; *Sh. Burong Nuri*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Bunga Ayer Mawar*, *ib.*, 1911, rom. *ib.*, 1905 ; *Sh. Unggas* (on prayer), lith., Singapore 1909 ; *Sh. Bab u'l-Adab*, Singapore, 1914 ; *Sh. Chëritëra Nëgëri Australia*, lith. Singapore ; *Sh. Haji Nilah*, *ib.*, 1900 ; *Sh. Dagang*, *ib.*, 1910 ; *Sh. Ikan Tërubok dan Puyu*, *ib.*, 1899 ; *Sh. Chinta Bërahi*, lith. Singapore ; *Sh. Kubor*, *ib.*, 1916 ; *Sh. Chëndawan Puteh*, *ib.*, ?1911 ; *Sh. Taj al-Hadi*, Siak, 1903 ; *Sh. Saribu Satu Hari*, lith., Singapore, 1918 ; *Sh. Përchintaan (Nurdin dan Nurkiah)* (rom.), Singapore, 1905 ;

Sh. Péncharian Muhabbat, Kuala Lumpur, 1923 ; *Sh. Sungging*, lith. Singapore, 1914 ; *Sh. Indraputra*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Si-Kanchil*, *ib.*, 1914 ; *Sh. Siti Zabidah*, *ib.*, 1911 and 1915 ; *Sh. Harith Fadzilah*, 1913 ; *Sh. Sinar 'Alam*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Malik u'l-Yaman*, *ib.*, 1912 ; *Sh. Si-Raja 'l-Insan*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Dhu'l-Khan nêgëri Hindustan*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Sultan al-Zahrain*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Saudagar Bodoh*, *ib.*, 1917 ; *Sh. Juragan Budiman dan Jauhar Manikam*, *ib.*, 1917 ; *Sh. Sëri Bunian (Si-Lindong Dalima)*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Përang Aceh*, *ib.*, 1912 ; *Sh. Raksi*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Taabir Mimpi*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Ibarat Manikam Pari* *ib.* ; *Sh. Ma'yat*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Khabar Kiamat*, *ib.* ; *Sh. Iblis Shaitan*, *ib.*, 1901 ; *Sh. Chërmin Islam*, *ib.*, 1905 ; ; *Sh. Sinkor Gilang*, *ib.*, 1912, rom. Singapore. (*Sh. Silambari* and *Sh. Kampong Glam tërbakar and Pantun lain-lain*) Penang ; *Sh. Burong Punggok*, lith. Singapore, 1912, ed. H. Overbeck, J.R.A.S.S.B. LXVII., 193 ; *De Europeaan in de Maleische Literatuur* A. L. V. L. v. d. Linden, Meppel, 1937 ; *Pantun Mëlayu*, R. J. Wilkinson and R. O. Winstedt, 2nd ed., Singapore 1923 ; *The Malay Pantun* H. Overbeck, J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 85 (1922) ; *De Magische Achtergrond van de Maleische Pantoen*, R. A. Dr. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Batavia, 1933 ; *Pantoen Mëlajoe*, Balai Pustaka, Batavia, 1920 ; *Iets over de Pantoens of Minnezangen der Maleiers*, H. C. Klinkert B.T.L.V.K.N.I., 3 V. R. 3 (1868) ; *Sh. Pantun Sëluka*, rom., Singapore, 1905 ; *Sha'ir (=Pantun) Raja Haji*, J.R.A.S.S.B. XXI., pp. 173-221.